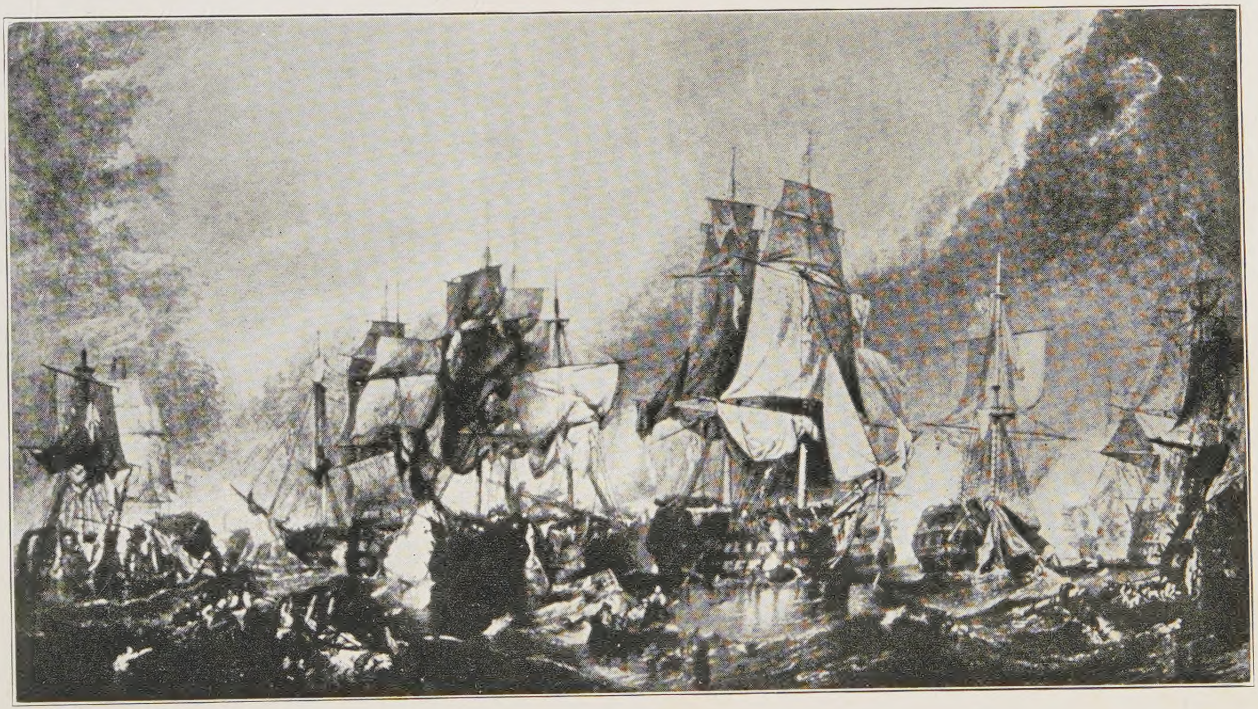
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OF THE WORLD



THE BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR

(From the painting by William Clarkson Stanfield, in the United Service Club, London)

THE HISTORIANS' HISTORY OF THE WORLD

A Comprehensive Narrative of the Rise and Development of Nations from the Earliest Times as recorded by over Two Thousand of the Great Writers of All Ages. Edited with the Assistance of a Distinguished Board of Advisers and Contributors

BY

HENRY SMITH WILLIAMS, LL.D.



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TOGETHER WITH A CHAPTER ON

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF ENGLAND FROM 1792 TO 1815

BY

C. W. C. OMAN

WITH ADDITIONAL CITATIONS FROM

P. ABERCROMBY, ADAMNAN, ÆNEAS SYLVIUS, ÆTHELWARD CHRONICLE, ALLEN, AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, ANNALS OF THE FOUR MASTERS, P. DE AYALA, J. BAIN, S. BAMFORD, L. A. BARBÉ, J. BARBOUR, BLIND HARRY, W. BOECE, W. BOWER, G. BRODIE, H. BROUGHAM, P. H. BROWN, G. BUCHANAN, G. BURNET, W. BURNS, J. H. BURTON, J. CÆSAR, W. CAMDEN, G. CHALMERS, CHRONICLE OF LANERCOST, CUMINIUS, J. DALRYMPLE, D. DEFOE, DION CASSIUS, ETHELRED (AILRED), LORD EXMOUTH, FERRERIUS, FLORENCE OF WORCESTER, A. DE FONBLANQUE, J. DE FORDUN, H. B. GEORGE, GILDAS, A. GORDON, LORD HAILES, L. HANSARD, HARLEIAN MISCELLANY, W. DE HEMINGBURGH, R. HOLINSHED, M. A. S. HUME, W. HUSKISSON, C. INNES, IRISH ANNALS, JOCELIN, W. B. JONES, R. KERR, H. KNIGHTON, J. KNOX, M. LAING, P. LANGTOFT, G. C. LEVEY, LIBER PLUSCARDENSIS, R. LINDSAY OF PITSCOTTIE, G. LOCKHART, A. J. G. MACKAY, J. MACKINNON, R. J. MACKINTOSH, J. MAJOR (MAIR), T. R. MALTHUS, MARIANUS SCOTUS, T. MARTIN, MATTHEW OF WESTMINSTER, J. MELVILLE, W. O'C. MORRIS, A. F. MURISON, NARRATIVES ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE CONTESTS IN IRELAND, NENNIUS, NIMMO, E. OSLER, R. PEEL, T. PERCY, J. PINKERTON, G. R. PORTER, PROCOPIUS, PTOLEMY, J. RHYS, E. W. ROBERTSON, W. ROBERTSON, J. A. ROEBUCK, S. ROMILLY, LORD ROSEBERY, R. RUSH, T. RYMER, SIMMEL, W. F. SKENE, G. SMITH, S. SMITH, R. SOUTHEY, J. SPEED, E. SPENSER, J. SPOTTISWOODE, A. P. STANLEY, STATE PAPERS OF HENRY VIII, A. STEWART, W. K. SULLIVAN, TERTULLIAN, T. THOMPSON, T. TOOKE, T. F. TOUT, G. TUCKER, BISHOP TURGOT, H. TWISS, WALLACE, S. WALPOLE, T. WALSINGHAM, J. DE WAVRIN, R. WODROW, J. J. A. WORSAAE, A. WYNTOUN



BOOK IV

THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

CHAPTER I

EARLY HISTORY TO THE DEATH OF MACBETH

[80–1058 A.D.]

> If we except the Athenians and the Jews, no people so few in number have scored so deep a mark in the world's history as you Scots have done.—J. A. Froude.[b]

There is some difference of opinion among philologists as to the origin of the word Scotia or Scotland. Ramsay[d] is of opinion that *Scotus* is, in fact, simply the Latin name for Gael. Rhys,[e] however, thinks that, as the Picts were so called by the Romans because they painted themselves (*picti*, compare our derivative "picture"), so the name Scotti comes from the Roman retention of a Celtic word "Scotti," meaning carved or painted, *i.e.*, tattooed or disfigured. Whatever the precise origin of the word, however, seemingly it was not intended to designate or characterise the Scottish race, inasmuch as it was not at first applied to the territory of modern Scotland. It is the curious and interesting fact, as Skene[c] points out, that prior to the tenth century the name was "exclusively appropriated to the island of Ireland."

The name by which Scotland was known to the Romans at about the first century was Caledonia, and at a slightly later period it appears to have borne also the Celtic name "Albu, Alba, or Alban, and its Latin form Albania." This name was gradually superseded in the course of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, though the name of Scotia was at first confined to a portion of the Lowlands at the north of the Firth of Forth. Skene[c]

considers it as positively established that until about the thirteenth century the term Scotia "was limited to the districts between the Forth, the Spey, and Drumalban." From this time on the name was gradually extended to include the modern territory of Scotland as a whole, and it ceased to be applied to Ireland.

These curious facts as to shifting terminologies, through which a name was transferred from one geographical territory to another, are adequately established, having taken place within historical times.[a]

Before proceeding to discuss the early peoples of Scotland from a modern point of view, it will be interesting to quote a description of the land and people as they appeared to a contemporary of Mary Queen of Scots. This excerpt will also show wherein the Scotch-English of that time differed from the language of Shakespeare.[a]

AN EARLY ACCOUNT OF LAND AND PEOPLE (BY LINDSAY OF PITSCOTTIE)

"Brittane or Brutane, which by tuo names is called Ingland and Scotland, is an illand in ocean sea, situat richt over against France; one pairt of which the Inglismen doe inhabite, and the other pairt Scottis; the third pairt Welschmen, and the fourth pairt Cornischmen. All they, aither in language, conditione, or lawis, doe differ amongest thamselffis.

"The ocean sea doeth bound Ingland. The rivar of Tweid divydeth Ingland and Scotland, north; Scotland, ane vther pairt of Brittaine, began sumtyme at the hill called Grampius, now called Grantesbane, stretching to the farthest coast northward. Bot efter the overthrow of the Pickis, it begane at the river Tweid, and sumtyme at the river of Tyne; the fortoun of warres altering the same as it doeth all other thingis. Thairfoir the lenth of Scotland from Tweid to the farthest coast, is esteemed to be four hundreth auchtie myllis.

"Bot as Scotland is broader than Ingland, so it is longer and endeth lyk ane wedge; for the montane Grampius is evill favoured and craigie, which Tacitus[f] in the lyffe of Julius Agrecola, doeth remember, pearcing throw the bowels of Scotland from the coast to the Germane sea, that is to say, from the mouth of the river of Die, to the Irisch sea, evin to the Laik Lowmond, which lyeth betweine that countrie and that same hill. The river of Tweid which springeth furth of ane little hill, not far beyond Roxburgh, is mingled with the Germane ocean, joynand southward with that countrie which is called the Marches, being the east boundis betuixt Scotland and Ingland.

"The breadth of the island is verie schort, for, falling into the form of ane wadge, it is scant thrittie mylles, over which defendeth with thrie promontories lyk toures, repelleth the great vaves and surges of the sea, invironed with tuo gulfes, which these promontories doe inclose. The entries be quyet and calme, and the watter peaceable. The strait of that land is at this day called Caithnes, coasting vpoun the sea Deucallidon. And this much of the particularis of Scotland. Bot the same is everie place full of guid heavines and navigable entressis, laikis with marsches, floodis, foutaines verie full of fisches, and montanes, vpoun the topis quhair of be pleasant plaines, yielding great store of grase, and plentie of fodder for cattle, woodus also full of wyld beastis. That pairt of the land is verie weill sustained with commodities, and thairfoir the people hard to be vanquisched at on tyme, be reasone of the woodis and marisches that be at hand, for refuge of hunger, eased with venisone and fisch.

"Without Scotland, in the Irisch seaes, ar many illandis now discovered,

to the number of ane hundred and fourtie; sume of these ar in length threttie myllis, bot in breadth not above twelff mylles; amongest thame is Iona, beautified with the tomb of the Scottish kingis. The illanderis generallie speak Irisch, which declaireth thame to tak thair originall of the Irisch natione.

"Beyond Scotland, towardis the north, lie the illes of Orchades, which Ptolomie[g] sayeth to be thriescoir in number; sum lying in the Deucalidone sea, and sum in the Germane Ocean. Beyond the Orchadis lie the illandis of Scotland, under the command of the king of Scottis, and beyond these standeth Thule, in the frozen sea, now called Iseland, to which our merchantis repaire everie yeir for fisching, in the somer.

"And this much of the scite of Scotland; now of the nature and maneris of the people. The Scottis which inhabite in the southerne pairt be weill nurtured, and leive in guid civilitie, and the most civill vse the Inglisch speach; and for thair wode thair is geasone and scant; thair commoun fewell is of stones, which they dig out of the earth. The other pairt northerne, are full of montaines, and verie rud and homlie kynd of people doeth inhabite, which is called the Reidschankis, or wyld Scottis. They be cloathed with ane mantle, with ane schirt fachioned after the Irisch maner, going bair legged to the knie. Thair weapons are bowis and dartes, with ane verie broad sword, and ane dagger scharp onlie at the on syd. All speik Irisch, feiding vpoun fisches, milk, cheise, and flesches, and having great numberis of cattell. The Scottis differ from the Inglisch in lawes and customes, because they vse the civill law as almost all other countries do. The Inglisch have their awin lawis and edicitis. In certane other conditiones thay be not far vnlyk. Both their languages is one, thair habite and complectione alyk: On courage in battle, and in the nobilitie on desir, and pregnancie in hunting. The countrie houssis be narrow, covered with strae and reid, quhairin the people and beastis doe lige togidder.

"Thair tounes, besydis St Johnstoun, ar vnwalled, which is to be ascryved to thair animositie and hardines, fixing all thair succouris and help in the valiencie of thair bodies. The Scottis ar verie wyse, as thair learning declaireth, for to quhatsoevir airt they doe apply thamselffis, they doe easilie proffeit in the same. Bot the idle and sloathfull, and such as doe shun and avoyd labour, seeme in gritt povertie, and yit will not stick to boast of thair gentilitie and noble birth, as thoucht it war more semlie for the honest to laik, than comlie by exercise of sum honest airt to gett thair liveing. Bot the Scottis be generallie devot observaris of religione. And this much of Scotland."[h]

THE ROMANS IN SCOTLAND

The history of every modern European nation must commence with the decay of the Roman Empire. From the dissolution of that immense leviathan almost innumerable states took their rise, as the decay of animal matter only changes the form, without diminishing the sum, of animal life. Julius Cæsar had commenced the conquest of Britain in the year B.C. 55. The southern Britons were completely subjected to the yoke of Rome, and reduced to the condition of colonists, in the year of grace 80, by the victorious arms of Agricola.

This intelligent chief discovered, what had been before suspected, that the fine country the southern part of which he had thus conquered was an island, whose northern extremity, rough with mountains, woods, and inaccessible morasses, and peopled by tribes of barbarians who chiefly subsisted by the

chase, was washed by the northern ocean. To hear of a free people in his neighbourhood, and to take steps for their instant subjugation, was the principle on which every Roman general acted; and it was powerfully felt by Julius Agricola, father-in-law of the historian Tacitus,[1] who at this time commanded in South Britain. But many a fair and fertile region, of much more considerable extent, had the victors of the world subdued with far more speed and less loss than this rugged portion of the north was to cost them.

It was in the year 80 when Agricola set out from Manchester, then called Mancunium; and that and the next season of 81 were spent in subduing the tribes of Brigantes in the southern parts of what is now termed Scotland, and in forcing such natives as resisted across the estuaries of the Forth and the Clyde, driving them as it were into another island. It was not till 83 that the invaders could venture across the firth of Forth, and engage themselves among the marshes, lakes, and forests near Lochleven. Here Agricola, having divided his troops into three bodies, one of them, consisting of the ninth legion, was so suddenly attacked by the natives at a place called Loch Ore, that the Romans suffered much loss, and were only rescued by a forced march of Agricola to their support. In the summer of 84 Agricola passed northwards, having now reached the country of the Caledonians, or Men of the Woods, a fierce nation, or rather a confederacy of clans, towards whose country all such southern tribes and individuals as preferred death to servitude had retired before the progress of the invaders.

The Caledonians and their allies, commanded by a chief whom the Romans called Galgacus, faced the invaders bravely, and fought them manfully at a spot on the southern side of the Grampian Hills, but antiquaries are not agreed upon the precise field of action.[1] The Romans gained the so-called battle of the Grampians [or of Mons Grampius], but with so much loss that Agricola was compelled to postpone further operations by land, and he retreated to make sure of the territories he had overrun. The fleet sailed round the north of Scotland, and Agricola's campaigns terminated with this voyage of discovery. There was no prosecution of the war against the Caledonians after the departure of Agricola in 85. Much was however done for securing at least the southern part of that general's conquests; and it was then, doubtless, that were planned and executed those numerous forts, those extensive roads, those commanding stations, which astonish the antiquary to this day, when, reflecting how poor the country is even now, he considers how intense must have been the love of power, how excessive the national pride, which could induce the Romans to secure at an expense of so much labour these wild districts of mountain, moor, thicket, and marsh.

Nor, after all, were these conquests secured. The emperor Hadrian, in 120 A.D., was contented virtually to admit this fact by constructing an external line of defence against the fierce Caledonians, in form of a strong wall, reaching across the island from the Tyne to the Solway, far within the boundary of Agricola's conquest. In the reign of Antoninus another and more northern boundary wall was extended across the island, reaching from Carriden, close to Linlithgow on the firth of Forth, to the firth of Clyde. This ultimate bulwark [built by Lollius Urbicus] served to protect the country betwixt the estuaries, while the regions beyond them were virtually resigned to their native and independent proprietors.

Notwithstanding precautions, the strength of the Roman Empire failed

[1 Gordon[2] placed it at Dealgan Ross, near Comrie, Chalmers[3] at Ardoch, others in Fife, or in Kincardineshire, Skene[4] at Cleavers Dyke, a peninsula where the Isla joins the Tay, and where there are remains of a large Roman camp.]

to support her ambitious pretensions to sovereignty; and 170 A.D. the Romans, abandoning the more northern wall of Antonine, retired behind that erected under the auspices of the emperor Hadrian in 120. They doubtless retained possession of such forts and stations, of which there were many, as served the purpose of outworks to protect the southern rampart.

Under this enlargement of their territories, and awed by the Roman eagles, the Caledonians remained quiet till the beginning of the third century, when in the year 207 open war again broke out betwixt them and the Romans. In 208 the emperor Severus at the age of threescore undertook in person the final conquest of the Caledonians at the head of a very numerous army. He cut down forests, made roads through marshes and over mountains, and endeavoured to secure the districts which he overran. But the Caledonians, while they shunned a general action, carried on, with the best policy of a country assailed by a superior force, a destructive warfare on the flanks and rear of the invading army; and the labours of the Romans, with the fatigues and privations to which they were exposed, wasted them so much, that they are said by the historian Dion[k] to have lost fifty thousand men, equal probably to more than half of their force. Severus, however, advanced as far as the Moray Firth, and noticed a length of days and shortness of nights unknown in the southern latitudes.

In this boreal region the emperor made a peace, illusory on the part of the barbarians, who surrendered some arms, and promised submission. Severus returned from his distant and destructive excursion, borne as usual in his litter at the head of his army, and sharing their hardships and privations. He had no sooner reached York on his return than he received information that the whole Caledonian tribes were again in arms. He issued orders for collecting his forces and invading the country anew, with the resolution to spare neither sex nor age, but totally to extirpate the natives of these wild regions, whose minds seemed as tameless as their climate or country. But death spared the emperor the guilt of so atrocious a campaign. Severus expired February, 211. His son restored to the Caledonians the territories which his father had overrun rather than subdued; and the wall of Antoninus, the more northern of the two ramparts, was once again tacitly recognised as the boundary of the Roman province and limit of the empire.

From this time the war in Britain was on the part of the Romans merely defensive, while on that of the free Britons[l] it became an incursive predatory course of hostilities, that was seldom intermitted. In this species of contest the colonised Britons, who had lost the art of fighting for themselves, were for some time defended by the swords of their conquerors. In 368, and again in 398, Roman succours were sent to Britain, and repressed successfully the fury of the barbarians. In 422 a legion was again sent to support the colonists; but, tired of the task of protecting them, the Romans, in 446, ostentatiously restored the Southern Britons to freedom, and exhorting them henceforth to look to their own defence, evacuated Britain for ever. The boast that Scotland's more remote regions were never conquered by the Romans is not a vain one; for the army of Severus invaded Caledonia, without subduing it, and even his extreme career stopped on the southern side of Moray Firth, and left the northern and western Highlands unassailed.[m]

[l] In 360 the "Scots" first appear in history in the pages of Ammianus along with the "Picts." He records the descent of these tribes upon the Roman province at this time in words which imply that they had before passed the southern wall and states that the Scots four years later caused the Britons frequent anxiety.]

ROMAN RELICS IN BRITAIN

The Roman Empire in Britain left widely different results in the southern and in the northern portions of the island. The former became an organised, and in the centre of population a civilised province, in which Latin was spoken by the educated, the arts cultivated, Roman law administered, and Christianity introduced. The latter, with the partial exception of the district south of the wall of Antoninus, remained in the possession of barbarous heathen races, whose customs had altered little since Roman writers described them as similar to, though ruder than, those of the Celts in Gaul before its conquest. No Roman towns existed, and only one of two villas have been found north of York, and quite near to that place. The camp, the altar, the sepulchral monument, possibly a single temple (the mysterious Arthur's Oven or Julius's Hof on the Carron, now destroyed, but described by Boece[n] and Buchanan[o] and figured by Camden[p]), the stations along the wall, the roads with their milestones, a number of coins (chiefly prior to the second century), and a few traces of baths are the only vestiges of Roman occupation in this part of Britain. So completely had Britain passed beyond the serious attention of the emperor of the east that in the beginning of the sixth century Belisarius, Justinian's general, sarcastically offered it to the Goths in exchange for Sicily; while Procopius,[q] the Byzantine historian, has nothing to tell of it except that a wall was built across it by the ancients, the direction of which he supposes to have been from north to south, separating the fruitful and populous east from the barren serpent-haunted western district, and the strange fable that its natives were excused from tribute to the kings of the Franks in return for the service of ferrying the souls of the dead from the mainland to the shores of Britain.

THE EARLIEST RACES IN SCOTLAND

It is to the Celts, the first known inhabitants of Britain, that our inquiry next turns. This people were not indigenous, but came by sea to Britain. A conjecture, not yet proved, identifies as inhabitants of Britain before the Celts a branch of the race now represented in Europe only by the Basques. Amongst many names of British tribes in Latin writers three occur, two with increasing frequency, as the empire drew near its close—Britons, Picts, and Scots—denoting distinct branches of the Celts. Britain was the Latin name for the larger island and Britons for its inhabitants; Albion, a more ancient title, has left traces in English poetry, and in the old name Alba or Albany for northern Scotland. The Britons in Roman times occupied, if not the whole island, at least as far north as the Forth and Clyde. Their language, British, called later Cymric, survives in modern Welsh and the Breton of Brittany. Cornish, which became extinct in the seventeenth century, was a dialect of the same speech. Its extent northwards is marked by the Cumbraes—the islands of Cymry in the Clyde—and Cumberland, a district originally stretching from the Clyde to the Mersey.

The Picts, a Latin name for the northern tribes who preserved longest the custom of painting their bodies, called themselves Cruithne. Their original settlements appear to have been in the Orkneys, the north of Scotland, and the northeast of Ireland—the modern counties of Antrim and Down. They spread in Scotland, before or shortly after the Romans left, as far south as the Pentland Hills, which, like the Pentland Firth, are thought to preserve their name, occupied Fife, and perhaps left a detachment in

Galloway. Often crossing, probably sometimes using, the deserted wall of Hadrian, they caused it to acquire their name—a name of awe to the provincial Britons and their English conquerors. Their language, though Celtic, is still a problem difficult to solve, as so few words have been preserved. Its almost complete absorption in that of the Gaels or Scots suggests that it did not differ widely from theirs, and with this agrees the fact that Columba and his followers had little difficulty in preaching to them, though they sometimes required an interpreter. Some philologists believe it to have been more allied to Cymric, and even to the Cornish variety; but the proof is inconclusive.

The Scots came originally to Ireland, one of whose names, from the sixth to the thirteenth century, was Scotia; Scotia Major it was called after part of northern Britain in the eleventh century had acquired the same name. Irish traditions represent the Scots as Milesians from Spain. Their Celtic name Gaidheal, Goidel, or Gael appears more akin to that of the natives of Gaul. They had joined the Picts in their attack on the Roman province in the fourth century, and perhaps had already settlements in the west of Scotland; but the transfer of the name was due to the rise and progress of the tribe called Dalriad, which migrated from Dalriada in the north of Antrim to Argyll and the Isles in the beginning of the sixth century. Their language, Gaidhelic, was the ancient form of the Irish of Ireland and the Gaelic of the Scottish Highlanders. No clear conclusion has been reached as to the meaning of Briton, Cruithne, Scot, and Gael.

The order of the arrival of the three divisions of the Celtic race and the extent of the islands they occupied are uncertain. Bede[r] in the beginning of the eighth century gives the most probable account.

"This island at the present time contains five nations, the Angles, Britons, Scots, Picts, and Latins, each in its own dialect cultivating one and the same sublime study of divine truth. The Latin tongue by the study of the Scriptures has become common to all the rest. At first this island had no other inhabitants but the Britons, from whom it derived its name, and who, carried over into Britain, as is reported, from Armorica, possessed themselves of the southern parts. When they had made themselves masters of the greatest part of the island, beginning at the south, the Picts from Scythia, as is reported, putting to sea in a few long ships, were driven by the winds beyond the shores of Britain, and arrived on the northern coast of Ireland, where, finding the nation of the Scots, they begged to be allowed to settle among them, but could not succeed in obtaining their request. The Scots answered that the island could not contain them both, but 'we can give you good advice what to do: we know there is another island not far from ours, to the east, which we often see at a distance, when the days are clear. If you go thither you will obtain a settlement; or, if any should oppose, you shall have our aid.' The Picts accordingly sailing over into Britain began to inhabit the northern part of the island. In process of time Britain, after the Britons and Picts, received a third nation, the Scots, who, migrating from Ireland under their leader Reuda, either by fair means or force secured those settlements amongst the Picts which they still possess."

This statement in its main points (apart from the country from which the Picts are said to have come) is confirmed by Latin authors, in whose meagre notices the Picts appear before the Scots are mentioned, and both occur later than the Britons; by the legends of the three Celtic races; by the narratives of Gildas[s] and Nennius,[t] the only British Celtic historians, the *Irish Annals*,[u] and the *Pictish Chronicle*.[v] It is in harmony with the facts con-

tained in the *Life of Columba*,[w] written in the seventh century, but based on an earlier life, by one of his successors, Cumine,[c] abbot of Iona, who may have seen Columba and must have known persons who had.

The northern Britain brought before us in connection with Columba in the latter half of the sixth century is peopled by Cruithne or Picts in the north and central Highlands, and by Scots in Argyll and the Isles; there is a British king ruling the southwest from the rock on the Clyde then known as Alckyth or Alclyde, now Dumbarton; and Saxony, under Northumbrian kings, is the name given to the district south of the Forth, including the eastern Lowlands, where by this time Angles had settled.[1] The scarcity of Celtic history belonging to Scotland indicates that its tribes were less civilised than their Irish and Welsh kin.

THE CONVERSION OF SCOTLAND: THE WORK OF ST. COLUMBA (563 A.D.)

It is in the records of the Christian church that we first touch historic ground after the Romans left. Although the legends of Christian superstition are almost as fabulous as those of heathen ignorance, we can follow with reasonable certainty the conversion of the Scottish Celts. Three Celtic saints venerated throughout Scottish history—Ninian, Kentigern, Columba—Patrick, the patron saint of Ireland, David, the patron saint of Wales, and Cuthbert, the apostle of Lothian and patron saint of Durham, belonging to the Celtic church, though probably not a Celt, mark the common advance of the Celtic races from heathenism to Christianity between the end of the fourth and the end of the sixth century. The conversion of Scotland in the time of Pope Victor I in the second century is unhistoric, and the legend of St. Rule (*Regulus*) having brought the relics of St. Andrew in the reign of Constantius from Achaia to St. Andrews, where the Pictish king built a church and endowed lands in his honour, is, if historical at all, antedated by some centuries. There is no proof that amongst the places which the Romans had not reached, but which had accepted Christianity when Tertullian wrote, there was any part of modern Scotland; but, as Christian bishops from Britain without fixed locality begin to appear in the fourth century, possibly the first converts in Scotland had been made before its close.

Scotland gave Patrick to Ireland, and Ireland returned the gift in Columba.[2] A rare good fortune has preserved in Adamnan's *Life*[w] the tradition of the acts of the greatest Celtic saint of Scotland, and a picture of the monastic Celtic church in the sixth and seventh centuries—an almost solitary fragment of history between the last of the Roman and the first of the Anglo-Saxon historians. Born in 521 at Gartan in Donegal, Columba spent his youth at Moville under Abbot Finian, called the foster-father of the Irish saints from the number of his disciples. Here he was ordained deacon, and, after completing his education, received priest's orders. In 561 he took part in the battle of Culdrevny (in Connaught), when the chiefs of the Hui Neill (Dalriad Scots), his kindred, defeated Diarmid (*Diarmait*), a king of eastern Ireland. Excommunicated by the synod for his share in the battle—according to one account fought at his instance—and moved by missionary

[1] So Skene[c] notes "the four kingdoms" of that early period: First, the Scottish Dalriada; second, the kingdom of the Picts; third, the Britons of Strathclyde or Alclyde; fourth, the Angles of Bernicia.]

[2] Scottish history may be emphatically said to begin with Columba's landing in Iona about the year 563. By the great work he achieved Columba fairly takes his place with the founders of nations, who have a niche apart in the annals of mankind.—Hume Brown.[2]]

zeal, he crossed two years afterwards the narrow sea which separates Antrim from Argyll with twelve companions and founded the monastery of Iona, on the little island to the west of Mull, given him by his kinsman Conall.

The Dalriad Scots, who had settled in the western islands of Scotland and in Lorne early in the sixth century, were already Christians; but Columba soon after visited the Pictish king Brude, the son of Mailochon, whom he converted, and from whom he received a confirmation of Conall's grant.

He frequently revisited Ireland and took part in its wars; the militant spirit is strongly marked in his character; but most of his time was devoted to the administration of his monastery of Iona, and to the planting of other churches and religious houses in the neighbouring isles and mainland, till his death in 597. The most celebrated of his disciples were Baithene, his successor as abbot; Machar, to whom the church of Aberdeen traces its origin; Cormac, the navigator, the first missionary to the Orkneys, who perhaps reached the Faroes and Iceland; and Drostan, the founder of the Scottish monastery of Deer.

The character of the Celtic church of Columba was, like its mother church in Ireland, modified by migration to a country only in small part Christian. It was a missionary church, not diocesan but monastic, with an abbot who was a presbyter, not a bishop, for its head.

It was a form of Christianity fitted to excite the wonder and gain the affection of the heathen amongst whom the monks came, practising as well as preaching the self-denying doctrine of the cross. The religion of the Celts is a shadowy outline on the page of history. Notices of idols are rare. They had not the art necessary for an ideal representation of the human form, though they learned to decorate the rude stone monuments of an earlier age with elaborate tracery. They had no temples. The mysterious circles of massive stones, with no covering but the heavens, may have served for places of worship, as well as memorials of the more illustrious dead. The names of gods are conspicuously absent, though antiquaries trace the worship of the sun in the Beltane fires and other rites; but in the account of their adversaries we read of demons whom they invoked. Divination by rods or twigs, incantations or spells, strange rites connected with the elements of water and of fire, "choice of weather, lucky times, the watching of the voice of birds," are mentioned as amongst the practices of the Druids, a priestly caste revered for superior learning and, if we may accept Caesar[bb] as an authority, highly educated. This, rather than fetish or animal worship, appears to have been their cult.

Whatever its precise form, this religion made a feeble resistance to the Christian, taught by the monks, with learning drawn from Scripture and some acquaintance with Latin as well as Christian literature, and enforced by the example of a pure life and the hope of a future world. The charms of music and poetry, in which the Celt delighted, were turned to sacred use. Columba was a protector of the bards, himself a bard.

It is not with the "screod" our destiny is,
Nor with the bird on the top of the twig,
Nor with the trunk of a knotted tree,
Nor with a "seadan" hand in hand.

I adore not the voice of birds,
Nor the "screod" nor destiny nor lots in this world,
Nor a son nor chance nor woman;
My Druid is Christ, the Son of God,
Christ, Son of Mary, the Great Abbot,
The Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

Adamnan[w] relates miracles of Columba scarcely above the level of the practices of the Druids. But superstition is not vanquished by superstition. Celibacy was a protest against the promiscuous intercourse for which Christian fathers condemn the Celts. Fasts and vigils contrasted with the gross, perhaps cannibal, practices still in use. The intense faith in Christ of lives such as Patrick's and Columba's won the victory of the Cross.

STRATHCLYDE, DALRIADA, AND CONFLICTS WITH THE FUTURE ENGLAND

When we pass to civil history our knowledge is restricted to a list of names and battles; but the labours of recent scholars allow a brief account of the Celtic races from the end of the sixth to their union in the middle of the ninth century, in part hypothetical, yet a great advance on the absolute blank which made historians of the eighteenth century decline the task in despair.

The Britons, whose chief king had ruled at Alclyde, were separated from their fellow countrymen, the Cymry in Wales, shortly after Columba's death by the rapid advance of the Anglian kingdom of Northumberland, founded in the middle of the sixth century by Ida of Bamborough. One of his successors, Æthelfrith, struck the blow, completed by the wars of the next king, Eadwin, which severed modern Wales from British Cumbria and Strathclyde. Even Mona, the holy isle of both heathen and Christian Britons, became Anglesea, the island of the Angles. A later incursion towards the end of the century reached Carlisle and separated the kingdom of Alclyde from English Cumbria, and reduced for a short time Strathclyde to a subject province. The decline of the Northumbrian kingdom in the eighth century enabled the kings of Strathclyde to reassert their independence and maintain their rule within a restricted district more nearly answering to the valley of the Clyde, and in Galloway, in which there are some faint indications of a Pictish population, till it was united to the kingdom of Scone by the election of Donald, brother of Constantine II, king of the Scots, to its throne.

Of the Scots of Dalriada somewhat more is known. Their history is interwoven with that of the Picts and meets at many points that of the Angles of Northumberland, who during the seventh and the beginning of the eighth century, when their kings were the greatest in Britain, endeavoured to push their boundaries beyond the Forth and the Clyde. The history of this kingdom forms part of that of Scotland during these centuries. It planted in Lothian the seed from which the civilisation of Scotland grew. To an early period of the contest between the Angles and the Britons, and to the country between the Forth and Tweed and Solway, perhaps belong the battles magnified by successive poets who celebrated the hero of British mediæval romance. Whether these battles were really fought in southern Scotland and on the borders, and Arthur's Seat was one of his strongholds, still "unknown is the grave of Arthur."

Before Eadwin's death (633) his kingdom extended to the Forth, and the future capital of Scotland received the name of Eadwinsburgh from him in place of the Mynyd Agned and Dunedin of the British and Gaelic Celts. During the reign of Oswald (635-642) the Northumbrians were reconverted by Aidan. Oswald's brother Oswy extended the dominion of Northumberland over a portion of the country of the northern Picts beyond the Forth. In his reign lived Cuthbert, the apostle of Lothian. His name is preserved in St. Cuthbert's church at Edinburgh and in Kirkcudbright. To the same period belong two inscriptions, the earliest records of Anglian speech, one on the

cross of Bewcastle in Cumberland, commemorating Alfred, a son of Oswy; the other, taken perhaps from a poem of Caedmon, at Ruthwell in Dumfries.

Neither the Tweed nor the Solway was at this period a line of division. Oswy was succeeded by his son Egfrid (685), against whom the Picts successfully rebelled; and the Scots and a considerable part of the Britons also recovered their freedom. Anglian bishops, however, continued to hold the see of Whithorn during the whole of the eighth century. The Northumbrian kings, more successful in the west than in the east, gradually advanced from Carlisle along the coast of Ayr, and even took Alclyde. In what is now England their power declined from the middle of the eighth century before the rise of Mercia. Shortly before the commencement of the ninth century the descents of the Danes began, which led to the conflict for England between them and the Saxons of Wessex. The success of the latter under Alfred and his descendants transferred the supremacy to the princes of the southern kingdom, who, gradually advancing northwards, before the close of that century united all England under their sceptre.



OLD CASTLE IN DUNDI

Before its fall Northumberland produced three great men, the founders of English literature and learning, though two of them wrote chiefly in Latin—Caedmon, the monk of Whitby, the first English poet; Bede, the monk of Jarrow, the first English historian; and Alcuin, the monk of York, whose school might have become the first English university, had he not lived in the decline of Northumbrian greatness and been attracted to the court of Charlemagne. It is to this early dawn of talent among the Angles of Northumberland that England owes its name of the land of the Angles and its language that of English. The northern dialect spoken by the Angles was the speech of Lothian, north as well as south (in Northumberland) of the Tweed, and was preserved in the broad Scotch of the Lowlands, while modern English was formed from the southern dialect of Alfred, Chaucer, and Wycliffe.

This early Teutonic civilisation of the lowland district of Scotland, in spite of the Danish wars, the Celtic conquest, and border feuds, never died out, and it became at a later time the centre from which the Anglo-Saxon character permeated the whole of Scotland, without suppressing, as in England, the Celtic. Their union, more or less complete in different districts, is, after the difference in the extent of the Roman conquest, the second main fact of Scottish history, distinguishing it from that of England. Both, to a great degree, were the result of physical geography. The mountains and arms of the sea repelled invaders and preserved longer the ancient race and its customs.

EARLY PICTISH KINGS: BRUDE (706 A.D.) TO ANGUS MC FERGUS (731–761 A.D.)

It is necessary, before tracing the causes which led to the union of races in Scotland, to form some notion of northern Scotland during the century preceding Kenneth Macalpine, during which—the light of Adamnan [w] and Bede [r] being withdrawn—we are left to the guidance of the *Pictish Chronicle* [v] and the *Irish Annals*.[u] The Picts whom Columba converted appear to have been consolidated under a single monarch. Brude, the son of Mailochon, ruled from Inverness to Iona on the west and on the north to the Orkneys. A sub-king or chief from these islands appears at his court.

Although there exists a complete list of the Pictish kings from Brude, son of Mailochon, to Brude, son of Ferat, conquered by Kenneth Macalpine, and of the Scots of Dalriada from Aidan (converted by Columba) to Kenneth Macalpine, with their regnal years, it is only here and there that a figure emerges sufficiently distinct to enter history. Parts of these lists are fictitious and others doubtful, nor do we know over what extent of country the various monarchs ruled. Of the figures more or less prominent amongst the Pictish kings are Brude, the son of Derili, the contemporary of Adamnan,[w] who died in 706, being then styled king of Fortren. Nechtan, another son of Derili, was the contemporary of Bede,[r] who gives (710) the letter of Ceolfrid, abbot of Wearmouth, to him when he adopted the Roman Easter and the tonsure. Six years later Nechtan expelled the Columbite monks from his dominions. They retired to Dalriada, as their brethren in Northumberland had done when a similar change was made by Oswy. Nechtan also asked for masons to build a church in the Roman style, to be dedicated to St. Peter, and several churches in honour of that apostle were founded within his territory. Shortly after, Egbert, an Anglian monk, persuaded the community of Hy (Iona) itself to conform, but too late to lead to the union of the churches of the Scots and the Picts, which were separated also by political causes.

Fifteen years later the greatest Pictish monarch, Angus MacFergus, after a contest with more than one rival gained the supremacy, which he held for thirty years (731-761). In revenge for the capture of his son Brude by Dungal, son of Selvach, king of the Dalriad Scots, he attacked Argyll, and laid waste the whole country, and put in chains the sons of Selvach. He next conquered (739), and it is said drowned, Talorgan, son of Drostan, king of Athole, one of his rivals, and resuming the Dalriad war, reduced the whole of the western Highlands. The Britons of Strathclyde were assailed by a brother of Angus, who fell in battle; and Angus, with his ally Eadbert, king of the Northumberland, retaliated by burning Alclyde (756). About this time (752) Coilin Droighteach (the Bridgemaker), abbot of Iona, removed most of the relics of his abbey to Ireland, and this is the most probable date of the legend of the relics of St. Andrew being brought from Patras to St. Andrews, where the sons of a Pictish king, Hungus (Angus MacFergus), who was absent in Argyll, or, according to another version, Hungus himself, dedicated Kilrighmont (St. Andrews) and the district called the Boar's Chase to St. Andrew. The ascription of the foundation to an earlier king of the same name in the fourth century was due to the wish to give the chief bishopric of Scotland an antiquity greater than Iona and Glasgow, greater even than Canterbury and York.

After the death of Angus MacFergus no king is connected with any event of importance except Constantine, son of Fergus (died 820), who is said to have founded the church of Dunkeld—226 years after Garnard, son of Donald, founded Abernethy. This fact, though the earlier date is not certain, points

to the Perthshire lowlands as having been for a long time the centre of the chief Pictish monarchy.

Probably Scone was during this period, as it certainly became afterwards, the political capital; and the kings latterly are sometimes called kings of Fortren. If so, the chief monarchy under the pressure of the Norse attacks had passed south from Inverness, but it is not possible to say whether there may not have continued to be independent Pictish rulers in the north.

The annals of Dalriada are even more perplexing than those of the Picts after the middle of the sixth century. There is the usual list of kings, but they are too numerous, and their reigns are calculated on an artificial system. The forty kings from Fergus MacEarc to Fergus MacFerchard, who would carry the date of the Scottish settlement back to three centuries at least before the birth of Christ, have been driven from the pale of history by modern criticism. The date of the true settlement was that of the later Fergus, the son of Earc, in 503. From that date down to Selvach, the king who was conquered by Angus MacFergus about 730, the names of the kings can be given with reasonable certainty from Adamnan,[w] Bede,[x] and the *Irish Annals*.[a] But the subsequent names in the Scottish chronicles are untrustworthy, and it is an ingenious conjecture that some may have been inserted to cover the century following 730, during which Dalriada is supposed to have continued under Pictish rule. This view is not free from its own difficulties.

PICTS AND SCOTS UNITED BY KENNETH MACALPINE (844–860 A.D.) THE NORSE INVASIONS (787–872 A.D.)

Whatever may be the solution ultimately reached as to Kenneth Macalpine's antecedents, his accession represents a revolution which led by degrees to a complete union of the Picts and Scots and the establishment of one kingdom—at first called Albania and afterwards Scotia—which included all Scotland north of the Forth and Clyde, except Caithness, Sutherland, Orkney and Shetland (the northern isles or Nordreyar), the Hebrides (the southern isles or Sudreyar), and Man; these fell for a time into the hands of the Northmen. This revolution had two causes or concomitants, one religious and the other political. Kenneth Macalpine in the seventh year of his reign (851) brought the relics of St. Columba from Iona to a church he built at Dunkeld, and on his death he was buried at Iona.

A little earlier the Irish Culdees [or Keledei], then in their first vigour, received their earliest grant in Scotland at Loch Leven from Brude, one of the last kings of the Picts, and soon found their way into all the principal Columbite monasteries, of which they represent a reform. The Irish monastic system did not yet give place to the Roman form of diocesan episcopacy. The abbot of Dunkeld succeeded to the position of the abbot of Iona, and held it until the beginning of the tenth century, giving ecclesiastical sanction to the sovereign at Scone, as Columba had done in the case of Aidan.

As early as the beginning of the eighth century, however, a Pictish bishop of Scotland appears at a council of Rome, and he had at least two successors as sole bishops or primates of the Celtic church before dioceses were formed. Scotland north of the firths thus remained at a lower stage of church organisation than England, where a complete system of dioceses had been established, in great part answering to the original Anglo-Saxon kingdoms or their divisions, with Canterbury and York at their head as rivals for the primacy. But the Celtic clergy who now conformed to the Roman ritual preserved some knowledge of the Latin language, and a connection with Rome as the

centre of Latin Christianity, which was certain to result in the adoption of the form of the church government now almost universal.

The other circumstances which had a powerful influence on the foundation of the monarchy of Scone and the consolidation of the Celtic tribes was the descent on all the coasts of Britain and Ireland of the Norse and Danish vikings. The Danes chiefly attacked England from Northumberland and along the whole east and part of the southern seaboard; the Norsemen attacked Scotland, especially the islands and the north and west coasts, going as far south as the Isle of Man and the east and south of Ireland.

It had now become essential to the existence of a Scottish Celtic kingdom that its centre should be removed farther inland. Argyll and the isles, including Iona, were in the path of danger. No monk would now have chosen



DRYBURGH ABBEY
One of the earliest Abbeys founded in Scotland

island homes for safety. In 787 the first arrival of the viking ships is noticed in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.[cc] Some years later the *Irish Annals*[a] mention that all "the islands of Britain were wasted and much harassed by the Danes." Iona was thrice plundered between 802 and 826. A poem composed not long after the event states that the shrine of Columba was one of the objects in search of which the Northmen came, and that it was concealed by the monks. It was to preserve the relics from this fate that some of them were transferred by Droighteach, the last abbot to Ireland and others by Kenneth to Dunkeld. For half a century the vikings were content with plunder, but in the middle of the ninth century they began to form settlements. In 849 Olaf the White established himself at Dublin as king of Hy Ivar; in 867 a Danish kingdom was set up in Northumberland; and Harold the Fairhaired, who in 872 became sole king of Norway, soon after led an expedition against the vikings, who had already seized Orkney and Shetland, and established an earldom under Rognwald, earl of Moeri, whose son Hrolf the Ganger conquered Normandy in the beginning of the next century.

The position of Scotland therefore, when Kenneth united the Picts and Scots was this: central Scotland from sea to sea—Argyll and the isles, Perth-

shire, Angus and Mearns, and Fife—was under the dominion of the king who had Scone for his capital; the southwest district—the valley of the Clyde, Ayr, Dumfries, and Galloway—was under a British king at Dumbarton; the southeast district or Lothian was part of "Saxon" or "Sassenach Land"—the general Celtic name for the country of the Anglo-Saxons, but now owing to the divided state of Northumberland held by different lords; the north of Scotland was under independent Celtic chiefs, as Moray and Mar, or already occupied by Norsemen, as Caithness, Orkney and Shetland, and the Hebrides. The whole Celtic population was Christian, but the Norse invaders were still heathen.

The Norsemen both at home and in their colonies in Scotland embraced Christianity under Olaf Tryggvason in the end of the tenth century; but along with Christianity they retained the old heathen sentiments and customs, which, like their language, mingled with and modified the Celtic character on the western but far more on the northern coasts and islands, where the population was largely Norse. A strain neither Celtic nor Teutonic nor Norman occasionally meets us in Scottish history: it is derived from the blood or memory of the Norse vikings.

GROWTH OF THE CELTIC KINGDOM OF SCONE

During this period, though the Celtic annals are still obscure, we can trace the united Celtic kingdom growing on all sides under Kenneth's successors—southward by the conquest of Lothian on the east and by the union of the Strathclyde kingdom on the west, and for a time by holding English Cumbria under the English kings, and northward by the gradual incorporation of Angus, Mearns, Moray, and possibly the southern district of Aberdeen. Kenneth Macalpine's reign of sixteen years (844-860) was a time of incessant war. He invaded Saxony (Lothian) six times, burned Dunbar, and seized Melrose (already a rich abbey, though on a different site from the Cistercian foundation of David I), while the Britons (of Strathclyde) burned Dunblane, and the Danes wasted the land of the Picts as far as Cluny and Dunkeld. After they left Kenneth rebuilt the church of Dunkeld and replaced in it Columba's relics. He died at Forteviot and was buried at Iona.

He was succeeded by his brother Donald I (861-863), who with his people the Gaels, established the laws of Aidan [or Aed], son of Eachdach, at Forteviot. Aidan was a Dalriad king of the eighth century; but the contents of his laws are unknown. Perhaps "Tanistry," by which the successor to the king was elected during his life from the eldest and worthiest of his kin, usually a collateral in preference to a descendant, was one feature, for it certainly prevailed amongst the Irish and Scottish Gaels. The next king, who succeeded in accordance with that custom, was Constantine I (863-877), son of Kenneth. His reign was occupied with conflicts with the Norsemen. Olaf the White, the Norse king of Dublin, laid waste the country of the Picts and Britons year after year, and in 870 reduced Alclyde, the British capital; but, as he disappears from history, he probably fell in a subsequent raid. He is said to have married a daughter of Kenneth, and some claim in her right may account for his Scottish wars. In the south the Danish leader Halfdan devastated Northumberland and Galloway; while in the north Thorsten the "Red," a Norse viking of the Hebrides, who afterwards went to Iceland and figures in the sagas, conquered the coast of Caithness and Sutherland as far as Ekkials Bakki (the *Oikel*). But he was killed in the following year.

Constantine met with the same fate at a battle at Inverdovat in Fife in

877, at the hands of another band of northern marauders. His death led to a disputed succession. His heir, according to the custom of tanistry, was his brother Aodh, who was killed by his own people after a year. Eocha, the son of Run, a king of the Britons, claimed in right of his mother, a daughter of Kenneth, according to the Pictish law, and governed at first along with Ciric or Grig, his tutor; then Grig ruled alone, until they were both expelled from the kingdom, and Donald II, son of Constantine, came to the throne (889). The *Pictish Chronicle*[v] reports that during the government of Grig the Scottish church was freed from subjection to the laws of the Picts (meaning probably from liability to secular service). Grig is also said to have subdued all Bernicia and "almost Anglia," a statement which if confined to the north of the Northumbrian kingdom is not improbable, for it had then fallen into anarchy through the attacks of the Danes. The church of Ecclesgreig near Montrose possibly commemorates Grig and indicates the northward extension of the monarchy of Scone. In the reign of Donald II (889-900) son of Constantine I, Scotland was again attacked by the Norsemen. Sigurd, the Norse earl of Orkney, seized Caithness, Sutherland, Ross, and part of Moray, where he built the fort of Burghead, between the Findhorn and the Spey. Farther south the Danes took Dunnottar, where Donald was slain.

After his time the name of the kingdom of Scone was no longer Pictavia, but Albania [Alban] or Alba, a more ancient title of northern Scotland, perhaps resumed to mark the growth of the Scottish-Pictish monarchy in the central and eastern Highlands.

THE KINGDOM OF ALBA: CONSTANTINE II, THE FIRST GREAT SCOTTISH KING (900–940 A.D.)

Donald II was followed by Constantine II (900-940), son of Aodh and grandson of Kenneth, and his long reign is a proof of his power. He was the greatest Scottish king, as Angus MacFergus had been the greatest of the pure Pictish race. In the first part of his reign his kingdom was still beset by the Norsemen. In his eighth year Rognwald, the Danish king of Dublin, ravaged Dunblane. Six years later the same leader was defeated on the Tyne (? in East Lothian) by Constantine. Rognwald escaped and reappears some years later as king of Northumberland. This is a battle whose site and incidents are told in a conflicting manner by different chronicles; but it appears certain that Constantine saved his dominions from further serious attacks by the vikings. He had now to meet a more formidable foe—the west Saxons, whose kings, the descendants of Alfred, were steadily moving northwards.

In spite of his wars, Constantine found time in the early part of his reign for two important reforms—one ecclesiastical, the other civil. In his sixth year (906) he, along with Cellah, bishop of St. Andrew's—the first of twelve Celtic bishops of Scotland—swore on the Hill of Faith at Scone (906) that "the laws and discipline of the faith, and the rights of the churches and the gospel, should be preserved on an equal footing with the Scots." This obscure notice of the *Pictish Chronicle*[v] indicates the establishment or restoration of the Scottish church, which the Pictish kings had oppressed, to an equality with that of the Pictish. As a sign of the union the crozier of St. Columba, called Cathbuadth ("victory in battle") was borne before Constantine's armies. Two years later, on the death of Donald king of the Britons of Strathclyde, Constantine procured the election of his own brother Donald to that kingdom.

Though he thus strengthened church and state, Alfred's successors were too powerful for him. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* [cc] records of Eadward the Elder, that in 924, having built a fort at Bakewell, in the Peak of Derbyshire, "the king and nation of the Scots, Rognwald the Northumbrian and others, and also the king of the Strathclyde Welsh and his people, chose him for father and lord."[1] His son Athelstan is related by the same authority to have subjugated all the kings in the island, amongst whom are mentioned by name Howell king of the west Welsh, Constantine king of the Scots, Owen king of Gwent, and Eldred of Bamborough, who "made peace with oaths at Emmet and renounced every kind of idolatry." These entries are not beyond suspicion. The Peak was a distant point for the Scottish king. Rognwald, the Northumbrian, died in 920, according to the *Irish Annals;*[u] Howell and Constantine were already Christians and could not have then renounced idolatry. If there is any truth in the submission of the Scots to Edward the Elder it did not last, for some years later the *Chronicle* states that Athelstan went into Scotland with a land and sea force and ravaged a great part of it. A league of the northern kings against Athelstan was dispersed (937) by his great victory at Brunanburh (? Wendun, between Aldborough and Knaresborough, according to Skene[c]). The forces allied against him were those of Constantine, his son-in-law Olaf, son of Sitric (called also the Red) and another Olaf, son of Godfrey, from Ireland, besides the Strathclyde and north Welsh kings. For Athelstan there fought, in addition to his own west Saxons, the Mercians and some mercenaries from Norway, amongst them Egil, son of Skalagrim, the hero of a famous Icelandic saga.

No greater slaughter had been known since the Anglo-Saxons, "proud war-smiths," as their poet calls them, overcame the Welsh and gained England. A son of Constantine was slain, four kings, and seven earls. Constantine himself escaped to Scotland, where in old age he resigned the crown for the tonsure and became abbot of the Culdees of St. Andrews. Athelstan died two years after Brunanburh, but before his death granted Northumberland to Eric Bloody-Axe, son of Harold Haarfagr, who was almost immediately expelled by the Irish Danes. Athelstan, even after so great a victory, could not annex Northumberland, much less Scotland, to his dominions.

FROM MALCOLM I TO MALCOLM II (943–1034 A.D.)

Constantine's successor, Malcolm I (943-954), son of Donald II, began his reign by invading Moray and killing Cellah, its chief king. Meantime the Danish kings of Dublin had been endeavouring to maintain their hold on Northumberland with the aid of the Cumbrians, whose country they had already settled, and in this attempt the two Olafs had a temporary success; but Eadmund, the successor of Athelstan, expelled Olaf, son of Sitric, from Northumberland, and in the following year, to prevent the Cumbrians from again aiding the Danes, he "harried Cumberland and gave it all up to Malcolm, king of Scots, on condition that he should be his fellow-worker both on sea

[1] "The question of the independence of Scotland, and the bearing of these passages upon it, has been very ably discussed on the English side by Freeman [ii]; and on the Scottish side by Robertson [hh]. It is unnecessary here to do more than refer to this discussion, and to add the opinion that Mr. Freeman has failed on the whole successfully to meet Mr. Robertson's criticism. Mr. Robertson was not the first to see the fatal objection to the statement in the *Saxon Chronicle* [cc] that Rognwald, king of Northumbria, took Eadward for his father and lord in 921, while he died in 921. Florence [jj] of Worcester saw it before him, and places the event under the year 921."—W. F. Skene.[c] Robertson's argument will be found in part in the next chapter.]

and land." This was the same policy which led his father to call in the aid of Eric Bloody-Axe. The kings of Wessex wisely granted what they could not hold to the best northern warrior, Celt or Scandinavian, under conditions which acknowledged more or less strictly their supremacy. Malcolm died fighting either against the men of Mearns or of Moray. Three kings followed (954-971)—Indulf, son of Constantine, Duff, son of Malcolm, Colin, son of Indulf; in the reign of Indulf the Northumbrians evacuated Edinburgh, which thenceforward was Scottish ground. A Saxon burgh, a fort, perhaps a town, was now for the first time within the Celtic kingdom.

Kenneth II (971-995), son of Malcolm, soon after his accession made a raid on Northumberland as far south as Cleveland. Kenneth II (971-995) was followed, as he had been preceded, by insignificant kings—Constantine, son of Colin, and Kenneth, son of Duff. His son, Malcolm II (1005-1034), gained the throne by the slaughter of his predecessor Duff at Monzievaird, and at once turned his arms southwards; but his first attempt to conquer northern Northumberland was repelled. About the same time Sigurd, earl of Orkney, having defeated Finlay, mormaer of Moray, became ruler, according to the Norse saga, of "Ross and Moray, Sutherland, and the dales" of Caithness. He had conflicts with other Scottish chiefs, but appears to have made terms with the kings of both Norway and Scotland—with Olaf Tryggvason by becoming Christian and with Malcolm by marrying his daughter.

He fell at Clontarf (1014), the memorable battle near Dublin, by which Brian Boru and his son Murcadh defeated the Danish kings in Ireland and restored a Celtic dynasty. While the Celts of Ireland were thus expelling the Danish invaders and in Scotland there was divided possession, the result of compromise and of intermarriage, England fell under the dominion of the Danish kings Sweyn and Canute. Profiting by the distracted state of northern England, Malcolm again invaded Northumberland with Owen of Cumbria, called the Bald, and by the victory of Carham (1018) near Coldstream won Lothian, which remained from that time an integral part of Scotland. Canute, on his return from a pilgrimage to Rome, is said by the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* [cc] to have gone to Scotland, where Malcolm and two other kings Maelbeth and Jehmarc, submitted to him, but he held Scotland for only a little while. Maelbeth is supposed to be Macbeth, then mormaer of Moray, afterwards king, and Jehmarc, a Celtic or Scandinavian chief in Argyll.

The hold which Canute, who was trying to grasp Norway and Denmark as well as England, had upon northern Britain must have been slender as well as short; but the acknowledgment of the supremacy of so great a king was natural. At his death his overgrown empire fell to pieces, and Scotland was left to itself.

THE NAME SCOTIA COMES INTO USE (1034 A.D.)

Two years before, Malcolm II died. His conquest of Lothian perhaps led to the new name of Scotia (now generally applied to his kingdom), which was to become its permanent name. The Scotland he governed still had its centre at Scone, but the Norse earl, Thorfinn, at this time held the Orkneys, Caithness, Sutherland, and the Hebrides. After Owen the Bald, who fought at Carham, the next king mentioned is Duncan, son of the grandson and the successor of Malcolm. Malcolm II was liberal to the church, as we know from his gifts to the church of Deer. The laws attributed to him are spurious, introducing into the Celtic kingdom a fully developed feudalism which was not known in England, still less in Scotland, till after the Conquest. As he

left no male heir, Malcolm's death led to a doubtful succession and a perplexed period of Scottish history.

Malcolm II was succeeded by his grandson Duncan (1034-1040) son of his daughter Bethoc and Crinan, a lay or secular abbot of Dunkeld; but his right was probably from the first contested by Thorfinn, who had become the most powerful of the Norse earls. If the Orkney saga could be relied upon, he had as many as eleven earls or mormaers subject to him, and a modern but unsafe interpretation of one passage extends his dominion as far as Galloway. Duncan, after an unsuccessful attempt on Durham, turned his arms to the north to check the further advance of his kinsman, but was defeated on the Pentland Firth. Moddan, whom he had tried to set up as earl of Caithness, was burned in his own house, and Duncan himself was killed at Bothgownan near Elgin by Macbeth, his own general.[ee]

DUNCAN AND MACBETH

Malcolm died peaceably in 1034, and was succeeded by "the gracious Duncan," the same who fell by the poniard of Macbeth. On reading these names every reader must feel as if brought from darkness into the blaze of noonday; so familiar are we with the personages whom we last named, and so clearly and distinctly we recall the events in which they are interested, in comparison with any doubtful and misty views which we can form of the twilight times before and after that fortunate period. But we must not be blinded by our poetical enthusiasm, nor add more than due importance to legends because they have been woven into the most striking tale of ambition and remorse that ever struck awe into a human bosom. The genius of Shakespeare having found the tale of Macbeth, adorned it with a lustre similar to that with which a level beam of the sun often invests some fragment of glass, which, though shining at a distance with the lustre of a diamond, is by a near investigation discovered to be of no worth or estimation.

The lady of Macbeth, whose real name was Gruoch, had deadly injuries to avenge on the reigning prince. She was the granddaughter of Kenneth IV, killed in 1003, fighting against Malcolm II; and other causes for revenge animated the mind of her who has been since painted as the sternest of women. The old annalists add some instigations of a supernatural kind to the influence of a vindictive woman over an ambitious husband. Three women, of more than human stature and beauty, appeared to Macbeth in a dream or vision, and hailed him successively by the titles of thane of Cromarty, thane of Moray, which the king afterwards bestowed on him, and finally by that of king of Scots: this dream, it is said, inspired him with the seductive hopes so well expressed in the drama.

Macbeth broke no law of hospitality in his attempt on Duncan's life. He attacked and slew the king at a place called Bothgownan, or the Smith's House, near Elgin, in 1040, and not, as has been supposed, in his own castle of Inverness. The act was bloody, as was the complexion of the times; but, in very truth, the claim of Macbeth to the throne, according to the rule of Scottish succession, was better than that of Duncan. As a king, the tyrant so much exclaimed against was, in reality, a firm, just, and equitable prince.

Very slight observation will enable us to recollect how much this simple statement differs from that of the drama, though the plot of the latter is consistent enough with the inaccurate historians from whom Shakespeare drew his materials. It might be added, that early authorities show us no such persons as Banquo and his son Fleance, nor have we reason to think that the

latter ever fled further from Macbeth than across the flat scene, according to the stage direction. Neither were Banquo or his son ancestors of the house of Stuart. All these things are now known; but the mind retains pertinaciously the impression made by the impositions of genius.[m]

WILLIAM ROBERTSON ON THE REAL MACBETH

Very few kings of so remote a period have attained to the undying celebrity of Macbeth. As long as the English language endures, his name will be as widely known as that of the great Alfred, his character will retain the familiar features impressed on it by the magic genius of Shakespeare, and it will be as impossible to disentangle the historical personage from the weird being of romance, as to picture "the meek and hoary Duncan," a young and inexperienced prince, meeting his untimely fate in the flower of youth.

The quaint verses of the prior of Lochleven have embodied some of the tales and traditions handed down by the partisans of the rival families; and it will create little surprise to find that in a state of society in which "the rights of blood" were paramount, the stigma of illegitimacy was freely cast upon both competitors for the crown. Wyntoun[ff] has recorded how Duncan, wearied with the chase, and separated from his usual attendants, found rest and shelter within the humble mill of Forteviot; how love bade the king return where chance had shown the way; and how Malcolm, whose blood has flowed in the veins of every English and Scottish king but Stephen, from the days of Henry Beauclerc, sprung from this intrigue with the "milnare's dowchtyr of Fortewyot."

As the taint upon the blood of Malcolm was supposed to be inherited from his mother, so the stain upon the pedigree of Macbeth was attributed to the mormaer's father; and in the same old verses it may be read how the mother of the Moray chieftain, wandering by chance in the woods, met with "ane fayr man, nevyr nane sa fayre as scho thoweht than," and how Macbeth was born "the Dewil's sone," and the inheritor of all his father's evil propensities. As the talisman of success was eventually upon the side of Malcolm, so the tales of the tyranny and crimes of his antagonist increased and multiplied, until they assumed the well-known form in the pages of Boece,[n] which, copied into the chronicle of Holinshed,[dd] attracted the notice of the master-mind that has stamped the fiction with immortality.[1]

It may be gathered from the circumstances of his early life that Macbeth did not attain even to the position of mormaer without a struggle. The two sons of Ruadhri—Roderick or Rory—the first known member of the Moray family, succeeded according to the Gaelic custom, Finlay filling the office of tanist during the lifetime of his brother Malbride. He was slain by his nephews, who evidently intended to retain the right of succession within their immediate branch of the family; Gilcomgain, who must have been chosen tanist on his brother's accession to the mormaerdom, following Malcolm to the exclusion of Finlay's son. Macbeth, whose right to the tanistship was undoubted, and who must have thus found himself shut out from the seniority to which he was fully entitled to aspire as representative of the junior branch of Rory's family. The union of Gilcomgain with a daughter of the Macalpine family must have still further strengthened his position, and as

[1 Hume Brown[z] sees an easy explanation for the blackening of Macbeth's name in the fact that later historians desiring to trace an unbroken line of kings back to primeval times, felt that Macbeth had interrupted the continuity, and was, therefore, a monster of evil origin and nature.]

Macbeth is subsequently entitled *dux* by the contemporary Marianus,[m] it may be conjectured that if he filled the office of *toshach*—duke or constable of the kingdom—during the reign of Duncan, it may have been conferred upon him originally as the natural opponent of the rival line of Kenneth Macduff, with which the kinsman who had supplanted him was closely connected.

The last two years of Malcolm's reign, however, witnessed the deaths of Gilcomgain and of his wife's brother, and though the name of the mormaer's enemy is not mentioned, it is hardly possible to doubt that when he was surprised and burned with fifty of his followers, it was the deed of Macbeth avenging the murder of his father and reasserting his claim upon the mormaership. The subsequent death of Boedhe's son transferred his claim upon the throne to his sister Gruoch, whose marriage with Macbeth reversed the position in which the mormaer had hitherto stood, and placed him in the position of Gilcomgain. Henceforth his interest was closely bound up with the family to which he had hitherto been hostile, though, had Duncan been prosperous, his fidelity might have stood the test. It was the disastrous career of this unfortunate prince which first seems to have aroused the ambition of Macbeth; but even then his hostility was secret. It was not in open battle that Duncan lost his life, nor was the crown of Scotland the prize of the victor in a hard-fought field, the final scene in "the smith's bothy" being strongly suggestive of treachery.

The historical Macbeth appears to have been an able monarch, and religious after the fashion of the age, for his reign has been handed down in tradition as an era of fertility and prosperity—generally a sign of the ability of the ruler; and he is recorded with his queen amongst the earliest benefactors of the Culdee society of Lochleven. With their joint grant to the little priory is associated the only historical mention of the true descent of the lady Gruoch; and the venerable Culdee who briefly registered their donation little thought that, in entering the simple notice, he was perpetuating the sole record of the real nature of the claims of his benefactors upon the throne they were accused of usurping. His liberality to the poor of Rome is also mentioned by a contemporary historian Marianus,[m] but in such a manner as to leave it a matter of doubt whether the king was ever present in person at the Eternal City. [Skene [c] thinks he may have gone there to secure absolution for the murder of Duncan.]

For five years after the fall of Duncan his successful rival reigned in peace, when an attempt was made by the adherents of the late king to regain their lost ascendency. The children of Duncan were still in their infancy, and their cause was sustained by their grandfather, Crinan, the aged abbot of Dunkeld; but his defeat and death, "with nine times twenty warriors," extinguished for a time the hopes of the House of Atholl, and only served to secure the throne more firmly in the power of Macbeth. Seven years elapsed and the fortunes of the house of Moray were still in the ascendant, when several of the Confessor's Norman favourites, who were driven from England on the return of Earl Godwin, fled for refuge beyond the Tweed, and the asylum granted to the fugitives at Macbeth's court may have afforded a pretext for the hostility of Siward, who, two years later, invaded the dominions of the Scottish king. The whole force of the Northumbrian provinces collected around the banner of the Danish earl, and attacked Macbeth on the day of "the Seven Sleepers"; fifteen hundred of the Anglo-Danes fell in the contest, with the son and nephew of the earl, but Siward gained the day, slew three thousand of the enemy—the detested Normans amongst

the number—and carried off a booty unprecedented in the annals of border warfare.

The great success of the Anglo-Danish earl is generally supposed to have reinstated Malcolm on the throne, but no such inference can be drawn from the accounts of contemporary writers, by whom no allusion is made to the Scottish prince; the espousal of the suppliant's cause by the Confessor, and the directions given by the saintly king to Siward to re-establish the heir of Duncan in his ancestral kingdom, only appearing in the pages of the Anglo-Norman chroniclers for the purpose of indirectly furthering the subsequent feudal claims of the English kings. As the rout of the Scottish army before the walls of Durham and their subsequent contest with Thorfinn Sigurdson hastened the catastrophe of the first king of the house of Atholl, so the unsuccessful issue of his encounter with Earl Siward may have eventually proved fatal to the mormaer; but Macbeth held his ground for four years, and the grave had long closed over the Danish earl, when the defeat and death of his former antagonist at Lumphanan [August 15th, 1057] in Aberdeenshire, removed the first obstacle from the path of the youthful Malcolm. For three or four months the contest still continued to be maintained by Gilcomgain's son Lulach, the feeble successor of his able kinsman, until his death in Strathbogie [March 17th, 1058], where he is said to have been betrayed, or to have lost his life through some stratagem of his enemies, put an end for the time to the struggle between the rival houses, and the heir of Duncan without further difficulty obtained possession of the vacant throne.

Wyntoun[ll] is the first to mention the popular story of Birnam Wood coming to Dunsinane, but he places the death of Macbeth at Lumphanan, attributing it to "a knycht nowcht borne of wyf," who is transformed by Boece[m] into Macduff. As Fife was "in the crown" in the days of Malcolm Canmore, who granted the earldom to his son Æthelred, the Macduff earl of Fife of the fabulists—a being unknown to Wyntoun—must be set down at a myth.[hh]





CHAPTER II

FROM MALCOLM CANMORE TO DAVID I

[1058–1153 A.D.]

Directly and indirectly the Norman Conquest influenced Scotland only less profoundly than England itself. In the case of Scotland it was less immediate and obtrusive, yet in its totality it is a fact of the first importance in the national history. In its full measure that influence will appear only in the gradual modification of Scottish society and Scottish institutions throughout the reigns of Malcolm and his successors. On Malcolm's personal fortunes the Conquest had a direct and lasting effect.—HUME BROWN. *b*

MALCOLM (III) CANMORE (1058–1093 A.D.) BEGINS A NEW ERA

WHEN Lulach, who had continued the war after the death of Macbeth, and who is nominally counted a king, though called the "fatuous," was slain at Essie in Strathbogie, several months later, Malcolm Canmore, or Ceanmore [*i.e.*, Greathead], became king. With his reign a new and clearer era of the history of Scotland commences.

The Scottish Gaels had proved themselves capable of government. The united monarchy of Scone lasted for two centuries in spite of its powerful neighbours, but it was dependent almost entirely on the attachment of the clans to their chiefs and of the whole race to the hereditary king. It was traditional, not constitutional, with some accepted customs, otherwise it could not have held together, but with little settled law and no local government. It wanted the elements of civil life, for it had no organised towns or assemblies of the people. There was little commerce or trade. Cattle and sheep were the chief commodities and the medium of exchange. There is no trace of an independent coinage. Christianity had not yet leavened the whole population, though the monasteries were centres of light within limited circles.

The Celtic character, alien to set and quick forms of business, was alive to the pleasures of the imagination, oratory, and song. Its cardinal defect was a light regard for truth. Its chief virtue was devotion to a leader, whether priest, chief, or king. The Christian Anglo-Saxons of the Lothians, the

Norsemen, only recently and half converted, in the islands of the north and west, brought qualities and customs into the common stock of the future Scottish people which were wanting to the Celts. The Anglo-Saxon in his original home, as in Britain the inhabitant of the plain—the creeping Saxon, as he was called by an Irish bard—developed in the house and the town a better regulated freedom, the domestic and civic virtues. His imagination, even his poetry, had a touch of prose, but he possessed qualities of plain speech, common sense and truth, the essence of trust. The contact—for it was a contact, not a conquest—with this race was of the highest value to the Scottish nation of the future. The Normans introduced new elements, the spirit of chivalry and the too rigid bonds of the feudal law. The changes due to these new elements began in Scotland in the reign of Malcolm Canmore, and were completed in those of his descendants. The Scottish Celtic kingdom became gradually civilised under Saxon and Norman influences, while retaining its native vigour. The result was the establishment of the independence of Scotland within its present bounds during the prosperous reigns (1107–1285) of the Alexanders.[c]

THE TREATY OF ABERNETHY

Malcolm had passed about fifteen years at the court of the Confessor before he became king (in 1058) and in his long exile he must have formed various English connections, as well as become habituated to the manners of the sister country. He may, therefore, be supposed to have, from the first, kept up a more intimate intercourse with England than had been customary with his predecessors.

The principal events that make up the history of the reign of Malcolm arose out of his connection with the unfortunate Eadgar Ætheling. Eadgar fled to Scotland, according to the most probable account, with his mother and his two sisters, in the beginning of 1068 [?] and, soon after, Malcolm espoused Eadgar's elder sister, Margaret.[1] From some cause, which is not distinctly explained, Malcolm did not arrive with his forces in time to support the insurrection of the people of Northumbria, in conjunction with the Danes and the friends of Eadgar, in the following year; and it was not till after the complete suppression of that attempt, and the whole of the east coast, from the Humber to the Tyne, had been made a desert by the remorseless vengeance of the Norman, that the Scottish king, in 1070, entered England, through Cumberland, and spread nearly as great devastation in the western parts of York and Durham as William had done in the east. He commanded his soldiers to spare only the young men and women, and they were driven into Scotland to be made slaves. After this raid, says the chronicler, there was no village or cottage in Scotland without its English slave or handmaid.

It was not till 1072 that William the Conqueror found leisure to chastise Malcolm for this inroad. He then advanced into Scotland and wasted the country as far as the Tay, though the inhabitants, after the plan which they had been accustomed to pursue in such cases from the days of Galgacus, and which they continued to follow occasionally to a much later age, destroyed or removed everything of value as the invader advanced, so that, as the Saxon chronicler [d] expresses it, "he nothing found of that which to him the better was." In the end, however, Malcolm came to him at Abernethy, in 1072, when, according to the *Saxon Chronicle*, [d] a peace was arranged

[1 "Her virtues more than his wars make his reign an epoch of Scottish history."—MACKAY.[c]]

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between the two kings, on Malcolm agreeing to give hostages, and to do homage to William as his liege lord. William then returned home with his army.

This transaction makes a principal figure in the controversy which was formerly carried on with so much unnecessary heat, and which still continues to divide historical inquirers respecting the alleged dependence, in ancient times of the kingdom of Scotland upon the English crown. The position taken by the asserters of this dependence appears to be that, from a date long before the Norman conquest of England, the Anglo-Saxon kings of that country had, in some way or other, obtained possession of the sovereignty of the whole island, and the kings of Scotland, as well as the princes of Wales, had become their acknowledged vassals. We may say, without hesitation, that this notion is directly opposed to the whole course of the history of the two countries.[g]

In the words of Bishop Stubbs,[c] the complicated question of the Scottish homage, an obligation based, it is said, on the commendation of the Scots to Eadward the Elder, on the grant of Cumberland by Eadmund to Malcolm, and on the grant of Lothian by Eadgar or Canute to the king of Scots, was one of those diplomatic knots which are kept *unsolved* by mutual reservations until the time comes when they must be cut by the sword. But in view of the importance given to the subject in learned debate, we give a somewhat lengthy review of it.[a]

E. WM. ROBERTSON'S ACCOUNT OF THE ENGLISH CLAIMS IN SCOTLAND

An inquiry into the relations existing between the English and Scottish kingdoms in the olden time has ceased to be a matter of any but historical importance, the time being past when the forgeries of Hardyng were rewarded with a pension from an English king, and the arguments of Atwood burned by the common hangman by order of a Scottish parliament. The feeling, however, which prompted both the forgeries and the pension exercised an all-powerful influence over the chroniclers of both nations, after the question of feudal dependence had once been raised, and as the accounts of the earlier transactions between the two countries are furnished exclusively by the advocates of one side of the question, of whom it may be most truly said, in the language applied by Gibbon to the writers of a different age, "their knowledge will appear gradually to increase as their means of information must have diminished," great caution is necessary in weighing the evidence which is supplied from sources so open to suspicion.

The habit of forging charters after the Norman Conquest is notorious, whilst claims were frequently put forward, and often by the most sacred characters, about which it is difficult to decide whether they display the grossest ignorance or the most unblushing effrontery. The same class which supplied the forgers of charters and the fabricators of false claims also compiled the chronicles, and when recklessness of assertion was considered justifiable in the requisition of a bishop, urging the claims of his diocese upon the ecclesiastical head of Christendom, what limits can be assigned to the latitude of an advocate, engaged in asserting the supposed rights of his liege lord over an alien and often hostile kingdom?

Early Forgeries and Interpolations

The claims grounded in the feudal error on the "chronicled" dependence of the Scots upon the Anglo-Saxon monarchy, before the conquest, may be

said to rest either upon passages interpolated in a true text; actual forgeries and fabrications: or else upon amplifications and exaggerations of the truth. The reign of Eadgar, as depicted in the Anglo-Norman Chronicles, is fertile in examples of the second description. After the coronation of that king at Bath, he is said by three MSS. of the *Saxon Chronicle* [g] to have sailed to Chester, where he was met by six kings, who all pledged themselves to be his *efenwyrhtan*, or allies, by sea and by land. Æthelward,[h] in the chronicle which he compiled for the use of his cousin, the Emperor Otho's daughter, though he alludes to Eadgar's coronation in 973, takes no notice of the meeting at Chester; but in the twelfth century, and in the pages of Florence [k] of Worcester, the coronation, which alone appears to have stimulated the poetic energy of the Anglo-Saxon bards, is completely eclipsed in importance by the subsequent progress on the Dee.

Eight kings now meet the English monarch, rowing him submissively to the monastery of St. John, and upon his return to his palace Eadgar turns to his nobles, with the remark that none of his successors ought to vaunt himself king of the Angles until he had enjoyed a similar triumph! It is easier to understand the process by which the six kings grew into eight, with Kenneth of Scotland in the van, than to account for the silence of the contemporary Æthelward, and of every Saxon chronicler before the Conquest, about a triumph to which Eadgar himself is supposed to have attached so much importance.

Two charters are connected with the supposed occurrences of this period, both of which have been condemned as spurious. The first was evidently intended to pass for a donation made at Eadgar's coronation, for it is witnessed by the eight kings "at Bath in the Feast of Pentecost," but dated unluckily in 966, five years before Kenneth could sign himself "*Rex Scotorum*," or Eadgar was crowned at "the city of sick men"! The second is framed far more skilfully, but bears evident marks of the Norman era of its composition, and some circumstances connected with it are especially worthy of notice. A new charter, dated in 971, and attested amongst other witnesses by Sigegar, was confirmed by the pope in 965, in the time of Sigegar's predecessor Aylward! The interpolation is unmistakable. Another fabrication which has been inserted amongst the events of this reign is the cession of the Lothian to Kenneth of Scotland, to be held of the English crown as a hereditary feudal fief.

Passages of the third description—amplifications and exaggerations of the truth—are occasionally more difficult to deal with. The events of some of the most interesting periods of Anglo-Saxon history were principally preserved in ballads, traditions, or legends, and too much stress should not be laid upon the minute accuracy of accounts handed down through the medium of such authorities, whose expressions, when they exalt the prowess or power of their favourite heroes, are apt, however they may have suffered in elegance, to gain rather than lose force in the Latin form under which they appear in later chronicles. Results alone can test their truth, and where fairly judged they will generally be found very accurate where no special end was to be gained by an opposite course. There is no difficulty, however, in ascertaining the real course pursued by the Anglo-Saxon kings whenever a prince of alien race submitted to their authority, Welsh history affording abundant examples, though it will be unnecessary to ascend higher than the reign of Alfred.

What were the practical results of the subjugation of Wales to the Anglo-Saxon monarchy? Her princes paid tribute to the English king, giving

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hostages for their fidelity, and occasionally attending the court of their overlord, and subscribing his charters as *Subreguli;* her prelates, consecrated by an English metropolitan, received the pastoral staff from the English king; and her people, numbered amongst the subjects of the Anglo-Saxon crown, were included in Eadgar's laws amongst the "Angles, Danes, or Britons, on every side of my dominion."

No tribute was ever levied since the days of Oswy and Egfrid upon the Scottish people, no authentic charter attests the presence of a Scottish king at the English court to subscribe his name amongst the attendant *Subreguli,* and no Culdee prelate acknowledged the supremacy of the metropolitan either of York or Canterbury; and unless practical results of this description can be shown to have ensued, no passage in a chronicle, however reiterated or exaggerated in the pages of subsequent writers, will prove the dependence of the Scottish kingdom upon an Anglo-Saxon overlord.

It is unnecessary to enter upon the *Bretwalda* controversy, for, granting the theory in its fullest extent, the tribes beyond the Forth would scarcely have paid a deference to the Romanesque authority, supposed to have been first vested in a petty Sussex *Heretoga,* which they had invariably refused to the imperial lieutenants. The power of Oswy was based upon a very different foundation: it was won by the sword and lost by the sword; a veritable conquest as far as it extended, entailing a foreign bishop and foreign tax-gatherers, both bishop and *Gerefas* flying after the battle of Nechtansmere, and never more exercising jurisdiction or exacting *Gafol* beyond the Forth.

The Alleged Submission of Constantine II

No claim is again put forward to any authority over the Scots until a passage, occurring in two MSS. of the *Saxon Chronicle,*[d] represents Constantine II as tendering a voluntary submission to the elder Eadward at Bakewell in the Peak, in the last year of that sovereign's reign. It is as follows:

"He went thence into Peac-lond, to Badecan-well, and commanded a *burh* to be built thereunto and manned. And then chose him to father and lord the king of Scots, and the whole nation of the Scots, and Ragnald and Eadulf's son, and all those who dwell in Northumbria, as well English as Danes and Northmen, and others. And also the king of the Strath-Clyde Wealh and all the Strath-Clyde Wealh."

How far does this passage agree with the true history of the period as far as that can be ascertained? Alfred's rule never extended over the Danes. Three years before his supposed appearance at Bakewell, Reginald Hy Ivar was in his grave. The *Irish Annals,*[i] at this period most accurate and trustworthy authorities in all connected with the Hy Ivar family, place his death in 921. Undoubtedly, the English chronology of this era is hopelessly confused, and Florence [k] places these events under that year.

Malcolm I and Malcolm II

Eadmund's cession of Cumberland to Malcolm I as a *læn* was the cause, and the result, of the first authenticated meeting between an Anglo-Saxon and a Scottish king. It was made over on the frontier, and it was upon the frontier again that, after the assassination of Eadmund, the Scots renewed their oaths to his successor Eadred. The grant lapsed upon the death of Malcolm, and was never renewed; and as no more mention is ever made of "the Scottish oaths," they must have been given in relation to this grant

of Cumberland, the withdrawal of the *læn* from Malcolm's successor Indulf affording, perhaps, a reason for that king's invasion of the Lothians and capture of Edinburgh. It is scarcely necessary to point out the usual confusion between Scots and Danes in the account of Malmesbury[j] that the former "chose Eric for their king," and suffered accordingly with the Danes.

Eadgar's reign has already been noticed, and the Scots are not again mentioned, even by the Anglo-Norman chroniclers, before the reign of Canute, who is said by three MSS. of the *Saxon Chronicle*[d] to have marched to the north on his return from Rome in 1031, when Malcolm II "became his man, but only held that allegiance a little while." Lothian had by this time been annexed to the Scottish dominions, either by actual conquest or by the cession of Eadulf Cudel—a cession which stands out in strong contrast to the idea of the Anglo-Saxon monarchy which the later chroniclers and their followers would wish to convey. Who ever heard of two feudatories annexing, or resigning, territories without the permission of their overlord?

William the Conqueror and Malcolm Canmore

The earliest connection between a king of Scotland and one of the Norman line of English kings was brought about through the reception and encouragement afforded to Eadgar Ætheling and his supporters by his sister's husband, Malcolm Canmore. Uneasy at the favour shown to the Saxon exiles, William marched to the north, and at a meeting at Abernethy, beyond the Forth, Malcolm "became his man," giving up his son Duncan as a hostage for the fulfilment of the engagements then contracted. Some light is thrown upon the nature of these engagements by the subsequent transactions between Malcolm and Rufus, for nineteen years after the treaty of Abernethy, when Robert and Eadgar arranged a peace between the hostile kings, it was agreed, "ut Willielmo, sicut patri suo obedivit, Malcolmus obediret, et Malcolmo xii. villas, quas in Anglia sub patre illius habuerat, Willielmus rederet, et xii. marcas auri singulis annis daret."

Nearly two years, however, were suffered to elapse without any steps being taken by William to carry out this arrangement, until a severe illness induced him to yield to the suggestions of his nobles, who were anxious to re-establish a firm peace between the two countries; and accordingly, on the arrival of an embassy from Malcolm, a meeting was proposed at Gloucester. On the arrival of Malcolm, however, who had been conducted to the place of meeting with all due honour by Eadgar Ætheling, Rufus, now recovered from his illness, refused to hold any communication with him, referring him to the judgment of the English barons alone—a course to which Malcolm refused to submit, objecting "to do right" to the English king except by the judgment of the peers of both realms, and upon the frontiers of the two kingdoms.[1]

[1] Certain inferences are sometimes drawn from the expression *rectitudinem facere*, "to do right"—though it is always dangerous to lay too much stress upon the strict and exact legal meaning of every word employed by a chronicler—and it is implied that "right" could only be "done" by "a vassal to his superior," and that, therefore, Malcolm was William's vassal—for the kingdom of Scotland. The simple answer to this is, that not an acre of land could be held under the feudal system by "noble tenure," except by homage, or vassalage, the extent of the vassalage being identical with the extent of the fief, and not necessarily implying the entire dependence of the holder upon the overlord of the fief. He might hold other fiefs of innumerable other overlords. Thus in a treaty of peace between Philip Augustus and Richard, the latter agrees "ut ipse faciet Regi Franciæ *servitia et justicias in curia Regis Franciæ* de singulis feodis quos ab eo tenet"; so that the English king was ready "to do service and 'right' in the French king's court" for every fief he held of him, without in the least implying the subjection of the English crown to the French.

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Hence it may be gathered that Malcolm had received a grant of manors, and a yearly subsidy, in return for his homage at Abernethy; and as he was willing to renew his homage on the same conditions—to obey William as he had obeyed his father—whilst he resented the demand of Rufus by a declaration of war, it is evident that this demand must have been an innovation upon the original agreement. Had Malcolm become the liegeman of the conqueror at Abernethy for the kingdom of Scotland, he would have held it from that time forward as a fief of the English crown, and there could have been no reasonable objection against his "doing right" in the court of his overlord, and according to the judgment of "his peers," the English barons, as his tenure would have been exactly similar to theirs. Nor must it be forgotten that it was Malcolm, and not William, who sought for the re-establishment of the conqueror's arrangement, a most inexplicable line of conduct if it is to be assumed that the Scottish king was eager to lay the independence of his kingdom at the feet of the English monarch, but perfectly intelligible on the supposition that Malcolm was anxious for a renewal of his subsidy, which Rufus was unwilling to grant without a further acknowledgment of dependence.



British Tomb

The struggle of King Alexander was against the encroachments of the English church, and the tenacity with which he opposed everything that could "in any way derogate from the liberty or dignity of the Scottish kingdom" marks the manner in which he would have met any encroachments upon the independence of his crown. His successor David was an English baron, and, as such, was the first to swear allegiance to his niece Matilda in the great council held at London in 1126, and had Alexander been the liegeman of Henry for his kingdom, most assuredly would he have been present at Salisbury ten years earlier, when, "Conventio optimatum et baronum totius Angliæ apud Saresberiam facta est. Qui in præsentia regis Henrici homagium filio suo Willielmo fecerunt, et fidelitatem juraverunt." The absence of the elder brother, who held no lands in England, from the earlier council, and the presence of the younger, who held the Honour of Huntingdon, at the later, distinctly mark that the homage must have been performed for fiefs in England. When there were no fiefs held, no homage was required.

By the Convention of Falaise, "William, king of Scots, became the liegeman of his lord the king of England, against all men, for Scotland, and for all his other lands, and performed fealty to him as to his liege lord, as all the other lieges of the king were accustomed to do; and also to king Henry the son, saving his fealty to king Henry the father." All the king of Scotland's lieges, whether clergy or laity, became in consequence the liegemen of the English king: English garrisons, paid out of the Scottish revenue, were to be introduced into five of the principal Scottish castles; and all English fugitives for felony were to be captured by the king of Scots, and given over to English justice (unless they were ready of their own will "to stand to

right" in the English court); whilst Scottish fugitives might, if they chose, "stand to right" in the English court. In consequence of this arrangement, William, his earls, and his barons, were frequent attendants as vassals "in the court of their lord the king of England," to whose decision the Scottish king was obliged to submit in his contest about the see of St. Andrews, and whose license he was obliged to obtain before repressing the disturbances in Galloway. Such were some of the immediate consequences of "homage for the kingdom of Scotland."

By the charter given by Richard to William at Canterbury, Roxburgh, and Berwick, the remaining castles occupied by English garrisons were restored to William as his absolute and inalienable property, all the stipulations which Henry "per novas chartas et per captionem suam extorsit" were declared null and void, and the relations between the two kingdoms were to be re-established on the same footing as in the reign of Malcolm IV, all claims being settled according to the decision of four English nobles to be named by William, and four Scottish nobles to be chosen by Richard. All the lands held by Malcolm in the county of Huntingdon, and elsewhere, were to be held on the same tenure by William; the allegiance sworn to Henry by William's vassals was resigned and given back; and William then became the liegeman of Richard "for all the lands for which his predecessors had been liegemen of the English kings."

As by the restoration of the allegiance of the vassals of the Scottish crown to their native sovereign the relations between the two kingdoms were restored to "their original footing," and as it is clearly shown by this charter that liege homage for Scotland, and its consequences—the rights and prerogatives of an overlord which were exercised by Henry—had been extorted from William "per novas chartas et captionem suam," such "original footing" must have been that of independence. As in the reign of Malcolm the allegiance of the Scots was due to their native sovereign alone, that sovereign could have acknowledged no overlord of the lands for which they rendered it; and as Malcolm was "homo regis Angliæ eo modo quo avus suus fuerat homo veteris Henrici," it follows necessarily that the homage rendered by Malcolm and David to the kings of England could not have been homage for their native kingdom. Nor was such homage ever again performed by William, his son, or his grandson; or it would have inevitably been followed by the English king repeating the conduct of Henry II, and exercising the prerogatives of an overlord over Scotland proper, and all the vassals of the Scottish crown.

The True Meaning of "Homage"

In the feudal era, when any one became the vassal of another, he first performed the homage, and then received the fiefs for which the homage was rendered. The homage might be either general or specified, vague or for fiefs particularised, liege or simple. Thus, after some dispute, Edward III acknowledged himself "the liegeman of King Philip of France against all men," for the duchy of Guyenne and the country of Ponthieu: his homage was liege, and the fiefs for which it was rendered were specified. The homage extorted from William by Henry "per novas chartas et per captionem suam," was distinctly specified as "liege homage for the kingdom of Scotland and all his other lands." That rendered at York by Alexander II, in 1287, was for the lands he received in England in compensation for his claims—*de prædictis terris*. In other cases, and often where the nature or extent of the

homage was a matter of dispute, it was tendered in general terms, and a reservation was often made by the tenderer, or the acceptor, or by both.

Thus, in the case of Philip and Edward, alluded to above, the former accepted the liege homage of Edward *sauf son droit*—the very words so often occurring in the transactions relating to homage between the English and Scottish kings—with a reservation of his claims as actual proprietor of certain lands in Gascony. So, also, in the English version of the homage rendered by Alexander III to Edward I, after he had become "the liegeman of the king of England against all men," Edward is represented as accepting his homage "salvo jure et clamio . . . pro homagio pro regno Scotiæ." Evidently, according to the feudal interpretation, and as the writer of the Memorandum understood it, a tender of homage in general terms did not necessarily carry with it anything more than the vague and general allegiance of the homager; and Edward is accordingly represented as accepting such general homage with a reservation of his further claims. In all cases of vague and general homage it is important to bear this in mind.

The homage performed by the kings of Scotland appears to have been usually of this vague description, and tendered in general terms—not unlike the first homage of Edward III to Philip "par paroles generales, en disant que nous entrions en son homage par ainsi come nous et noz predecessours, ducs de Gyenne, estoient jadis entrez en l'omage des rois de France"—and often, in the first instance, with a reservation.

It was only at the commencement of a new reign, or upon the acceptance of a new fief, that the question of homage was of any real importance. Once tendered and accepted in the terms usually agreed upon, its repetition on the coronation of an heir, or on any other similar occasion, added no real strength to the original tie, and was simply the reiteration of a form already settled. It was of no more intrinsic importance than the repetition of the ceremony of kissing hands on each successive appointment, a ceremony, indeed, which represents in the present day the old feudal tender of homage in acknowledgment of a royal grant.

In short, the real question of the feudal superiority of the one country over the other resolves itself into the inquiry, What did Henry gain by the Convention of Falaise? According to the wording of the treaty, he gained a distinct acknowledgment of the feudal dependence of Scotland upon his crown; and if the history of the period is to be believed, he unsparingly exercised, during the remainder of his reign, the prerogatives of an overlord which he had thus acquired. Such, however, would have been the normal condition of Scotland had her kings always performed homage for their native kingdom; the Convention of Falaise would have been a mockery, and Henry would have reaped no advantage from the fortunate accident which placed William at his mercy.

Everything connected with this question has so long been the subject of bitter contention, and has been so frequently argued with all the bias of strong partisanship, that it is not a little difficult to avoid occasionally following in the usual beaten track. But on viewing the relations between the two countries after the Norman conquest as much as possible in the spirit of a judge rather than in that of an advocate of either party, it will be found that the claims of the more powerful kingdom on the feudal dependence of the weaker were scarcely, in the first instance, the result of any settled plan or deep-laid scheme of policy—much less of a traditional dependence of centuries upon a mythical Saxon empire—but grew up by degrees out of the events of a later period.

[1072 A.D.]

When William the Norman marched northwards, six years after his victory at Hastings had placed him upon the throne of England, his hold upon his new kingdom was scarcely yet firmly established. Northumbria was still in that disturbed and lawless condition which, ten years later, prevented its northern portion from being included in the general survey of the kingdom; and it was his object, not to add another to the many elements of discord in the north by asserting an empty claim to the dependence of Scotland, but to secure the peace of his northern frontiers. When the Norman army, in overwhelming force, was once transported beyond the "Scotswater," Malcolm, who had no power of retiring upon the northern districts, where the population was either lukewarm in his cause or openly hostile to it, at once came to terms; and the Treaty of Abernethy secured peace in this quarter, with one trifling exception, during the remainder of William's reign. The Ætheling was now encouraged to come to terms with his kinsman's new ally; his supporters no longer received the assistance which had hitherto been openly accorded them; and William henceforth was at leisure to turn his whole attention fearlessly elsewhere.

All this was brought about by the same means through which the English ministry were accustomed, about two centuries ago, to pacify the Highlands—he pensioned Malcolm. The grant of manors, and the annual subsidy of twelve marks of gold, were nothing else than a pension, necessarily acknowledged in the feudal era by homage—for all "gentle tenure" was at this period held by free or gentle service, necessitating homage—or else the pension would have been a tribute. The subsequent conduct of Rufus seems to have been dictated by overweening arrogance rather than policy—*nimia superbia*—for he appears to have cared little about deriving any fixed and permanent advantage from circumstances which must have unquestionably enabled him to attach any terms he chose to the assistance he rendered to the two older sons of Malcolm Canmore. He was satisfied, apparently, with a vague admission of his general superiority—and amidst all his faults there were gleams, occasionally, of a careless generosity in the character of the Red King—but it must not be forgotten that peace, rather than conquest, was the policy of the Norman kings upon their northern frontier.

Henry raised no claims upon the kingdom of his queen's brothers, and he appears to have discouraged rather than promoted the pretensions of the see of York. Alexander, accordingly, was not amongst the great liegemen of the English crown who tendered their allegiance to the ill-fated heir of Henry and "good Queen Maud"; but David was situated differently, being an English baron in right of the Honour of Huntingdon, and a connection of a more intimate description was thus established between the two crowns.

From this period it became the settled object of the Scottish kings to assert their ancestral claim upon the northern counties, which, if admitted, would have undoubtedly gone far towards reuniting the greater portion of the old Bernician kingdom under the male representative of the Saxon line; whilst the English kings were always naturally averse to add the important earldom of Northumberland to the other fiefs, conferred upon the royal family of Scotland in virtue of their descent from Earl Waltheof. The results of Stephen's troubled reign, however, and the political necessities of Henry Fitz-Empress in his early years, all but annexed that earldom to the Scottish crown, and the demands of Henry with which Malcolm complied at Chester—demands which will be best justified on the plea of expediency—simply replaced the kingdoms on their earlier footing.[a]

LAST YEARS OF MALCOLM AND HIS QUEEN MARGARET (1072–1093 A.D.)

To return to the reign of Malcolm Canmore—after the submission at Abernethy he appears to have remained quiet for some years. He did not, however, finally abandon the cause of his brother-in-law, the Ætheling; and in 1079, choosing his opportunity when the English king was engaged in war with his son Robert on the Continent, he again took up arms and made another destructive inroad into Northumberland. The following year, after the reconcilement of William and his son, the latter was sent at the head of an army against Scotland; but he soon returned without effecting anything. It was immediately after this expedition that the fortress bearing the name of the Castellum Novum, on the Tyne, which gave origin to the town of Newcastle, was erected as a protection against the invasions of the Scots.

When Rufus succeeded to the English throne, the two countries appear to have been at peace. But in the summer of 1091 we find Malcolm again invading Northumberland. Rufus immediately made preparations to attack Scotland both by sea and land; and, although his ships were destroyed in a storm, he advanced to the north with his army before the close of the year. We have already related in the history the course and issue of this new war. After being suspended for a short time by a treaty made, according to the *Saxon Chronicle*,[d] "at Lothian in England," whither Malcolm came "out of Scotland," and awaited the approach of the enemy, it was renewed by the refusal of the Scottish king to do the English king right—that is, to afford him satisfaction about the matter in dispute between them, anywhere except at the usual place—namely, on the frontiers, and in presence of the chief men of both kingdoms. Rufus required that Malcolm should make his appearance before the English barons alone, assembled at Gloucester, and submit the case to their judgment.

"It is obvious on feudal principles," as Allen[f] observes, "that if Malcolm had done homage for Scotland to the king of England, the Scotch nobles must have been rere-vassals of the latter, and could not have sat in court with the tenants in chief of the English crown." Yet it is evident that the nobility of both kingdoms had been wont on former occasions to meet and form one court for adjudication on such demands as that now made by the English king.

The hostilities that followed, however, were fatal to Malcolm. He was slain [treacherously with his eldest son] in a sudden attack made upon him while besieging the castle of Alnwick, on the 13th of November, 1093.

The reign of Malcolm was one of the most memorable and important in the early history of Scotland. It was in his time, and in consequence, in great part, of his personal fortunes, that the first foundations of that intimate connection were laid which afterwards enabled the country to draw so largely upon the superior civilisation of England, and in that way eventually revolutionise the whole of its social condition.[1] From the time of Malcolm Canmore, Scotland ceased to be a Celtic kingdom. He himself spoke the language of his forefathers as well as Saxon; but it may be doubted if any of his children understood Gaelic, any more than their English mother. All his six sons, as well as his two daughters, received English names, apparently after their mother's relations.

[1 It was ruled that the kingdom of Scotland, whatever might be its relations towards the kingdom of England, whether separate or united, whether dependent or independent, whether friendly or hostile, should be itself truly an English kingdom, a kingdom which was for some generations more truly English than the southern England itself.—Freeman.[l]]

His marriage with the sister of Eadgar Ætheling exercised a powerful influence both over the personal conduct of Malcolm and over public affairs. There is still extant a Latin life of Queen Margaret, by her confessor Turgot,[m] which is on various accounts one of the most interesting records of those times. Margaret was very learned and eloquent, as well as pious, and she exercised her gifts not only in the instruction of her husband, but also in controversy with the Scottish clergy, whose various errors of doctrine and discipline she took great pains to reform. Her affections, however, were not all set upon the beauty of spiritual things. She encouraged merchants, we are told by Turgot, to come from various parts of the world, with many precious commodities which had never before been seen in that country, among which are especially mentioned vestments ornamented with various colours, which, when the people bought, adds the chronicler, and were induced by the persuasions of the queen to put on, they might almost be believed to have become new beings, so fine did they appear.

Malcolm is traditionally said to have, with the advice of his nobility, made various important innovations in the constitution of the kingdom, or the administration of public affairs.[1] There is neither proof nor probability, however, for the statement which has been often repeated, that he introduced feudalism in a systematic form into Scotland. That state of things appears rather to have grown up gradually under the influence of various causes, and its complete establishment must be referred to a period considerably later than the reign of this king. The modern titles of earl and baron, however, are traced nearly to his time, and seem then, or very soon after, to have begun to supplant the older Celtic mormaor and Saxon thane. Surnames also began to be used in this or the next reign. But on the whole, it was probably not so much by any new laws which were enacted by Malcolm Canmore (the collection in Latin which has been attributed to him is admitted to be spurious), or by any new institutions which he established that Scotland was in a manner transformed into a new country in his days, as by his English education and marriage, the English manners which were thus introduced at his court, and the numbers of English of all ranks whom the political events of the time drove to take refuge in the northern kingdom. Much of the change, therefore, was really the effect of the Norman conquest of England, which in nearly the same degree that it made Saxon England Norman, made Celtic Scotland Saxon.

DONALD BAIN TO ALEXANDER I (1093–1124 A.D.)

The disastrous close of the reign of Malcolm, whose own death was followed in a few days by that of his excellent queen—worn out, it is said, by her vigils and fastings, and other pious exercises—afforded an opportunity to his brother Donald Bain [Bane or Ban, *i.e.* "the Fair"] to seize the throne. Malcolm's eldest son, Edward, had fallen with his father at Alnwick; his second, Æthelred, was a churchman; but he left four other legitimate sons, although they were all as yet under age. Donald is said to have remained till now in the western islands, where he had taken refuge, on the death of his father Duncan, more than fifty years before. He now invaded Scotland with a fleet fitted out in the western islands, and, with the aid of the faction which had all along been opposed to the English innovations of Malcolm,

[1 On his death he left the kingdom in possession for the first time of the same southern frontier which it ever after retained. It was now separated from England by the Solway Firth, the range of the Cheviot Hills, and the river Tweed.—SKENE.[n]]

carried everything before him. The children of the late king were hastily conveyed to England by their uncle Eadgar Ætheling; and Donald, as soon as he mounted the throne, expelled all the foreigners that had taken refuge at his brother's court.

He had reigned only a few months, however, when another claimant of the crown appeared in the person of Duncan, son of Malcolm Canmore [by his first wife Ingibiorg]. He had been sent, it seems, by his father as a hostage to England; and by now offering to swear fealty to Rufus, he obtained permission to raise a force for the invasion of Scotland. He succeeded in driving Donald from the throne and mounting it himself in May, 1094.

But after a reign of only about a year and a half Duncan was assassinated at the instigation of Donald Bain, and Donald again became king about the end of the year 1095. After his restoration he proceeded in his former course of policy, by favouring the Celtic and depressing the Saxon population. Affairs proceeded in this train for about two years; but at length, in 1097, Eadgar Ætheling raised an army, with the approbation of the English king, and marching with it into Scotland, after an obstinate contest, overcame Donald, in the beginning of the following year, and obtained the crown for his nephew Edgar, the son of Malcolm Canmore. "Edgar, like Duncan," observes Allen,[f] appears to have held his kingdom in fealty to William.

"These two cases, and the extorted submission of William the Lion, during his captivity (to be presently mentioned), are the only instances I have found since the conquest of any king of Scotland rendering fealty to England for his crown. Both occurrences took place after a disputed succession in Scotland, terminated by the arms and assistance of the English. Duncan was speedily punished for his sacrifice of the honour and dignity of the sceptre he unworthily held. Edgar appears to have repented of his weakness, and to have retracted before his death the disgraceful submission he had made in order to obtain his crown. One of his coins is said to bear the impress of 'Eadgarus Scottorum Basileus,' a title which, like imperator, implied that the holder acknowledged no superior upon earth."[1]

On his second deposition Donald Bain was deprived of the power of giving further disturbance by being detained in prison and having his eyes put out. Edgar retained the throne till his death, on the 8th of January, 1107; and during his reign the country appears to have enjoyed both internal tranquillity and freedom from foreign war. The accession of Henry I to the throne of England, which took place in 1100, and his marriage the same year with Edgar's sister [Eadgyth, known in England as Matilda or Maud], had the effect of maintaining peace between the two countries for a long course of years from this date. This favourable tendency of circumstances was not opposed by the disposition of Edgar, whom a contemporary chronicler,

[1] "The Scoto-Saxon period, which began (A.D. 1097) one and thirty years after the Saxon period of the English annals had closed, will be found to contain historical topics of great importance. The Gaelic Scots predominated in the former period; the Saxon-English will be seen to give the law in this. We shall perceive a memorable revolution take place, concerning which the North-British annals have hitherto been altogether silent: we shall soon perceive a new people come in upon the old, a new dynasty ascend the throne, a new jurisprudence gradually prevail; new ecclesiastical establishments settled, and new manners overspread the land. In this period we shall see an Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Norman, and Anglo-Belgic colonisation begin in the country beyond the Forth, and a Scoto-Saxon dynasty commence. In our course we shall perceive the prevalence of the Celtic customs insensibly superseded by the introduction of new manners, and the influence of a Celtic government gradually reduced, by the establishment of an Anglo-Norman jurisprudence, and by the complete reform of a Celtic church."—CHALMERS.[g] The "reform" of the Celtic church was unquestionably for the worse.

Ailred,[p] describes as "a sweet-tempered, amiable man, in all things resembling Edward the Confessor; mild in his administration, equitable, and beneficent."

Edgar dying without issue, was succeeded by his next brother, Alexander I, "the Fierce." Alexander strengthened his connection with the English king by a marriage with one of Henry's numerous illegitimate daughters, the lady Sibilla, or, as she is called by other authorities, Elizabeth. A dismemberment, however, of the Scottish kingdom, as it had existed for some reigns preceding, now took place, by the separation of Cumberland, which Edgar on his deathbed had bequeathed to his younger brother David. Alexander at first disputed the validity of this bequest; but the English barons taking the part of David, he found himself obliged to submit. By this arrangement the king of Scotland would for the present (putting aside the doubtful case of Lothian) cease to be an English baron; and accordingly it appears that Alexander never attended at the English court. Nearly the whole history of his reign that has been preserved is made up of a long contest in which he was engaged with the English archbishops on the subject of their assumed authority over the Scottish church.

Alexander did not long survive the settlement of this affair. He had about two years before lost his queen, who had brought him no offspring; and his own death took place on the 27th of April, 1124. The quality for which this king is most celebrated by the old historians is his personal valour, of which various remarkable instances are related, although some contests with revolted portions of his own subjects, of which there are obscure notices, seem to have been the only opportunities he had of displaying military talent. But he sufficiently proved his intrepidity and firmness of character, in the manner in which he defended and maintained the independence of his kingdom, in the only point in which it was attacked in his time. In the stand which he made here he appears to have had with him the great body of the national clergy, and they and he were always on the best terms. David, earl of Cumberland, the youngest of the sons of Malcolm Canmore, now became king.[q]

DAVID I (1124–1153 A.D.)

"Two circumstances, it may be, determined the emergence of a united Scotland," says P. Hume Brown.[r] "Alexander died without an heir, and his brother David proved to be a king whose ability and good fortune were equal to the task of consolidating the entire extent of the country committed to his charge. In effecting this great work he introduced new factors into his policy which mark his reign as one of the notable periods of Scottish history. With the reign of David I begins the second period of the consolidation of Scotland. It is distinguished from the first by the fact that it is by Norman rather than Saxon influence that the process is now carried on." Having lived from his childhood in England, David's manners, says Malmesbury,[s] were polished from the rust of Scottish barbarity. He had also, before he came to the throne, married an English wife, Matilda, or Maud, the daughter (and eventually heiress) of Waltheof, earl of Northumberland, and the widow of the earl of Northampton. The king of Scotland was now again an English baron, by his tenure of the earldom of Cumberland; and accordingly when Henry I, in 1127, called together the prelates and nobles of the realm, to swear that they would after his decease support the right of his daughter Matilda to the inheritance of the English crown, David was one of those that attended, and was the first who took the oath.

In observance of this engagement the Scottish king, on the usurpation of

[1136–1141 A.D.]

Stephen, led an army into England, and compelled the northern barons to swear fealty to Matilda. "What the king of Scots," said Stephen, when this news was brought to him, "has gained by stealth, I will manfully recover." He immediately collected a powerful force, and advanced at its head against David. They met at Newcastle; but no engagement took place; a compromise was effected (February, 1136), and David consented to withdraw his troops, on Stephen's engaging to confer on his eldest son Henry the earldom of Huntingdon, with the towns of Carlisle and Doncaster, and promising to take into consideration his claims, in right of his mother, to the earldom of Northumberland. Earl Henry did homage to Stephen for the new English honour he was thus to receive; but David himself still refused to do so, although he appears to have retained the earldom of Cumberland in his own hands.

The war was, however, renewed before the end of the same year by David, on the pretence that Stephen delayed to put his son in possession of the county of Northumberland, but, in reality, in consequence of a confederacy into which he had entered with the earl of Gloucester and the other partisans of the empress Matilda, who were now making preparations for a grand effort to drive her rival from the throne. With the same impetuosity he had shown on the former occasion, David was again first in the field. In 1137 David entered Northumberland, and ravaged that unfortunate district for some time, without mercy and without check.

In the beginning of the following year Stephen made requital by wasting the Scottish border. But the English king was soon recalled by other enemies to the south, and then David (in March, 1138) re-entered Northumberland, sending forward at the same time William, a son of the late King Duncan, into the west, where he and his wild followers of Galloway (on the 9th of June) gave a signal discomfiture to a party of English at Clitheroe. Meanwhile, Norham Castle, erected in the preceding reign by Bishop Flambard, on the south bank of the Tweed, to guard the main access from Scotland, surrendered to the Scottish king after a short siege; and from this point he marched forward, through Northumberland and Durham, to Northallerton, in Yorkshire, without opposition. Here, however, his barbarous host was met by an English force, collected chiefly by the efforts of the aged archbishop of York.

At the great Battle of the Standard, fought on the 22nd of August, the Scots sustained a complete defeat [as described already in the history of England]. The victors, however, were not in a condition to pursue their advantage. King David retired to Carlisle, and soon after laid siege to the castle of Werk, which having reduced, he razed it to the ground, and then, to adopt the expression of Lord Hailes,[1] "returned into Scotland more like a conqueror, than like one whose army had been routed." The next year a treaty of peace was concluded between the two kings at Durham, by which David obtained the earldom of Northumberland, the ostensible object of the war, for his son, who enjoyed it till his death, and left it to his descendants.

David, however, was never cordially attached to the interests of Stephen. When, a few years after this, the cause of Matilda for a short time gained the ascendant, he repaired to the court of his niece, and endeavoured to persuade her to follow a course of moderation and policy, which her imperious temper spurned. He was shut up with her in Winchester Castle, when she was besieged there by Stephen, in August and September, 1141, and escaped thence along with her.

From this period the reign of David is scarcely marked by any events, if we except the disturbances occasioned by some piratical descents made upon the Scottish coasts by an adventurer of obscure birth, named Wimund, who gave himself out for a son of the earl of Moray, but was at last, after giving considerable trouble, taken and deprived of his eyes, in 1151.

David did not live to witness the issue of the contest between Stephen and Henry. His death was probably hastened by that of his son Henry, which took place on the 12th of June, 1152, to the great grief of his countrymen, whom his amiable character had filled with hopes of a continuation of the same prosperity and happiness under his rule which they enjoyed under that of his father. Soon after this stroke David fixed his residence at Carlisle; and there he expired on the morning of the 24th of May, 1153, having been found dead in bed, with his hands joined together over his breast in the posture of devotional supplication. Both the virtues and the capacity of this king have been extolled in the highest terms by the monkish chroniclers; and he seems, on the whole, to have deserved the praises bestowed upon him. It is true that, among the acts for which he is most eulogised, his donations to the church, and his founding of numerous religious houses, stand conspicuous—in allusion to which his descendant, James I, is said to have feelingly complained of him as having been "a sore saint for the crown."[a]

Varying Estimates of David's Reign

Freeman[b] thus sums up the influence of David: "The influence of the reign of Edgar told wholly in favour of the process by which Scotland was becoming an English kingdom. The reign of Alexander told perhaps less directly in favour of things specially English, but it worked strongly towards the more general object of bringing Scotland into the common circle of Western Christendom. The succession of David reunited the Scottish dominions, and his vigorous rule of twenty-nine years brought to perfection all that his parents had begun. That famous prince was bound to England by every tie of descent, habit, and affinity.

"Under David, the great reformer, the great civiliser, but at the same time the king who made the earlier life of Scotland a thing of the past, all that was English, all that was Norman, was welcomed in the land which was now truly a northern England."

In the words of Stubbs[c]: "The Scottish constitution, as it appears under King David, was a copy of the English system as it existed under Henry I, but without the safeguards which the royal strength should have imposed on the great vassals. Hence the internal weakness which so long counteracted the determined efforts of the people for national independence."

P. Hume Brown[b] thinks that David's saintliness has been exaggerated, that he was purely selfish in his innovations, that many things credited to him by his over-ardent biographer Ailred, or Ethelred,[b] were really due to the spirit of the times working in all Europe. And he regrets that a period so wonderfully fertile for a great literary effervescence should have given birth to no literature. "From neither the conqueror nor the conquered has a line come down to us." None the less Brown admits that David definitely made the Roman church the national church of Scotland, that in his reign Scotland held the highest place in her history relatively in the scale of nations, and that "of all the reigns of Scottish kings, that of David is undoubtedly the most memorable in every aspect of the life of the people."

Of David's influence on the population and the language J. Rhys[s] says:

"The court in the time of David was filled with his Anglian and Norman vassals. He is accordingly regarded as the first wholly feudal king of Scotland, and the growth of feudalism went on at the expense of the power and influence of the Celtic princes, who saw themselves snubbed and crowded out to make room for the king's barons, who had grants made to them of land here and there wherever it was worth having. The outcome was a deep-seated discontent, which every now and then burst into a flame of open revolt on the part of the rightful owners of the soil, which smouldered long afterwards as the well-known hatred of the clans of the Highlands for the farmers of the Lowlands, of the Gael, as Sir Walter Scott puts it, for the stranger and the Saxon, who was regarded as having reft the native of the land which was his birthright.

"As to the language, we read, that when Margaret, in 1074, called a council to inquire into the abuses which had crept into the church, Gaelic was the only language the clergy could speak, so that King Malcolm, her husband, acted as her interpreter. But the predominance of the Celtic element seems to have passed away with the reign of Donald Bain. At the time, however, of the War of Independence, Gaelic appears to have still reached down to Stirling and Perth, to the Ochill and Sidlaw hills, while north of the Tay it had as yet yielded to English or broad Scotch only a very narrow strip along the coast."

For a fuller picture of David's quiet revolution of Scotland, we may quote E. William Robertson's brilliant estimate.[a]

The Great Achievements of David I

David was a good man as well as an able king. His faith was of the age, but his religion was from the heart, and there are few who will not respect the feeling that prompted his dying wish to be carried to pray before the black rood of his mother. Strict in the conception of his own religious duties, he was exact in requiring from the ecclesiastical body a decorous abstinence from all internal broils and dissensions, in return for the immunities and external peace he was zealous in insuring them, enforcing obedience, if necessary; though, it is said, that on one occasion he was obliged to kneel to an obdurate churchman before he could shame him into propriety.

A kindly and warm-hearted disposition is traceable in many of his acts, and is especially displayed in his consideration and thoughtfulness for his poorer subjects. In accordance with a regulation often found in other codes, and which was probably a well-known and general maxim of law, no one was allowed to bring a lesser cause into the royal court of justice, except as an appeal from a lower court; yet in spite of this enactment, which he seems to have been the first to introduce into Scotland, he appointed certain days on which, like an eastern king of old, he "sat in the gate" to give audience to the poor and the aged; and he would turn without a murmur from a hunting party to examine the appeal of a suppliant; if his decision was contrary to the expectations of his humble petitioners, kindly endeavouring to convince them of its justice—in too many instances a thankless and hopeless undertaking. The poor and the defenceless, indeed, were the especial objects of his protection. Conciliation may be described as the leading principle of David's policy.

Pursuing the policy inaugurated by his mother, Queen Margaret, he encouraged the resort of foreign merchants to the ports of Scotland, insuring to native traders the same advantages which they had enjoyed during the

reign of his father; whilst he familiarised his Gaelic nobles, in their attendance upon the royal court, with habits of luxury and magnificence, remitting three years' rent and tribute—according to the account of his contemporary Malmesbury—to all his people who were willing to improve their dwellings, to dress with greater elegance, and to adopt increased refinement in their general manner of living.

Even in the occupations of his leisure moments he seems to have wished to exercise a softening influence over his countrymen, for, like many men of his character, he was fond of gardening, and he delighted in the indoctrinating his people in the peaceful arts of horticulture and in the mysteries of planting and of grafting. For similar reasons he sedulously promoted the improvement of agriculture, or rather, perhaps, directed increased attention to it.

In consequence of his measures feudal castles began, ere long, to replace the earlier buildings of wood and wattles rudely fortified by earthworks; and towns rapidly grew up around the royal castles and about the principal localities of commerce. The monasteries of Kelso, Jedburgh, Melrose, and Holyrood, with many another stately pile, also owed their first foundation to the fostering care of David; for, independently of his religious zeal, he



Melrose Abbey.

appreciated the encouragement afforded by such establishments to the pacific arts it was his aim to introduce amongst his subjects. The prosperity of the country during the last fifteen years of his reign contrasted strongly with the miseries of England under the disastrous rule of Stephen; Scotland became the granary from which her neighbour's wants were supplied; and to the court of Scotland's king resorted the knights and nobles of foreign origin, whom the commotions of the Continent had hitherto driven to take refuge in England.

Southern Scotland was the creation of David. He embellished it with the monasteries of his religious foundations; he strengthened it with the castles of his feudal baronage, and here he established the nucleus of feudal Scotland and the foundation of that importance which eventually transferred the preponderance in the kingdom to the south.

Another of the innovations upon ancient custom, traceable, apparently,

to the reigns of Alexander and David, though more particularly to the reign of the latter king, was the introduction of the written charter as the necessary evidence of the right to freehold property. It was long before any of the northern nations attached importance to the written documents, which were at the basis of the whole system of free rights, or property, held by Roman law. It can scarcely be doubted that David was the originator of that important change by which a fixed title to land was acquired, producible, when necessary, in proof of ownership—a change which, in connection with the formal perambulation of boundaries, in the presence of "the good men and true," must have done much to put a stop to those constant disputes about proprietorship, which had hitherto been settled by the sword.

David is often represented, in modern times, as the exterminator of his fellow-countrymen, granting their lands to foreigners, and driving out the native Scottish race, or enslaving them beneath the yoke of alien masters—a course that could have hardly earned the character ascribed to him by his friend and biographer, Ethelred, or Ailred," "he was beloved by his own people, the Scots, and feared by the men of Galloway." It would be nearer the truth, perhaps, to describe him as the great confirmer of proprietary right throughout the settled portion of his kingdom.

If David may be looked upon as the regulator of the "two estates"—the clergy, and the baronage and freeholders connected with the land—he may be regarded as the founder of the "third estate" in Scotland, the actual creator of the free population connected with the towns. An intramural population was an anomaly amongst the people of the north, and in their older codes no provision was made for a free proprietary dwelling in towns, land, and land only, being connected with freedom and hereditary right. It was the Anglo-Norman burgh, with its feudal castle, and its civic population, distinct and separate from the garrison, which was the model of the burghs established, or confirmed, by David beyond the Tweed. It may be doubted whether any free communities engaged in commerce, and occupying walled towns, were in existence much before this reign, even in the Lothians, though the germs of such societies may have existed at Scone, Edinburgh, Stirling, and other places, which were of a certain importance at that early period.

Complete self-government, indeed, was conferred, from the outset, upon the Scottish burghers by a sovereign who was desirous of attracting such a class to his kingdom; and the enlightened policy of David, together with the state of peace and prosperity which he secured for the whole of the north of England, as well as for the settled portion of his own kingdom, soon filled the walled towns, which rapidly sprung up on every side, with a crowd of willing settlers from southern Britain and Flanders, who were guaranteed the enjoyment of even more than the usual freedom and privileges under the royal protection.

In imitation of their sovereign, the greater magnates, lay and ecclesiastical, occasionally enfranchised their towns, or founded burghs, filling them with a class of freemen on a footing with the royal burghers, though the latter were reckoned higher in the social scale, and were privileged to decline the challenge of a member of a lesser burgh.

The original burghers, as a class, were, with few exceptions, of foreign origin, emigrants from southern Britain, and not unfrequently Flemings; as in Berwick, where the Flemings long dwelt apart as a separate guild. It was long before the native element entered largely amongst the privileged civic population, clinging to Scottish customs and to the rural districts, espe-

cially in the distant north, where the towns must have long stood out like commercial garrisons in a disaffected and not unfrequently a hostile country.

Not the least amongst the many changes introduced by the burgher class beyond the Forth was the diffusion of the language hitherto only spoken to the southward of that river. It would be difficult to overestimate the utility of the burgher class to the Scotland of that period, or its influence in promoting the amelioration and prosperity of the country.

Long before the death of Bede[1] flagrant abuses had crept into the English church, and the venerable historian laments the condition into which most of the monasteries had fallen throughout the dominions of Northumbria. Very similar causes to those which brought about such results in England were rife both in Ireland and in Scotland; and the Gaelic church had varied widely from its original form and spirit when it presented to the astonished eyes of the dignified prelates of the Roman church in the twelfth century a picture, in which the abuses of encroachment and neglect had left but the shadow of a long-forgotten system of church government. The greater abbacies had become the hereditary appanages of powerful families where they were not still the objects of bloody contention; and the leading members of the septs, who filled the office of abbot, had sometimes ceased even to be in the holy orders. The Termon lands were leased out as the hereditary property of *herenachs*, members generally of the same families that possessed the abbacies; whilst vast communities of monks, that eastern peculiarity which formed so prominent a feature of the Gaelic church in her best days, had dwindled into small bodies of Culdees,[1] the representatives of the clerical portion of the brotherhood—the twelve companions so invariably attending the abbots of the early period—who were frequently as remarkable for the amount of their private wealth as their predecessors, in the times of Columba and Aidan, had been renowned for their disinterested reluctance to acquire property of any description.



BLACKFRIARS' MONASTERY, St. Andrews.

Each of the provinces that were originally independent must, at one time, have possessed its own monastery and bishop; but as the district kings had sunk under the dominion of the supreme sovereign, the bishops either disappeared altogether or became subordinate to, and dependent on, the bishop of St. Andrews; so that only three, or at most four, sees existed in Scotland when David ascended the throne. One of these must have been the bishopric of Glasgow, created, or revived, by the king during the lifetime of his predecessor Alexander; whilst the three remaining sees were St. Andrews, Dunkeld, and Moray.

The first step towards remodelling the Scottish church was Alexander's regrant of the ancient donation of the Pictish Angus to the monastery of St. Andrews; but many years elapsed before David was enabled to complete the

[1] The word Culdee signifies nothing more than clergyman, and it was the general name for the clergy amongst the Gaels. The Culdees can be traced in Ireland, just the same as in Scotland, and they were replaced by regular canons in the same manner. [The form "Kele-dei" is perhaps more strict.]

measures which his brother had only commenced. Five other bishopries were added to the four already existing, and the sees of Dunblane, Brechin, Aberdeen, Ross, and Caithness were created, or revived, in districts where hitherto the abbacy rather than the bishopric had been predominant; but it was long before all the Scottish dioceses attained the footing of regularly established bishopries, like those of Glasgow and St. Andrews.

With the revival of these sees by David the rule of discipline sanctioned by the Roman church was introduced into the Scottish monasteries; and wherever the authority of the crown was paramount the numerous Culdee societies, which were scattered in every direction over the face of the country at the beginning of the twelfth century, were either suppressed altogether or deprived of their most important privileges.

David Compared with Alfred the Great

The influence of David upon his native country has been compared to that of Alfred upon England, and of Charlemagne upon a wider sphere, but in some respects it was of a different character. Alfred was the saviour of the Anglo-Saxon race from complete subjection to the Danes, and though he can scarcely be called a king of England, he was the real founder of the monarchy. Within the limits of his ancestral dominions, and of the rescued principality of English Mercia, he was the reviver of letters; the creator of a navy; the reformer of the army, upon which he expended a third of his revenue; and, as the builder of walled towns, he may in a certain sense be regarded as the originator of a burgherhood; but, like Charlemagne, he was a collector and not a maker of laws, the constitutional institutions which have been attributed to him belonging, unquestionably, to other periods. His was a policy of defence, not of aggrandisement—not even of amalgamation beyond the limits of the Anglo-Saxon race—of defence by sea and on land; of renovation rather than of innovation, for it was not an era for the development of great constitutional changes.

But David was a mighty innovator, scarcely reviving anything except bishopries; and even in his ecclesiastical policy, in all other respects, he was equally an innovator. He instituted a feudal court, a feudal nobility, and feudal tenures governing the country upon feudal principles; for the great dignitaries of the court, in his time, were not merely the holders of honorary offices, but the actual ministers of the crown. He introduced the charter into general use, confirming proprietary right throughout the kingdom, the earls and freeholders by ancient Scottish tenure, henceforth standing, side by side, with the new noblesse and their vavassors, until all difference insensibly disappeared. He created a burgherhood, and laid down a novel code of law, by which the earlier system was gradually superseded by the principle still acknowledged—"the verdict of the neighbourhood."

"Augustus found Rome brick, and left her marble"; but David found Scotland built of wattles, and left her framed in granite, castles and monasteries studding the land in every direction. He found her a pastoral country, and before the close of his reign she is described as the granary of her neighbours; and though the expressions of Ailred or Ethelred[p] are probably exaggerated, as an exporting country she must have made considerable progress in agriculture. England may trace the germs of her monarchy to Alfred, and of the union of her people under one sovereign, though it was certainly not consummated in Alfred's time. First amongst the Cæsars of the Western Empire stands Charlemagne, scarcely, however, the originator of the mighty

results of that revival which still continue to influence the continent of Europe. But of feudal and historical Scotland, of the Scotland which counts Edinburgh amongst her fairest cities, and Glasgow, as well as Perth and Aberdeen, of the familiar Scotland of Bruce and of the Stuarts, David was unquestionably the creator. With the close of the eleventh century ancient Gaelic Alban gradually fades into the background, and before the middle of the twelfth, modern Scotland has already risen into existence.[u]





CHAPTER III

THE LAST CELTIC KINGS

[1153–1286 A.D.]

"The real golden age of Scotland—the time of peace with England, of plenty in the land, of foreign trade flourishing, of internal peace, of law and justice—was the period of a full century following the treaty between William the Lion and Richard Cœur de Lion, comprehending the reign of William and the long reigns of the second and third Alexanders."—Cosmo Innes.[b]

MALCOLM IV, "THE MAIDEN" (1153–1165 A.D.)

Malcolm IV, at the age of twelve years, succeeded to his excellent grandfather, David I, 1153. Being a Celtic prince, succeeding to a people of whom the great proportion were Celts, he was inaugurated at Scone with the peculiar ceremonies belonging to the Scoto-Irish race. In compliance with their ancient customs, he was placed upon a fated stone, dedicated to this solemn use, and brought for that purpose from Ireland by Fergus, the son of Eric. An Iro-Scottish or Highland bard also stepped forward, and chanted to the people a Gaelic poem, containing the catalogue of the young king's ancestors, from the reign of the same Fergus, founder of the dynasty. The poem has been fortunately preserved, and must not be considered in the light of one of Cibber's birthday odes. On the contrary, it was an exposition from the king to the people of the royal descent, in virtue of which he claimed their obedience, and bears a sufficiently accurate conformity with other meagre documents on the same subject, to enable modern antiquaries, by comparing the lists, to form a regular catalogue of these barbarous kings or kinglets of the Dalriadic race.

The Celtic bard was usually a genealogist or *seannachie*, and the display of his talents was often exhibited in the recital of versified pedigrees. In a burlesque poem, called the *Howlat*, such a character is introduced in ridicule. It was written in the reign of James II, when all reverence for the bardic profession was lost, at least in the Lowlands.

In Malcolm's reign the lords of the Hebrides, who were in a state of independence, scarcely acknowledging even a nominal allegiance either to the crown of Scotland or that of Norway, though claimed by both countries, began to

give much annoyance to the western coasts of Scotland, to which their light-armed galleys or *birlins* and their habits of piracy gave great facilities. Somerled was at this time lord of the isles, and a frequent leader in such incursions. Peace was made with this turbulent chief in 1153; but in 1164, ten years after, Somerled was again in arms, and fell, attempting a descent at Renfrew.

Malcolm IV's transactions with Henry II of England were of greater moment. Henry had sworn (in 1149) that if he ever gained the English crown he would put the Scottish king in possession of Carlisle and of all the country lying between Tweed and Tyne; but, when securely seated on the throne, instead of fulfilling his obligation, he endeavoured to deprive Malcolm of such possessions in the northern counties as yet remained to him, forgetting his obligations to his great-uncle David, and his relationship to the young king his grandson. The youth and inexperience of Malcolm seem on this occasion to have been circumvented by the sagacity of Henry, who was besides, in point of power, greatly superior to the young Scottish prince. Indeed, it would appear that the English sovereign had acquired a personal influence over his kinsman of which his Scottish subjects had reason to be jealous. Malcolm yielded to Henry all his possessions in Cumberland and Northumberland; and when it is considered that his grandfather David had not been able to retain them with any secure hold, even when England was distracted with the civil wars of Stephen and Matilda, it must be owned that his descendant, opposed to Henry II in his plenitude of undisputed power, had little chance to make his claim good.

He also did homage for Lothian, to the great scandal of Scottish historians, who, conceiving his doing so affected the question of Scottish independence, are much disposed to find the Lothian, for which the homage was rendered, in Leeds or some other place, different from the real Lothian which they considered an original part of Scotland. But this arises from their entertaining the erroneous opinion that Lothian bore, in Malcolm IV's time, the same character of an integral part of Scotland which it has long exhibited. Homage was done by the Scottish kings for Lothian, simply because it had been a part or moiety of Northumberland, ceded by Eadulf Cudel, a Saxon earl of Northumberland, to Malcolm II, on condition of amity and support in war, for which, as feudal institutions gained ground, feudal homage was the natural substitute and emblem.

Besides the cession of his Northumbrian possessions, Malcolm seems to have attached himself to Henry II personally, and to have cultivated a sort of intimacy which, when it exists between a powerful and a weaker prince, seldom fails to be dangerous to the independence of the latter. The Scottish king was knighted by Henry in 1159, and attended and served in his campaigns in France, till he was recalled by the formal remonstrances of his subjects, who declared they would not permit English influence to predominate in their councils. Malcolm's return and presence, in 1160, quelled a dissatisfaction which had well-nigh broken out into open mutiny. He was also successful in putting down insurrections in the detached and half-independent provinces of Galloway and Moray. Malcolm IV died in 1165, at the early age of twenty-four years. Though brave in battle, he seems from his intercourse with Henry to have been flexible and yielding in council, to which, with some effeminacy of exterior and shyness of manners, must be attributed his historical epithet of Malcolm the Maiden. It could not be owing, as alleged by monkish writers, to his strict continence, since it is now certain that he had at least one natural son.

WILLIAM THE LION (1165–1214 A.D.) BECOMES AN ENGLISH CAPTIVE

William, brother of Malcolm IV, succeeded him, and was crowned in 1166. He instantly solicited from Henry the restitution of Northumberland, and disgusted with the English monarch when it was refused him, opened a negotiation with France, this being the first authentic account of that intercourse between the countries which an idle legend imputes to a league between Achay or Achaius, king of Scots, and the celebrated Charlemagne, and by which the latter monarch is idly said to have taken into his pay a body of Scottish mercenaries.

William took advantage of the family discords of Henry II to lend that prince's son Richard assistance against his father. The Scottish king obtained from the insurgent prince a grant of the earldom of Northumberland as far as the Tyne. William in 1173 invaded Northumberland without any marked success. In the subsequent year he renewed the attempt, which terminated most disastrously. The Scottish king had stationed himself before Alnwick, a fortress fatal to his family, and was watching the motions of the garrison, while his numerous and disorderly army plundered the country. Meantime a band of those northern barons of England, whose ancestors had gained the Battle of the Standard, had arrived at Newcastle, and sallied out to scour the country. They made about four hundred horsemen, and had ridden out upon adventure, concealed by a heavy morning mist. A retreat was advised, as they became uncertain of their way; but Bernard de Baliol exclaimed, that should they all turn bridle, he alone would go on and preserve his honour. They advanced, accordingly, somewhat at random.

The mist suddenly cleared away, and they discovered the battlements of Alnwick, and found themselves close to a body of about sixty horse, with whom William the Scottish king was patrolling the country. At first he took the English for a part of his own army, and when undeceived said boldly, "Now shall we see who are good knights," and charged at the head of his handful of followers.

He was unhorsed and made prisoner with divers of his principal followers. The northern barons, afraid of a rescue from the numerous Scottish army, retreated with all speed to Newcastle, bearing with them their royal captive. William was presented to Henry at Northampton with his legs tied beneath the horse's belly; unworthy usage for a captive prince, the near relation of his victor.

THE TREATY OF FALAISE (1174 A.D.) MAKES SCOTLAND A DEPENDENT KINGDOM

We may reasonably suppose that, with his vindictive feelings towards his prisoner, Henry II was not likely to part with him unless upon the most severe terms, and the loss of the king was so complete a derangement of the system of government, as it then existed in Scotland, that the Scottish nobility and clergy consented that, in order to obtain his freedom, William should become the liegeman of Henry, and do homage for Scotland and all his other territories. Before this disgraceful treaty, which was concluded at Falaise in Normandy, in December, 1174, the kings of England had not the semblance of a right to exact homage for a single inch of Scottish ground,

Lothian alone excepted, which was ceded to Malcolm II, as has been repeatedly mentioned, by grant of the Northumbrian earl Eadulf.

All the other component parts of what is now termed Scotland had come to the crown of that kingdom by right of conquest, without having been dependent on England in any point of view. The Pictish territories had been united to those of the Scots by the victories of Kenneth Macalpine; Moray had reverted to the Scottish crown by the success of Malcolm II in repelling the Danes; Galloway had also been reduced to the Scottish sway without the aid or intervention of England; and Strathclyde was subjected under like circumstances. A feudal dependence could only have been created by cession of land which had originally been English, or by restoring that which had been conquered from Scotland. But England could have no title to homage for provinces which, having never possessed, England could not cede, and having never conquered, could not restore.

Now, however, by the Treaty of Falaise, 1174, the king of England was declared lord paramount of the whole kingdom of Scotland; a miserable example of that impatience which too often characterised the Scottish councils.

An attempt was made at the same time to subject the Scottish church to that of England, by a clause in the same treaty, declaring that the former should be bound to the latter in such subjection as had been due and paid of old time, and that the English church should enjoy that supremacy which in justice she ought to possess. The Scottish churchmen explained this provision, which was formed with studied ambiguity, as leaving the whole question entire, since they alleged that no supremacy had been yielded in former times, and that none was justly due. But the civil article of submission was more carefully worded, and the principal castles in the realm, Roxburgh, Berwick, Jedburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling, were put in Henry's hands as pledges for the execution of the Treaty of Falaise; while the king's brother David, earl of Huntingdon, and twenty-one Scottish nobles were surrendered as hostages to the same effect. Homage for broad Scotland was in fact rendered at York according to the tenour of the treaty, and the king's personal freedom was then obtained.

These were the principal transactions of William's reign after his release till the death of Henry II of England, omitting only some savage transactions in Galloway, which argued the total barbarity of the inhabitants.

RICHARD CŒUR DE LION RELEASES SCOTLAND (1189 A.D.)

The frontier castles of Roxburgh and Berwick still remained in possession of the English at the death of Henry II. On the succession of his son, Richard Cœur de Lion, a remarkable treaty was entered into betwixt the kings and nations, by which, after a personal interview with William, at Canterbury, Richard renounced all right of superiority or homage which had been extorted from William during his captivity, and re-established the borders of the two kingdoms as they had been at the time of William's misfortune, reserving to England such homage as Malcolm, the elder brother of William, had paid, or was bound to have rendered; and thus replacing Scotland fully in the situation of national independence resigned by the Treaty of Falaise. The stipulated compensation to be paid by Scotland for this ample restitution of her national freedom was ten thousand marks sterling, a sum equal to one hundred thousand pounds in the present day. The inducements leading Richard to renounce the advantages which his father had acquired in the moment of William's misfortune were manifest: (1) The generous nature

of Richard probably remembered that the invasion of Northumberland and the battle of Alnwick took place in consequence of a treaty betwixt William and himself; and he might think himself obliged in honour to relieve his ally of some part, at least, of the ill consequences which had followed his ill-fated attempt to carry into effect their agreement. (2) Richard being on the point of embarking for the Holy Land, a large sum of money was of more importance to him than the barren claim of homage. (3) It was of the highest consequence that the English king, bound on a distant expedition with the flower of his army, should leave a near-bordering and warlike neighbour rather in the condition of a grateful ally than of a sullen and discontented vassal.[1]

The money stipulated for the redemption of the national independence of Scotland was collected by an aid granted to the king by the nobles and the clergy; and there is reason to think that, in part at least, the burden descended on the inhabitants in the shape of a capitation tax. Two thousand marks remained due when Richard himself became a prisoner, and were paid by William in aid of the lion-hearted prince's ransom.

Domestic dissensions in his distant provinces, all of them brought to a happy conclusion by his skill and activity, are the most marked historical events in William's after-reign. Some misunderstanding with King John of England occasioned the levying of forces on both sides; but by a treaty entered into betwixt the princes the causes of complaint were removed, William agreeing to pay to John a sum of fifteen thousand marks for good-will, it is said, and for certain favourable conditions. William died at Stirling in 1214, aged seventy-two, after a long and active reign of forty-eight years [the longest in Scottish history].

William derived his cognomen of the Lion from his being the first who adopted that animal as the armorial bearing of Scotland. From this emblem the chief of the Scottish heralds is called Lion king at arms. Chivalry was fast gaining ground in Scotland at this time.

William the Lion was a legislator, and his laws are preserved. He was a strict, almost a severe administrator of justice. The blot of William's reign was his rashness at Alnwick, and the precipitation with which he bartered the independence of Scotland for his own liberty. But his dexterous negotiation with Richard I enabled him to recover that false step, and to leave his kingdom in the same condition in which he found it. By his wife, Ermengarde de Beaumont, William had a son, Alexander, who succeeded him. By illicit intrigues he left a numerous family.[d]

WILLIAM'S CONFLICT WITH THE POPE

An event requiring to be noticed in the reign of William is a remarkable contest in which he was engaged with the court of Rome. It began in 1178, when, on the death of Richard, bishop of St. Andrews, the chapter elected as his successor John Scot, an Englishman of distinguished learning. The nomination of a bishop by the chapter, without the royal consent, was a stretch of ecclesiastical authority which had never been quietly submitted to, either in England or Scotland, although any actual conflict between the claims of the spiritual and the temporal powers had usually been avoided by the king and the chapter uniting in the election of the same person.

[1 The wisdom of this arrangement was proved by the fact that for more than one hundred years there did not occur one serious quarrel between the two countries.—P. HUME BROWN.[e]]

But in the present case William had a particular motive for making a stand against the clerical encroachment, having destined the see for Hugh, his chaplain.

"By the arm of St. James," he passionately exclaimed, when he heard of the election made by the chapter, "while I live, John Scot shall never be bishop of St. Andrews!" He immediately seized the revenues of the see, and disregarding the appeal of John to Rome, made Hugh be consecrated, and put him in possession. When the pope, Alexander III, cancelled this appointment, and John was the following year consecrated in obedience to the papal mandate, William instantly banished him from the kingdom. The pope, on this, resorted to the strongest measures: he laid the diocese of St. Andrews under an interdict; he commanded the Scottish clergy within eight days to instal John; soon after he ordered them to excommunicate Hugh; and, finally, he granted legatine powers over Scotland to the archbishop of York, and authorised that prelate, and the bishop of Durham, to excommunicate the king of Scotland, and to lay the whole kingdom under an interdict, if the king did not forthwith put John in peaceable possession of the see.

Still William was inflexible on the main point. He offered to make John chancellor, and to give him any other bishopric which should become vacant; but this was the only concession he would make. When the archbishop of York and the bishop of Durham called upon the clergy of the diocese of St. Andrews to yield obedience to John under pain of suspension, he banished all who complied with that summons. At last the two prelates went to the full extent of their tremendous powers, and actually pronounced sentence of excommunication against William, and laid the kingdom of Scotland under an interdict.

But at this point the death of Alexander (in August, 1181) prevented further consequences. William lost no time in making application to the new pope, Lucius III, who consented to reverse the sentence of excommunication, and to recall the interdict. The affair was ended by the pope himself nominating Hugh to the bishopric of St. Andrews, and John to that of Dunkeld, and so, to use the words of Lord Hailes,[e] "making that his deed, which was the king's will." Lord Hailes observes that William, in the obstinate stand he made on this occasion against Pope Alexander, "seems to have been proud of opposing to the uttermost that pontiff before whom his conqueror, Henry, had bowed."[f]

ALEXANDER II (1214–1249 A.D.) AT WAR WITH JOHN OF ENGLAND

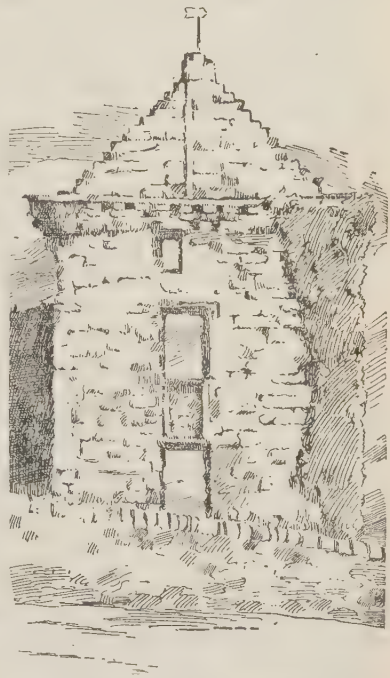
It was at a momentous period of English history that Alexander ascended the throne, for it was the era in which the barons of England wrung from the fears of their dastard sovereign the great charter of their liberties. The barons of the north, who were conspicuous in the ranks of the disaffected, easily obtained the assistance of the young king of Scotland by a promise of the northern counties. Alexander had already escaped a danger from another quarter, which might otherwise have interfered with the meditated alliance. The accession of a youthful prince to the throne of Scotland had naturally been the signal for a renewal of the disturbances in the north and west, a brother of the last MacWilliam who, like his father, bore the name of Donald Bain, suddenly appearing in Moray with Kenneth MacHeth, the last of that ancient name who ever figures in history. Their career, however, was brief.

[1215–1216 A.D.]

Towards the middle of October Alexander crossed the borders; and while his army was occupied with an ineffectual investment of Norham, he received the homage of the barons of Northumberland at Felton, where Eustace de Vesci, by the presentation of a white wand, formally made over the three northern counties to his royal kinsman. John was now fast approaching Scotland, burning to vent his wrath upon Alexander for adhering to the cause of the revolted nobles. The Yorkshire barons laid waste their lands, and tendered their allegiance to Alexander on the very day on which John burned the town of Werk. Morpeth, Mitford, and Alnwick had already been destroyed; Berwick and Roxburgh were carried by storm, Haddington and Dunbar soon sharing the same fate.

His own ravages, however, and the policy of the Yorkshire barons, prevented John from penetrating further than Haddington, for he was soon obliged to retire from a district in which his troops would have perished before long for want of subsistence.

The month of February found the Scottish army engaged in retaliating upon Cumberland the ravages inflicted upon the fertile plains of the Lothians; a body of lawless irregulars, imitating the conduct of the foreign mercenaries at the abbey of Coldingham, by perpetrating a similar outrage at Holmcultram. After the arrival of Louis of France, Alexander, who had returned to Scotland, again crossed the frontier, possessed himself of Carlisle, a town always inclined towards the Scottish connection, and uniting his forces with the retainers of the northern barons, traversed the whole length of England to Dover, to tender his homage to the French prince as suzerain of his fiefs in England. During the march towards Dover the lands of the confederates were carefully protected from harm, the vengeance of the allies being reserved especially for the partisans of John, whose territories were harried without mercy whilst reconnoitring Bernard Castle. As the confederates passed Lincoln they carried the town by storm, putting the garrison of the castle to ransom; and on reaching London a close alliance was concluded between the French and Scottish princes and the barons, all pledging themselves, at a conference held in the capital, never to conclude a peace with their mutual foe which should not embrace all and each of the contracting parties.



TOWER OF ST. ANDREWS

In the confusion ensuing upon John's death, which occurred shortly afterwards, the followers of Alexander and the northern barons are said to have plundered the camp of the very army with which the deceased king had intended to intercept their return. After a protracted investment of the castle of Carlisle, the garrison surrendered on promise of their lives; and the fort at Tweedmouth, of which John seems to have ordered the reconstruction after the capture of Berwick, was destroyed by the Scots about the same time.

In the following May Alexander, again entering England, commenced the investment of Mitford Castle; but upon learning the result of the disastrous battle of Lincoln, raising the siege, he retired into Scotland without engaging in further hostilities. He now received intelligence of the peace between Henry and Louis, a clause in their treaty extending its provisions to the Scottish king, on condition of returning all conquests made during the late war; and as his acquisitions were limited to the town and castle of Carlisle a reconciliation between the young kings was effected without difficulty, and a peace was speedily arranged.

Accordingly, in the beginning of December, 1217, Alexander was released at Berwick from the excommunication which he had incurred through supporting the cause of English liberty and the barons, and before the close of the same month he received investiture at Northampton of the Honour of Huntingdon and his other English fiefs and dignitaries, performing homage in the usual manner. His kingdom, however, still continued under the interdict, and though their king appears to have encountered little difficulty in appeasing the anger of the Church, the Scottish people were not finally absolved from the consequences of their sovereign's policy until they had largely contributed to the emolument of the legate Gualo.[g]

In 1222 the king was engaged in subduing a rebellion in Argyll; and in the same year was obliged to visit Caithness, where the bishop had been burned in his house by the connivance of the earl of the same county. In 1228 it was the district of Moray which was discontented and disturbed by the achievements of one Gillescop, who was put down and executed by the efforts of the earl of Buchan, justiciary of Scotland. In 1231 Caithness witnessed a second tragedy similar to that of 1228, only the parts of the performers were altered. It was now the bishop or his retainers who murdered the earl of Caithness and burned his castle. This called for and received fresh chastisement.

In 1233 new tumults arose among the Celtic inhabitants of Scotland. Alan, lord of Galloway, died, leaving three daughters. The king was desirous of dividing the region amongst them as heirs portioners. The inhabitants withstood, in arms, the partition of their country, being resolved it should continue in the form of a single fief. The purpose of the king was to break the strength of this great principality, and create three chiefs who might be naturally expected to be more dependent on the crown than a single overgrown vassal had proved to be. Alexander led an army against the insurgents, defeated them, and effected the proposed division of the province. It is to be carefully noted, that all these wars with his insurgent Celtic subjects, though maintained by the king in defence of the administration of justice and authority, tended not the less to alienate the districts in which they took place from the royal power and authority; and the temporary submission of their chiefs was always made with reluctance, and seldom with sincerity.

Alexander II died in 1249, in the remote island of Kerrera, in the Hebrides, while engaged in an expedition for compelling the island chiefs to transfer to the Scottish king an homage which some of them had paid to Norway as lord paramount of the isles. Alexander II left no children by his first wife, the Princess Joan. His second was Marie de Coucy, a daughter of that proud house who on their banners affected a motto disclaiming the rank of king.[1] By her he had Alexander III, who, at his father's death, was a child of eight years old.[d]

[1] Je suis ni roi, ni prince aussi—
Je suis le seigneur de Coucy.

[1249 A.D.]

Alexander died in the zenith of a prosperous career, and in the full vigour of manhood, for he had not yet completed his fifty-first year. He was a prince possessing many high and noble qualities. By dividing the vast possessions of the earls of Caithness, by confirming and supporting the native earls of Ross, and by enforcing the royal authority throughout Argyll, he effectually broke up the dangerous confederation in the north and west that had so frequently menaced the throne of his predecessors, and no outbreak in favour of MacWilliam, or MacHeth, signalised the accession of his youthful son. But though in pursuance of his favourite object—the consolidation of his kingdom—he was ready to enforce submission throughout the remotest Highlands, he was equally anxious to preserve peace upon his southern frontier; and though in his early years the influence of Eustace de Vesci drew him into the confederacy against John, after his alliance with Henry he never willingly disturbed the amicable relations of the two countries. Whenever any dispute arose between the kings, Henry was invariably the aggressor, though the bearing of Alexander, on all occasions, affords sufficient evidence that no unworthy fears prompted his desire for peace.

The reign of the second Alexander was in many respects an era of prosperity and advance, for his policy was peaceful, not aggressive, and directed principally to the internal amelioration of his kingdom.

ALEXANDER III (1249–1286 A.D.) IS OVERAWED BY HENRY OF ENGLAND

Scotland was rapidly advancing in church and state; but though a disaffected party no longer aimed at supporting a rival candidate for the throne, the spirit which had animated the conduct of the Scottish nobles was displayed under another form, and they now sought to influence that authority which they had formerly been inclined to resist. From this reign may be dated the rise of those two great parties whose contentions long disturbed the peace of the country, and hardly were the ashes of Alexander deposited in their last resting place at Melrose, before the animosity of the rival factions, kindling over the very grave of their sovereign, carried strife and dissension into the court of his youthful successor.[g]

Scotland began now to be threatened also by the intrigues of the English monarch Henry III, who, in the year 1233, had attempted by his agents at Rome to have the validity of Alexander II's coronation questioned, and to procure a papal acknowledgment of the dependence of that kingdom on the English crown. After some disputes and negotiations, the two kings had agreed in 1237 to an adjustment of their mutual pretensions, and it was settled that, in compensation for all Alexander's claims, he should receive lands to the amount of two hundred pounds a year in Northumberland and Cumberland, and thereupon he swore fealty to King Henry for the lands he held in England, according to the ancient practice.

Scotland was now a second time to be governed by an infant king. It was now that the king of England attempted more openly to enforce his claim to feudal superiority over Scotland, and no sooner was he informed of the death of Alexander II than he made his application to the pope that the coronation of Alexander III might be interdicted until Henry III of England should have given his consent. The opposition of the pope was anticipated and counteracted by hurrying the coronation; but objections were raised even at home. The day fixed for the ceremony, the 13th of July, 1249, was considered, according to the superstitious calendar of the age, an unlucky day; and according to the practice of chivalry one who, like the young

king of Scotland, had not been knighted was incapable of ascending the throne before that ceremony had been performed. It was usual for a prince to be knighted only by a king, but the difficulty in this case was overcome by the boldness of Walter Comyn, earl of Menteith, who insisted that the archbishop of St. Andrews should first knight and then crown the heir to the throne; and the primate, calling to mind the example of Archbishop Anselm, who had knighted William Rufus, acted on the earl's suggestion. The coronation oath was explained to the young king in Latin and French; and to give the ceremony still greater solemnity, when he was placed on the fated stone, a Gaelic *seanachie*, or Highland bard, with a venerable beard and hoary locks, and covered with a scarlet robe, knelt before him and recited the royal genealogy in the language of his Celtic subjects.

Thus every precaution was taken to strengthen the claims of the young monarch to the allegiance of his subjects; yet his reign was one continued scene of intrigue abroad and faction at home, which eventually brought great calamities on his unfortunate country. In 1251, Alexander III married Margaret, the daughter of Henry III of England; and on that occasion, while resident at the English court, he did homage to Henry for his English lands; yet, when pressed to do homage for the kingdom of Scotland, he contrived to evade the demand by representing that he came there to be married, and not to treat of affairs of state, and that he could not take such an important step as that now proposed to him without the approbation of his great council. Nevertheless, Alexander allowed himself to be influenced by his father-in-law, who from this time took an officious interest in Scottish affairs, which gave great offence to the inhabitants of that kingdom, and raised up divisions and factions which continued long to distract it.

By these intrigues the Comyns and the great nobles who had hitherto ruled the kingdom were removed in 1255, and an English faction was raised and entrusted with the government. The discontented nobles, headed by the Comyns, confederated together, and taking up arms, seized the persons of the king and queen that they might rule in their names. The faction of the Comyns, which included most of the greatest families in Scotland, endeavoured to strengthen themselves by forming an alliance with the Welsh, who were then in arms against their English neighbours; and Henry, believing that his best policy was to yield, agreed, in 1258, to the formation of a regency in Scotland, which, by comprehending the chiefs of the several factions, satisfied them all and produced a temporary pacification. Alexander and his queen paid not unfrequent visits to the English court, at which the question of homage for Scotland was often pressed, but always steadily refused. The object of some of these visits was to obtain portions of Margaret's dowry, which Henry, pressed by his necessities, was slow in paying.

THE NORSE INVASION OF HAKON REPULSED (1262 A.D.)

In 1262 Scotland was threatened with a formidable invasion of Hakon (or Haco), king of Norway, which was averted for the moment by the interference of the king of England. The pretence was to support the interests of the Norse in the Scottish islands, which it had been the continued policy of the Scottish kings for some years to undermine. In 1263 Hakon appeared on the Scottish coast with one of the most formidable fleets that had ever left the shores of Norway, and proceeding to the mouth of the Clyde, attempted to effect a landing in the Bay of Largs on the 2nd of October, 1263. The weather was very tempestuous, which rendered it impossible for the

[1263–1284 A.D.]

Norwegian army to land in a body, and made the disembarkation exceedingly difficult and dangerous under any circumstances; while on the present occasion the Scottish army, encouraged by the providential state of the weather, opposed them with resolute bravery.

The Norwegians renewed the attempt to land day after day, till, discouraged by repeated defeats and the loss of great numbers of their warriors, they found themselves obliged to relinquish their design, and to put to sea again with their shattered navy. Hakon led his fleet through the strait between the Isle of Skye and the mainland, which has since been called after him Kyle Hakon, and after a disastrous voyage reached the Orkney islands, where, soon afterwards, sinking beneath the disappointment and mortification of his defeat, he died. His successor, Magnus, in 1266 relinquished his claims to the islands on the Scottish coast, except those of Orkney and Shetland, in consideration of the payment of four thousand marks and a quit-rent of a hundred marks a year.

Alexander was twenty-four years of age when he was thus compelled to place himself at the head of his army to withstand a foreign invasion. His attention was soon called off to other scenes of warfare; for when the barons of England rose in arms against King Henry, his son-in-law of Scotland sent to his aid a considerable body of Scottish troops, under the command of John Comyn, John Baliol, and Robert Bruce; but so distrustful were the Scots of the designs of the monarch they were going thus to assist, that they expressly stipulated that they joined his standard as auxiliaries, and not as feudal vassals, fearing that he might afterwards construe this act into an acknowledgment of his feudal superiority. The three nobles just named, who were at that time the most illustrious barons of Scotland, with many others, were made prisoners at the battle of Lewes, and they only regained their liberty after the battle of Evesham, in the subsequent year.

After their return Scotland enjoyed some years of peace, and Alexander, now arrived at full manhood, was occupied chiefly in resisting the encroachments of the clergy, in which his firmness and prudence were rewarded with success. On the accession of Edward I to the English throne in 1278, Robert Bruce, earl of Carrick, was commissioned by Alexander to perform the homage which was due to the English monarch for the rather extensive possessions held by the Scottish kings in England, and he was drawn by the crafty monarch into declaring his fealty in such general terms as were afterwards interpreted as an acknowledgment of the subjection of Scotland.

THE MAIDEN OF NORWAY

After the disastrous expedition of King Hakon, the hostilities between Norway and Scotland disappeared, to make way for a friendly alliance, which was cemented in 1281 by the marriage of Eric, king of Norway, with Alexander's daughter, the princess Margaret. The latter died in 1283 leaving only a daughter, called after herself Margaret, and known popularly in Scotland by the title of "the Maiden of Norway." Family misfortunes now began to crowd upon the Scottish monarch: he had lost his wife, Margaret of England, and in the beginning of 1284 he lost his only surviving son, named after himself Alexander, who a little more than a year before had married a daughter of Guy, earl of Flanders, but he had no child by her.

The only descendant that remained to Alexander was his granddaughter, Margaret of Norway. He called his great council, which assembled at Scone

to settle the succession of the crown, and the nobles bound themselves to acknowledge the Maiden of Norway as their sovereign, if he left no male issue on his demise. But still wishing to leave a son as his successor, he married, in 1285, Joleta, the daughter of the Count de Dreux. Superstitious people observed omens attendant on the marriage festivities which they believed to bode fatal misfortune to the king and to the kingdom, and popular prophesies were supposed to be fulfilled when, on the 16th of March, 1286, as he was hurrying homewards in the dusk of the evening by a precipitous road along the sea-coast, between Burntisland and Kinghorn, in the county of Fife, his horse missed his footing and fell with his rider down the cliff, and both were killed. Scotland was filled with mourning at this unhappy event, and, in the midst of melancholy anticipations, the Maiden of Norway was called to the throne. Scotland was thus left to the rule not only of an infant (for Margaret was only three years of age) but a female.[b]



ARBROATH ABBEY,
Founded 1178.

By the time of Alexander III the process of dividing Scotland into sheriffdoms was nearly completed, the functions of the sheriffs corresponding to those previously exercised by the earls.

Alexander II had absorbed Argyll into the Scottish kingdom, and though he perished trying to subdue the Sudrey Islands, Scotland was so solidified by the peaceful reign of Alexander III as to assume the dignity of a nation occupying almost its present limits, as was also the case with England, though, as Hume Brown[c] observes, no other "country in Christendom had in the same degree filled out its limits and welded its people." Spain had not yet conquered Granada or combined its five independent kingdoms, France was hardly half its present size, Germany was chaos, and Italy a tangle of jealous cities. Save for a few insurrections of limited extent, peace was almost uninterrupted. But Alexander III was the last of the Celtic kings of Scotland, and storms were to succeed the calm in the inveterate rhythm of history, and an old poet, seeing Scotland become the prey of English ambition, gave voice to a quaint lament, the oldest known fragment of Scottish literature:

Quhen Alysandyr, oure Kyng, wes dede
Owre gold was changyd into lede.[a]

REVIEW OF THE PERIOD.

At this remarkable point in history we pause to contrast the condition of Scotland as it stood in 843, when Kenneth Macalpine first formed the Picts and Scots into one people, and in the year 1286, when death deprived that people of their sovereign Alexander III.

At the earlier term we know that the manners of those descended of the

Dalriads, Scoto-Irish, or pure Scots, properly so called, must have been, as they remained till a much later period, the same with those of the cognate tribes in Ireland, the land of their descent. Their constitution was purely patriarchal, the simplest and most primitive form of government. The blood of the original founder of the family was held to flow in the veins of his successive representatives, and to perpetuate in each chief the right of supreme authority over the descendants of his own line, who formed his children and subjects, as he became by right of birth their sovereign ruler and lawgiver. A nation consisted of a union of several such tribes, having a single chief chosen over them for their general direction in war, and umpire of their disputes in peace. With the family and blood of this chief of chiefs most of the inferior chieftains claimed a connection more or less remote. This supreme chiefdom, or right of sovereignty, was hereditary, in so far as the person possessing it was chosen from the blood royal of the king deceased; but it was so far elective that any of his kinsmen might be chosen by the nation to succeed him; and, as the office of sovereign could not be exercised by a child, the choice generally fell upon a full-grown man, the brother or nephew of the deceased, instead of his son or grandson.

The Tanists and the Clans

This uncertainty of succession, which prevailed in respect to the crown itself while Celtic manners were predominant, proved a constant source of rebellion and bloodshed. The postponed heir, when he arose in years, was frequently desirous to attain his father's power; and many a murder was committed for the sake of rendering straight an oblique line of succession, which such preference of an adult had thrown out of the direct course. A singular expedient was resorted to, to prevent or diminish such evils. A sort of king of the Romans, or Cæsar, was chosen as the destined successor while the sovereign chief was yet alive. He was called the Tanist, and was inaugurated during the life of the reigning king, but with maimed rites, for he was permitted to place only one foot on the fated stone of election. The monarch had little authority in the different tribes of which the kingdom was composed unless during the time of war. In war, however, the king possessed arbitrary power; and war, foreign and domestic, was the ordinary condition of the people.

The clan, or patriarchal, system of government was particularly calculated for regulating a warlike and lawless country, as it provided for decision of disputes, and for the leading of the inhabitants to war, in the easiest and most simple manner possible. The clansmen submitted to the award of the chief in peace; they followed his banner to battle; they aided him with their advice in council, and the constitution of the tribe was complete. The nature of a frontier country exposed it in a peculiar degree to sudden danger, and therefore this compendious mode of government, established there by the Britons, was probably handed down to later times, from its being specially adapted to the exigencies of the situation. But though the usage of clanship probably prevailed there, we are not prepared to show that any of the clans inhabiting the border country carry back their antiquity into the Celtic or British period. Their names declare them of more modern date.

As other barbarians, the Celtic tribes were fickle and cruel at times, at other times capable of great kindness and generosity. Those who inhabited the mountains lived by their herds and flocks, and by the chase. The tribes

who had any portion of arable ground cultivated it, under the direction of the chief, for the benefit of the community. As every clan formed the epitome of a nation within itself, plundering from each other was a species of warfare to which no disgrace was attached; and when the mountaineers sought their booty in the low country, their prey was richer, perhaps, and less stoutly defended than when they attacked a kindred tribe of Highlanders. The Lowlands were therefore chiefly harassed by their incursions.

The Picts seem to have made some progress in agriculture, and to have known something of architecture and domestic arts, which are earliest improved in the more fertile countries. But neither the Scots nor the Picts, the men of Galloway nor the Britons of Strathclyde seem to have possessed the knowledge of writing or use of the alphabet. Three or four different nations, each subdivided into an endless variety of independent clans, tribes, and families, were ill calculated to form an independent state so powerful as to maintain its ground among other nations, or defend its liberties against an ambitious neighbour. But the fortunate acquisition of the fertile province of Lothian, including all the country between the Tweed and Forth, and the judicious measures of Malcolm Canmore and his successors, formed the means of giving consistency to that which was loose, and unity to that which was discordant, in the Scottish government.

Influence of Foreigners

We have noticed what willing reception Malcolm, influenced by his queen, gave to the immigrant Saxons and Normans, and the envy excited in the ancient genuine Scots by the favour extended to these strangers. All the successors of Malcolm (excepting the Hebridean savage Donald Bain) were addicted to the same policy, and purchased knowledge in the way in which it is most honourably obtained, by benefiting and rewarding those who are capable to impart it. Of the Norman barons, generally accounted the flower of Europe, Scotland received from time to time such numerous accessions, that they may be said, with few exceptions, to form the ancestors of the Scottish nobility, and of many of the most distinguished families among the gentry; a fact so well known that it is useless to bring proof of it. These foreigners, and especially the Normans and Anglo-Normans, were superior to the native subjects of the Scottish kings, both in the arts of peace and war. They therefore naturally filled their court, and introduced into the country where they were strangers their own manners and their own laws, which in process of time extended themselves to the other races by which Scotland was inhabited.

This intermixture gave a miscellaneous, and, in so far, an incoherent appearance to the inhabitants of Scotland at this period. They seemed not so much to constitute one state as a confederacy of tribes of different origin. Thus the charters of King David and his successors are addressed to all his subjects, French and English, Scottish and Galwegian. The manners, the prejudices of so many mixed races, corrected or neutralised each other; and the moral blending together of nations led in time, like some chemical mixture, to fermentation and subsequent purity. This was forwarded with the best intentions, though perhaps over hastily, and in so far injudiciously, by the efforts of the Scottish kings, who, from Malcolm Canmore's time to that of Alexander III, appear to have been a race of as excellent monarchs as ever swayed sceptre over a rude people. They were prudent in their schemes, and fortunate in the execution; and the exceptions occasioned by the death

of Malcolm III and the captivity of William can only be imputed to chivalrous rashness, the fault of the age. They were unwearied in their exercise of justice, which in the more remote corners of Scotland could only be done at the head of an army; and even where the task was devolved upon the sheriffs and vice-sheriffs of counties, the execution of it required frequent inspection by the king and his high justiciaries, who made circuits for that purpose. The rights of landed property began to be arranged in most of the Lowland counties upon the feudal system then universal in Europe, and so far united Scotland with the general system of civilisation.

Spread of English Early Poetry

The language which was generally used in Scotland came at length to be English, as the speech of Lothian, the most civilised province of the kingdom and the readiest in which they could hold communication with their neighbours. It must have been introduced gradually, as is evident from the numerous Celtic words retained in old statutes and charters, and rendered general by its being the only language used in writing.

We know there was at least one poem composed in English by a Scottish author, which excited the attention of contemporaries. It is a metrical romance on the subject of *Sir Tristrem*, by Thomas of Erceldoune, who composed it in such "quaint Inglish" as common minstrels could hardly understand or recite by heart. If we may judge of this work from the comparatively modern copy which remains, the style of the composition, brief, nervous, figurative, and concise almost to obscurity, resembles the Norse or Anglo-Saxon poetry more than that of the English minstrels, whose loose, prolix, and trivial mode of composition is called by Chaucer's Host of the Tabard, "drafty rhiming." The structure of the stanza in *Sir Tristrem* is also very peculiar, elliptical, and complicated, seeming to verify the high eulogy of a poet nearly contemporary, "that it is the best geste ever was or ever would be made, if minstrels could recite as the author had composed it." On the contrary, the elegiac ballad on Alexander III, already mentioned, differs only from modern English in the mode of spelling.

Besides the general introduction of the English language, which spread itself gradually, doubtless, through the more civilised part of the Lowlands, the Norman-French was also used at court, which, as we learn from the names of witnesses to royal charters, foundations, etc., was the resort of these foreign nobles. It was also adopted as the language of the coronation oath, which shows it was the speech of the nobles, while the version in Latin seems to have been made for the use of the clergy. The Norman-French also, as specially adapted to express feudal stipulations, was frequently applied to law proceedings.

The political constitution of Scotland had not as yet arranged itself under any peculiar representative form. The king acted by the advice, and sometimes under the control, of a great feudal council or *cour plénière*, to which vassals-in-chief of the crown and a part of the clergy were summoned. But there was no representation of the third estate. There was notwithstanding the spirit of freedom in the government; and though the institutions for its preservation were not yet finished in that early age, the great council failed not to let their voice be heard when the sovereign fell into political errors. We have already noticed that the liberties of the church were defended with a spirit of independence hardly equalled in any other state of Europe at the time.

Trade and the State of Society

The useful arts began to be cultivated. The nobles and gentry sheltered themselves in towers built in strong natural positions. Their skill in architecture, however, could not be extensive, since the construction of a handsome arch, even in Alexander the third's time, could only be accounted for by magic; and the few stately castellated edifices of an early date which remain in Scotland are to be ascribed to the English, during their brief occupation of that country.

Scotland enjoyed, during this period, a more extensive trade than historians have been hitherto aware of. Money was current in the country, and the payment of considerable sums, as ten thousand marks to Richard I, and on other occasions, was accomplished without national distress. The Scottish military force was respectable, since, according to Matthew Paris,[i] Alexander II was enabled, in 1244, to face the power of England with a thousand horse, well armed and tolerably mounted, though not on Spanish or Italian horses, and nigh to one hundred thousand infantry, all determined to live or die with their sovereign.

The household of the Scottish king was filled with the usual number of feudal officers, and there was an affectation of splendour in the royal establishment, which even the humility of the sainted Queen Margaret did not discourage. She and her husband used at meals vessels of gold and silver plate, or, at least, says the candid Turgot,[j] such as were lacquered over so as to have that appearance. Even in the early days of Alexander I, that monarch (with a generosity similar to that of the lover who presented his bride with a case of razors, as what he himself most prized) munificently bestowed on the church of Saint Andrews an Arabian steed covered with rich caparisons, and a suit of armour ornamented with silver and precious stones, all which he brought to the high altar, and solemnly devoted to the church.

Berwick enjoyed the privileges of a free port; and under Alexander III the customs of that single Scottish port amounted to £2,197, 8*s.*, while those of all England only made up the sum of £8,411, 19*s.* 11½*d.* An ancient historian terms that town a second Alexandria.

Lastly, we may notice that the soil was chiefly cultivated by bondsmen; but the institution of royal boroughs had begun considerably to ameliorate the condition of the inferior orders.[d]

Cosmo Innes has said:

"When we consider the long and united efforts required, in the early state of the arts, for throwing a bridge over any considerable river, the early occurrence of bridges may be well admitted as one of the best tests of civilisation and national prosperity. If we reflect how few of these survived the middle of the fourteenth century, and how long it was, and by what painful efforts, before they could be replaced in later times, we may form some idea of the great progress in civilisation which Scotland had made during the reign of William, and the peaceful times of the two Alexanders. We do not know much of the intellectual state of the population during that age; but, regarding it only in a material point of view, it may safely be affirmed that Scotland, at the death of King Alexander III, was more civilised and more prosperous than at any period of her existence, down to the time when she ceased to be a separate kingdom in 1707." [k]

Such was the condition of Scotland at the end of the thirteenth century; but we only recognise laws and institutions in those parts of the kingdom

[Ca. 1286 A.D.]

to which the king's immediate authority and the influence of the more modern system and manners extended. This was exclusive of the whole Highlands and isles, of Galloway, and Strathclyde, till these two last provinces were totally melted into the general mass of Lowland or Scoto-Saxon civilisation; and probably the northern provinces of Caithness and Moray were also beyond the limits of regular government. In other words, the improved system prevailed, in whole or in part, only where men, from comparative wealth and convenience of situation, had been taught to prefer the benefits of civilised government to the ferocious and individual freedom of a savage state. The mountaineers, as they did not value the protection of a more regular order of law, despised and hated its restraint. They continued to wear the dress, wield the arms, and observe the institutions or customs of their Celtic fathers. They acknowledged, indeed, generally speaking, the paramount superiority of the kings of Scotland; but many of their high chiefs, such as Macdonald of the Isles, Macdougall of Lorne, Roland of Galloway, and others, longed for independence, and frequently attempted to assert it. The king, on the other hand, could only exercise his authority in these remote districts directly by marching into them with his army, or indirectly by availing himself of their domestic quarrels, and instigating one chief to the destruction of another. In either case he might be the terror, but could never be esteemed the protector, of this primitive race of his subjects, the first and for many years the only tribes over whom his fathers possessed any sway. And thus commenced, and was handed down for many an age, the distinction between the Celtic Scot and the Scoto-Saxon, the Highlander, in short, and Lowlander, which is still distinctly marked by the difference in language, and was long apparent by the distinction of manners, dress, and even laws.

Such was the singular state of Scotland, divided betwixt two separate races, one of which had attained a considerable degree of civilisation, and the other remained still nearly in a state of nature, when the death of Alexander III exposed the nation to the risk of annihilation as an independent people and kingdom.[d]





CHAPTER IV

THE DAYS OF WALLACE

[1286–1305 A.D.]

In contemplating the history of Scotland it may be truly said: Had there been no Wallace, there would have been no Bruce; had there been no Stirling Bridge, there would have been no Bannockburn; and, it may be added, had there been no Bannockburn, there would, humanly speaking, have been no John Knox and no Scottish Reformation.—WILLIAM BURNS.[b]

THE MAIDEN OF NORWAY AND THE DISPUTED SUCCESSION (1290 A.D.)

By the untimely decease of Alexander III, the Maiden of Norway, his granddaughter, remained sole and undoubted heir to the throne. Edward I of England, the near relation of the orphan queen, instantly formed the project of extending his regal sway over the northern part of Britain by a marriage betwixt this royal heiress and his only son, Edward, Prince of Wales. The great nobles of Scotland were, we have seen, Normans as well as the English lords: many held land in both kingdoms; and therefore the idea of an alliance with England was not at that time so unpopular as it afterwards became, when long and bloody wars had rendered the nations irreconcilable enemies. The Scottish took, on the other hand, the most jealous precautions that all the rights and immunities of Scotland, as a separate kingdom, should be upheld and preserved; that Scotsmen born should not be called to answer in England for deeds done in their own country; that the national records should be suffered to remain within the realm; and that no aids of money or levies of troops should be demanded, unless in such cases as were warranted by former usage. These preliminaries were settled between King Edward and a convention of the Scottish estates, held at Birgham, July, 1290. Edward promised all this and swore to his promise; but an urgent proposal that he should be put in possession of all the Scottish castles alarmed the estates of Scotland, as afford-

ing too much cause to doubt whether oath or promise would be much regarded.

In the meantime Margaret, the young heiress of Scotland, died on her voyage to Scotland. A new scene now opened, for by this event the descendants of Alexander III, on whom the crown had been settled in 1284, were altogether extinguished, and the kingdom lay open to the claim of every one, or any one, who could show a collateral connection, however remote, with the royal family of Scotland. Many pretensions to the throne were accordingly set up; but the chief were those of two great lords of Norman extraction, Robert Bruce and John Baliol. The former of these was lord of Annandale, the latter of Galloway in Scotland. Their rights of succession stood thus:

William the Lion had a brother David, created earl of Huntingdon, who left three daughters; namely, 1. Margaret, married to Alan, lord of Galloway; 2. Isabella, to Robert Bruce, of Annandale; 3. Ada, to Henry Hastings. John Baliol claimed the kingdom as the son of Devorgoil, daughter of Margaret, the eldest daughter of David; Bruce, on the other hand, claimed as the son of Isabella, the second daughter, pretending that he was thus nearer by one generation to Earl David, through whom both the competitors claimed their relationship. The question simply was, whether the right of succession which David of Huntingdon might have claimed whilst alive descended to his grandson Baliol, or was to be held as passing to Bruce, who, though the son of the younger sister, was one degree nearer to the person from whom he claimed, being only the grandson, while Baliol was the great-grandson of Earl David, their common ancestor. Modern lawyers would at once pronounce in Baliol's favour, but the precise nature of representation had not then been fixed in Scotland.

Both barons resolved to support their plea with arms. Many other claims, more or less specious, were brought forward. The country of Scotland was divided and subdivided into factions; and in the rage of approaching civil war Edward I saw the moment when that claim of paramount superiority which had been so pertinaciously adhered to by the English monarchs, though as uniformly refuted by the Scottish, might be brought forward as the means of finally assuming the direct sway of the kingdom. He showed the extent of his ambitious and unjust purpose to his most trusty counsellors. "I will subdue Scotland to my authority," he said, "as I have subdued Wales."

The English monarch, one of the ablest generals and of the most subtle and unhesitating politicians of his own or any other time, assembled an army on the borders, and communicated to the clergy and nobles of Scotland a peremptory demand, that, as lord paramount of the kingdom, he should be received and universally submitted to as sole arbiter in the competition for the crown. Split into a thousand factions, while twelve competitors were struggling for the crown, even the best and most prudent of the Scots seem to have thought it better to submit to the award of one of the wisest and most powerful monarchs of Europe, although at some sacrifice of independence, which they might regard as temporary and almost nominal, than to expose the country at once to civil war and the arms of England.

The nobility of Scotland therefore admitted Edward's claim, and accepted his arbitration. Twelve competitors stepped forward to assert their claims, and Edward, though he stated a right to the kingdom on his own part, as to a vacant fief which reverts to the sovereign, yet waived his claim with a species of affected moderation. Unquestionably his views were better served

by dealing the cards, and sitting umpire of the game, than if he had mixed with the players. And there is little doubt that, far from desirous to insist on a claim which would have united all the competitors against him, he was sparing of no art which could embroil the question, by multiplying the number of claimants and exasperating them against each other. [Fuller details of these transactions have already been given in our History of England, Vol. XVIII, chapter 10.]

EDWARD I MAKES JOHN BALIOL KING; HIS REVOLT

The candidates solemnly acknowledged Edward's right as lord paramount of Scotland, and submitted their claims to his decision. The strengths and fortresses of the kingdom were put into the king of England's power (1291) to enable him to support, it was pretended, the award he should pronounce. After these operations had lasted several months, to accustom the Scots to the view of English governors and garrisons in their castles, and to disable them from resisting a foreign force, by the continued disunion which must have increased and become the more embittered the longer the debate was in dependence, Edward I, November 17th, 1292, preferred John Baliol to the Scottish crown, to be held of him and his successors, and surrendered to him the Scottish castles of which he held possession, being twenty in number.[1]

It was soon evident that the admission of the supremacy was only a part of Edward's object, and that he was determined so to use his right over Baliol as might force either him or Scotland into rebellion, and give the lord paramount a pretence to seize the revolted fief into his own hand.

In order to accomplish this, the king of England encouraged vexatious lawsuits against Baliol, for compelling his frequent and humiliating appearance as a suitor in the English courts of law. A private citizen of Berwick having appealed from a judgment of the commissioners of justice in Scotland, of which that town was then accounted part, Baliol, on this occasion, remonstrated against the appeal being entertained, reminding Edward that by the conditions sworn to at Birgham it was strictly covenanted that no Scottish subject should be called in an English court for acts done in Scotland. Edward replied, with haughty indifference and effrontery, that such a promise was made to suit the convenience of the time, and that no such engagements could prevent his calling into his courts the Scottish king himself, if he should see cause. His vassal, he said, should not be his conscience-keeper, to enjoin him penance for broken faith; nor would he, for any promise he had made to the Scots while treating of his son's marriage with Margaret, refrain from distributing the justice which every subject had a right to require at his hands. Baliol could only make peace with his imperious master by yielding up all stipulations and promises concerning the freedom and immunities of Scotland, and admitting them to be discharged and annulled.

Soon after this Duncan, the earl of Fife, being a minor, Macduff, his grand-uncle, made a temporary seizure of some part of the earldom. Macduff, being summoned to answer this offence before the Scottish estates, was condemned

[1 "So far as we can gather from the terms of the documents, it never seems to have occurred to the greedy litigants or their astute legal advisers that there was a fierce, self-willed people, nourished in independence and national pride, who must be bent or broken before the subtleties and pedantries of the lord superior's court could be of any avail. Totally unconscious, also, they seem to have been that the intricate technicalities which dealt with a sovereign independent state as a mere piece of property in search of an owner, formed an insult never to be forgiven, whatever might be the cost of repudiation and vengeance."—BURTON.c]

by Baliol to a slight imprisonment. Released from his confinement, Macduff summoned Baliol to appear before Edward, and, in October, 1293, Edward directed that the Scottish king should answer by appearing in person before him. He came, but refused to plead. The parliament of England decreed that Baliol was liable to Macduff in damages, and for his contumacy in refusing to plead before his lord paramount, declared that three principal towns in Scotland, with their castles, should be taken into the custody of Edward until the king of Scots should make satisfaction. Severe and offensive regulations were laid down concerning the Scottish king's regular attendance in future on the courts of his suzerain in England. In a word, Baliol was made sensible that though he might be suffered for a time to wear sceptre and crown, it was but so long as he should consider himself a mere tool in the hands of a haughty and arbitrary superior, who was determined to fling him aside on the first opportunity, and to put every species of slight and dishonour on his right of delegated majesty till he should become impatient of enduring it. The Scottish king, therefore, determined to extricate himself from so degrading a position, and to free himself and his country from the thraldom of a foreign usurper. The time (1294) seemed apt to the purpose, for discord had arisen betwixt the realms of France and England concerning some feudal rights, in which Edward had shown himself as intractable and disobedient a vassal to Philip of France, as he was a severe and domineering superior to Baliol. Catching this favourable opportunity, Baliol formed a secret treaty of alliance with France, signed at Paris, October 23rd, 1295.[j]

Burton[e] says of this treaty:

"This was a bargain for wasting, destroying, and slaying, rendered in terms which sound savage through the diplomatic formalities. The engagement was but too literally kept. One rabble army swept the western, and another the eastern border counties, pillaging, destroying, and burning, after the old fashion. Both returned without any achievement to give the mark of soldiership to their expedition. A course more wantonly impolitic for a country in Scotland's position could not well be devised." Burns,[b] in answer, points to the notorious preparations of the English for an invasion of Scotland.[a]

The Scottish nobles joined in the purpose of resistance, but declined to place Baliol at the head of the preparations which they made for national defence: and having no confidence either in his wisdom or steadiness, they detained him in a kind of honourable captivity in a distant castle, placing their levies under the command of leaders whose patriotism was considered less doubtful.

Edward, in 1296, put himself at the head of four thousand horse and thirty thousand infantry, the finest soldiers in Europe, and proceeded towards Northumberland. Anthony Beck, the military bishop of Durham, joined the royal host with a large body of troops. They besieged the town of Berwick, and took it by storm (March 30th), though gallantly defended. Thousands of the defenceless inhabitants were slain in the massacre which followed, and the town (a very wealthy one) was entirely plundered.[1] A body of thirty Flemish merchants held a strong building in the town, called the

[1 Accounts of contemporaries differ widely on the number of slain. Langtoft[d] puts it at four thousand, Fordun[e] at seven thousand, Hemingburgh[f] at eight thousand, Knighton[g] at seventeen thousand, and Matthew[h] of Westminster at sixty thousand, which Hailes[i] wisely accepts as a copyist's error for six thousand. The massacre is recorded by the English chroniclers of the time as well as by the Scotch.]

Redhall, by the tenure of defending it against the English: they did so to the last, and honourably perished amid the ruins of the edifice.

Bruce the Competitor, the earl of March, and other Scottish nobles of the south, joined with King Edward, instead of opposing him. The first of these vainly flattered himself that the dethronement of Baliol might be succeeded by his own nomination to the crown, when it should be declared vacant by his rival's forfeiture, and Edward seemed to encourage these hopes. While the English king was still at Berwick, the abbot of Arbroath appeared before him with a letter from Baliol, in answer to Edward's summons to him to appear in person, renouncing his vassalage, and expressing defiance. "The foolish traitor!" said the king, "what frenzy has seized him? But since he will not come to us, we will go to him."

Edward's march northward was stopped by the strong castle of Dunbar, which was held out against him by the countess of March, who had joined the lords that declared for the cause of independence, although the earl, her husband, was serving in the English army: so much were the Scots divided on this momentous occasion. Whilst Edward pressed the siege of this important place, the inner gate, as it might be termed, of Scotland, a large force appeared on the descent of the ridge of the Lammermoor hills, above the town. It was the Scottish army moving to the relief of Dunbar, and on the appearance of their banners the defenders raised a shout of exultation and defiance. But when Warrenne, earl of Surrey, Edward's general, advanced towards the Scottish army, the Scots, with a rashness which often ruined their affairs before and afterwards, poured down from the advantageous post which they occupied, and incurred by their temerity a dreadful defeat, which laid the whole country open to the invader.

Bruce, after the victory of Dunbar, conceived his turn of triumph was approaching, and hinted to Edward his hope of being preferred to the throne which Baliol had forfeited. "Have we no other business," said Edward, looking at him askance, "than to conquer kingdoms for you?" Bruce retired and meddled no more with public affairs, in which his grandson, at a later period, took a part so distinguished.

After the battle of Dunbar scarce a spark of resistance to Edward seemed to enlighten the general despair. The English army continued an unresisted march as far north as Aberdeen and Elgin. Baliol, brought before his victor, [in the churchyard of Strathcaro, July, 1296] was literally stripped of his royal robes, confessed his feudal transgression in rebellion against his lord paramount, and made a formal surrender of his kingdom to the victor.

The king of England held a parliament at Berwick,[1] August 28th, 1296, where he received the willing and emulous submission of Scottishmen of the higher ranks, lords, knights, and squires. Edward received them all graciously, and took measures for assuring his conquest. He created John Warrenne, earl of Surrey, guardian of Scotland. Hugh Cressingham, an ambitious churchman, was made treasurer, and William Ormesby justiciary of the kingdom. He placed English governors and garrisons in the Scottish castles, and returned to England, having achieved an easy and apparently a permanent conquest. This was not all. Edward resolved so to improve his conquest as to eradicate all evidence of national independence. He carried off or mutilated such records as might awaken the recollection that

[1 The most important result of the campaign was the capture and fortification of Berwick. That city, the key to the Lothians, was the commercial city, and Scotland was left without one until the rise, after the union, of Glasgow and the mercantile centres of the Clyde.*l*]

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Scotland had ever been free. The chartulary of Scone, the place where, since the conquest of Kenneth Macalpine, the Scottish kings had been crowned, was carefully ransacked for the purpose of destroying whatever might be found at variance with the king of England's pretensions. The Scottish historians have, perhaps, magnified the extent of this rapine; but that Edward was desirous to remove everything which could remind the Scots of their original independence, is proved by his carrying to London, not only the crown and sceptre surrendered by Baliol, but even the sacred stone on which the Scottish monarchs were placed when they received the royal inauguration. He presented these trophies to the cathedral of Westminster.

This fatal stone, as already mentioned, was said to have been brought from Ireland by Fergus, the son of Eric, who led the Dalriads to the shores of Argyllshire. Its virtues are preserved in the celebrated leonine verse—

Ni fallat fatum, Scoti, quocunque locatum
Invenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem.

Which may be rendered thus:—

Unless the fates are faithless found,
And prophets' voice be vain,
Where'er this monument is found
The Scottish race shall reign.

There were Scots who hailed the accomplishment of this prophecy at the accession of James VI to the crown of England, and exulted that, in removing this palladium, the policy of Edward resembled that which brought the Trojan horse in triumph within their walls, and which occasioned the destruction of their royal family. The stone is still preserved, and forms the support of King Edward the Confessor's chair, which the sovereign occupies at his coronation, and, independent of the divination so long in being accomplished, is in itself a very curious remnant of extreme antiquity.

The unanimous subjection of a proud and brave nation to a foreign conqueror is too surprising to be dismissed without remark, especially since it was so general that most of the noble and ancient families of Scotland are reduced to the necessity of tracing their ancestors' names in the fifty-six sheets of parchment which constitute the degrading roll of submission to Edward I. [This is called the Ragman Roll, a corruption probably of Ragment, a deed or convention.] The following circumstances here suggest themselves in explanation of the remarkable fact. The nobility of Scotland during the civil wars had, by the unvarying policy of Malcolm Canmore and his successors, come to consist almost entirely of a race foreign to the country. Two or three generations had not converted Normans into Scots; and whatever allegiance the emigrated strangers might yield to the monarchs who bestowed on them their fiefs, it must have been different from the sentiments of filial attachment with which men regard the land of their birth and that of their ancestors, and the princes by whose fathers their own had been led to battle, and with whom they had shared conquest and defeat.

In fact, the Normans were neither by birth nor manners rendered accessible to the emotions which constitute patriotism. Their ancestors were those Scandinavians who left without reluctance their native north in search of better settlements, and spread their sails to the winds, like the voluntary exile of modern times, little caring to what shores they were wafted, so that they were not driven back to their own. The education of the Normans of the thirteenth century had not inculcated that love of a natal soil which

they could not learn from their roving fathers of the preceding ages. They were, above all nations, devoted to chivalry, and its doctrines and habits were unfavourable to local attachment. The true knight-errant was a cosmopolite—a citizen of the world: every soil was his country, and he was indifferent to feelings and prejudices which promote in others patriotic attachment to a particular country.

The feudal system also, though the assertion may at first sight appear strange, had, until fiefs were rendered hereditary, circumstances unfavourable to loyalty and patriotism. A vassal might, and often did, hold fiefs in more realms than one; a division of allegiance tending to prevent the sense of duty or loyal attachment running strongly in any of their single channels. Nay, he might, and many did, possess fiefs depending on the separate kings of France, England, and Scotland, and thus being to a certain extent the subject of all these princes, he could hardly look on any of them with peculiar attachment, unless it were created by personal respect or preference. When war broke out betwixt any of the princes whom he depended upon, the feudatory debated with himself to which standard he should adhere, and shook himself clear of his allegiance to the other militant power by resigning the fief.

The possibility of thus changing country and masters, this habit of serving a prince only so long as the vassal held fief under him, led to loose and irregular conceptions on the subject of loyalty, and gave the feudatory more the appearance of a mercenary who serves for pay than of a patriot fighting in defence of his country. This consequence may be drawn from the frequent compliances and change of parties visible in the Scottish barons, and narrated without much censure by the historians. Lastly, the reader may observe that the great feudatories, who seemed to consider themselves as left to choose to which monarch they should attach themselves, were less regardful of the rights of England and Scotland, or of foreigners and native princes, than of the personal talents and condition of the two kings. In attaching themselves to Edward instead of Baliol, the high vassals connected themselves with valour instead of timidity, wealth instead of poverty, and conquest instead of defeat.

Such indifference to the considerations arising from patriotism, and such individual attention to their own interest being the characteristic of the Scoto-Norman nobles, it is no wonder that many of them took but a lukewarm share in the defence of their country, and that some of them were guilty of shameful versatility during the quickly changing scenes which we are about to narrate. It was different with the Scottish nation at large. *j*

THE RISE OF WALLACE

What King Edward gained by his own prudence, he lost by the negligence or imprudence of some of his officers. The earl of Warrenne lived chiefly in England, and the government of Scotland was left almost entirely to the treasurer, Cressingham, and the justiciary, Ormesby, who irritated the people, the one by his oppressive exactions, and the other by the severity with which he enforced the oath of fealty. The general discontent broke out in petty insurrections, and, in spite of the desertion of their nobility, the people of Scotland seemed to be animated by a general spirit of resistance. At first this feeling was shown by the numerous parties of outlaws and banditti who infested the roads, and plundered the English wherever they found them, sometimes burning and robbing their houses. These bands of maraud-

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ers became gradually more numerous; they ventured even to attack castles, and to make prisoners of their garrisons; and they often committed atrocious acts of barbarity. Young men of respectable families, who had nothing to hope from the English government, and with whose wild and restless dispositions this lawless life agreed well, joined the insurgents and became their leaders. Among these was one who soon rose to the highest pitch of fame, and who was, for a while, looked upon with justice as the saviour of his country.

William Wallace (or de Walays) was the second son of Sir Malcolm Wallace of Ellerslie, near Paisley, a knight of small estate, but of an ancient family. Young Wallace was remarkable for his strength and stature; and, hasty and violent in his passions, he appears to have spent rather a turbulent youth. His hatred to the English was said to have been encouraged and fostered from his childhood by one of his uncles, a priest, who had perhaps suffered from the new state of things, and who instilled into the youthful mind of his nephew the love of freedom and the hatred of oppression. Wallace soon became a marked man in his native district, and he seems to have associated with men of the same temper and sentiments as his own, whose conduct was equally suspicious. According to popular history, he seems at this time to have lived a life worthy of Robin Hood and his foresters.

One day, in May, 1297, he was insulted by some English officers in the town of Lanark, and his resentment led to a street feud, in which he was overpowered, and would have been slain, but he escaped into the house of a woman who was his mistress, and by whose assistance he succeeded in making his escape to the woods in disguise.[n]

This woman was an orphan, Marion Bradfute, and according to some accounts she and Wallace had been secretly married, and she had borne him a daughter; according to others, she was his betrothed; according to yet others, she was simply his mistress. Wyntoun[q] calls her his "leman." Blind Harry's[r] account agrees with Wyntoun's very closely, yet he would seem to have had some other narrative before him, and possibly Wyntoun and Harry may have drawn mainly upon a common predecessor. However this may be, Harry, with inflexible allegiance to his hero, expressly affirms: "Mine author says she was his rightwise wife." The point really needs no consideration.

Harry lavishes a wealth of tender emotion over the loves of Wallace and Marion Bradfute, and his sympathetic feeling elevates him to genuine poetic expression, often touched with extreme delicacy. Marion lived at Lanark, "a maiden mild" of eighteen. Her father, Sir Hugh de Bradfute, and her eldest brother, had been slain by Hazelrig, the sheriff of Lanark; her mother, too, was dead; and such peace as she enjoyed was dependent on her having "purchased King Edward's protection," although that did not secure her from the offensive attentions of his local minions.

> "Amiable and benign she was, and wise,
> Courteous and sweet, fulfillèd of gentrice,
> Her tongue well ruled, her face right fresh and fair.
> Withal she was a maid of virtue rare:
> Humbly her led, and purchased a good name,
> And kept herself with every wight from blame.
> True rightwise folk great favour did her lend."

When Wallace first saw her, Hazelrig had just broached a proposal of marriage between her and his son. The inevitable conflict arose.[s]

The English sheriff, Hazelrig, forced his way into the house, and cruelly put the woman to death; in revenge for which Wallace soon afterwards

attacked and slew the sheriff. Wallace was proclaimed a felon and traitor; a price was put on his head; and he was thenceforth obliged to make his home in the woods and mountains. There he found companions who had been already driven to the same course, and joining with these, he became the chief of one of the small plundering bands which overran the kingdom. Wallace's band was seldom unsuccessful in its enterprises; and the young hero already discovered a talent for war, which gained him distinction among other bands of outlaws, as well as with his own immediate followers. These gradually united themselves under his command, and he in a short time found himself at the head of a little army of outlaws whom he accustomed to discipline and obedience to their leader, as well as to those rapid and decisive movements which were necessary to insure success in the kind of warfare in which he was now engaged. He now openly declared war on the English, and he was joined by a few persons of more consequence, who hoped that they might thus assist in liberating their country from the English domination. Among the first of those was Sir William Douglas, a baron of influence in Clydesdale, who had been taken prisoner by the English at the siege of Berwick, and had been liberated on his taking the oath of fealty to King Edward.

The addition of the numerous vassals of Douglas to his already considerable force encouraged Wallace to attempt some bolder enterprise. It happened, fortunately for his design, that Ormesby, the English justiciary, was holding his court at Scone, with no great force to protect him, while the guardian of Scotland was attending the English parliament. Wallace marched suddenly to Scone in May, 1297, and surprised the justiciary, who escaped with difficulty, leaving a rich booty and many prisoners to the assailants. The latter now openly plundered and ravaged the country, putting all the English they found to the sword, and acting sometimes collectively, and sometimes in separate parties. They soon, however, collected all their forces into one army, and, leaving the scene of these exploits, threw themselves into the western districts of Scotland. This movement had, no doubt, been concerted with some of the great Scottish barons, who were weary of English rule, for Wallace had no sooner shown himself in the west than he was joined by the Steward of Scotland and his brother, Sir Andrew Moray, of Bothwell, Alexander de Lindesay, Sir Richard Lundin, Wishart, bishop of Glasgow, and other men of influence. The insurrection had now taken a formidable character, and Wallace, at the head of a considerable force, began to clear the districts in his power from the English. In doing this acts of great atrocity were daily perpetrated. The rage of the Scots was directed especially against the English clergy, and the victorious insurgents even amused themselves with torturing helpless women.

ROBERT BRUCE JOINS WALLACE

There was one man on whom all eyes were turned, and whose conduct had been hitherto indecisive. This was Robert Bruce, the son of Robert Bruce, lord of Annandale, who was at this time with King Edward. Young Robert Bruce was powerful by his extensive possessions, and by the number of ready vassals he could bring into the field, and he was looked on by the English rulers with so much suspicion that they summoned him to Carlisle, where he went with a numerous retinue, and made oath on the consecrated sacrament and the sword of Thomas à Becket, that he would be faithful to the king of England.

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As a further proof of his zeal for the English government, he raised his own vassals, invaded and ravaged the lands of Wallace's companion, Sir William Douglas, and carried his wife and children prisoners into Annandale. Bruce had no sooner performed this exploit than he privately conferred with the retainers of his father, and tried, but in vain, to persuade them to rise and go with him to join the other insurgents against the English. Perhaps he felt that he had now too far compromised himself to remain any longer inactive, for he raised his own tenantry, and joined the standard of Wallace and Douglas.

The confederacy which had now formed round Wallace was, however, weak and uncertain. Success had given Wallace power, but the great barons who had joined in the revolt were ill contented to be serving under the banner of one who, without the set-off of high blood and extensive estates, stood proclaimed as an outlawed felon. Such was in no small degree the case with Bruce himself, whose ambition was stirred up by his own proximity to the throne, and his eye seems to have been directed constantly to the prize which John Baliol had carried off from his father. He had discovered that it was not likely to be the reward of his fidelity to King Edward, and he now thought that he might obtain it by serving his country.

Intelligence of this revolt reached King Edward as he was preparing to sail for Flanders, and although it excited his anger, he seems to have been too much convinced of the weakness and desolation of Scotland to imagine that it need give him any serious alarm. He commanded the Earl of Warrenne and Surrey, his guardian of Scotland, to march against his Scottish enemies. The earl was stricken with years, and was hardly equal to the quickness that was necessary in such an emergency; but he sent before him his nephew, Henry Percy, with an army of forty thousand foot and three hundred horse. The English, who seem to have looked at Bruce as the most important of their enemies, marched rapidly through Annandale to take possession of the castle of Lochmaben. It was night when they arrived there, and the Scots, who had been watching their movements, took advantage of the darkness, and made a furious attack on their camp. The English set fire to the wooden houses in which they were lodged, and by this light repulsed their assailants. They then marched towards Ayr, to keep the men of Galloway in allegiance.

THE CAPITULATION AT IRVINE (1297 A.D.)

At break of day Percy led his army in the direction where he had been told that the Scottish army was posted, and after a march of three or four miles he discovered them drawn up at Irvine, on the banks of a small lake. This was the first time that the insurgents had faced a regular disciplined army, and the hearts of many of the leaders, who distrusted one another, suddenly failed them. Their principal anxiety seemed to be to make their peace with the English and save their estates. The Scots were equal in numbers to the English, and they had little to fear in risking a battle, had they been unanimous, but there was no unanimity among the insurgents. A Scottish knight—Sir Richard Lundi—who had hitherto resisted the English domination, set the example of desertion; he said there was no safety in a host which was divided against itself, and he went over with his men to the army of Henry Percy. Robert Bruce, the Steward of Scotland, Alexander de Lindesay, Sir William Douglas, the bishop of Glasgow, and others, followed his example; and all these chiefs affixed their signatures and seals to

an instrument in Norman French, in which they entreated forgiveness for their rebellion. It was dated at Irvine, on the 9th of July, 1297.

Wallace was indignant at the desertion of his noble allies; and, resolutely refusing to join in their submission, he placed himself at the head of his own faithful followers and as many of the others as would serve under him, and made his retreat towards the north. The only person of any note who accompanied him was Sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell. The Treaty of Irvine was said to have been negotiated by the bishop of Glasgow, against whom the anger of Wallace was especially raised on this account; and he stopped in his retreat to wreak his vengeance on the prelate, by attacking his castle, ravaging his lands, and carrying his household into captivity.

The barons who thus submitted at Irvine seem to have been confounded at their own act; and although the king had accepted their submissions, they hesitated to send in their hostages, under pretence that they waited for some security that the liberties of their country should be preserved. Two, however, Sir William Douglas and the bishop of Glasgow, kept strictly to their engagements, and, finding they could not fulfil all the articles of the capitulation, they voluntarily surrendered their persons. The bishop seemed to have lost the confidence of all parties, and Edward looked even upon his surrender with suspicion, and seemed to think that he meditated treachery.

Robert Bruce had now become an object of more especial distrust, and he was only received into the king's peace after the bishop with the steward of Scotland and Alexander de Lindesay had agreed to be his sureties until he delivered his daughter Marjory as hostage. In spite of this outbreak, Edward, who was occupied with a continental war, continued to follow a conciliatory policy.

WALLACE WINS AT STIRLING BRIDGE (SEPTEMBER 14TH, 1297)

In the mean while Wallace in the north soon recruited his army, and recovered his confidence. The Scottish barons had deserted him, but most of their retainers, perhaps with the connivance of their lords, continued to follow his banner. The populace everywhere began to regard him as their protector and destined deliverer, and the army which looked upon him as its sole commander was increased rapidly during the summer months. He had already reduced the English garrisons who held the castles of Forfar, Brechin, and Montrose, and had driven them from nearly all the strongholds to the north of the Forth. He was commencing the siege of the strong castle of Dundee, when he received intelligence that the English army, under Warrenne and the treasurer Cressingham, was marching to Stirling on its way against him. With the army which now obeyed his command, and the ardour with which his successes had animated it, Wallace was not afraid to meet the enemy, and he knew that the ground about Stirling, if he could select his position, was more favourable than any spot he might have it in his power to choose for a tumultuous host to engage a disciplined army. He therefore marched southward with all his force after charging the citizens of Dundee with the siege of the castle, and threatening them with his utmost vengeance if they discontinued it; and he was fortunate enough to reach Stirling in time to make his dispositions before the English army arrived.

The English army was superior in number as well as in discipline to that opposed to it, for while but forty thousand foot and a hundred and eighty horse were said to have followed the banner of Wallace, Warrenne led into

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the field a force of fifty thousand foot and a thousand horse.' But the English were embarrassed by the disagreement between their leaders, the earl and the treasurer Cressingham, the latter an overbearing ecclesiastic, who loved the profession of war better than the church, and who was hated by the Scots for his cruel tyranny. But for this cause, and for the earl's want of vigour, the English would, perhaps, have reached Stirling before Wallace. It was the passion of Cressingham to hoard up the king's revenue in his treasury, and he grudged the necessary expenses for the war. When the army marched towards Stirling, Henry Percy left Newcastle to join it, with a reinforcement of eight thousand foot and three hundred horse, but Cressingham ordered these troops to be disbanded, speaking of it as an unnecessary waste of the king's treasure, and declaring that they had men enough for their purpose.

The English army came in view of the Scots before Stirling on the 11th of September, and they found, to use the description of a contemporary chronicler, that there was not a better place in all Scotland for the defeat of a powerful army by a handful of men than that occupied by their enemies, whose force was concealed from their view by the nature of the ground. Instead of acting with the prudence which the knowledge of this circumstance ought to have insured, the English leaders showed a great want of caution. Warrenne and Cressingham seem to have imagined that the enemy would surrender with the same pusillanimity as at Irvine, and they delayed attacking the Scots until the Steward of Scotland, the earl of Lennox, and other Scottish barons who had accompanied the army, were sent to Wallace's camp to try to bring him to terms.

The whole course of the engagement which took place next day was a series of blunders on the part of the English commanders. By sunrise five thousand English footmen and a large body of Welsh soldiers had passed the bridge, but finding that they were unsupported, they repassed it. It was not till an hour after this that the earl of Warrenne awoke, and then the army was drawn up and some new knights were made. The Steward of Scotland and the earl of Lennox were seen approaching the camp. They informed the earl of Warrenne that they had made efforts to persuade Wallace to agree to terms of pacification, but without success, and that they could prevail upon none of his followers to desert him. The English soldiers had now become furious in their cries to be led on to the attack. The earl gave the order for passing the bridge. Sir Marmaduke Twenge, a knight of tried courage, with Cressingham himself, who was not wanting in the same quality, led them on, and when scarcely half the army had passed, Twenge, observing that the Scots still remained on the heights, and attributing their inactivity to fear, rashly gave the order to advance up the hill.

This was exactly the movement that Wallace desired. He had sent a part of his army by a circuitous route to possess themselves of the foot of the bridge, by which the communication between the two divisions of the English army was entirely cut off, and when he saw that this object had been effected, he ordered his men to attack the division under Twenge and Cressingham. The Scots rushed down impetuously from the hill upon the troops, which were already in disorder, and soon threw them into inextricable confusion. Among the first who fell was Cressingham the treasurer. Multi-

[1 Hume Brown[k] thinks it incredible that either side should have had the number of men credited to it. It may be said in general of old accounts that exaggeration and diminution play a remarkable part. In such cases, however, we can do little but repeat with deprecation what records we have.]

tudes were slain around him; for the English soldiers seemed almost paralysed, and numbers of the heavy-armed horse threw themselves into the river, and were drowned in the attempt to swim over. The earl of Warrenne remained on the other side of the river, a spectator of the destruction of his men, and when he sent over the standard-bearers with another division, it was only to increase the disaster. Twenge, with one or two of his companions, cut his way through the columns opposed to him, and crossed the bridge to rejoin his commander; after which the bridge itself broke down, or was destroyed, thus rendering the fate of one portion of the army more helpless, although it facilitated the flight of the others. These, however, were exposed to an attack from new enemies; for when their allies, the earl of Lennox and the Steward of Scotland, who had, as was suspected, been in secret negotiation with Wallace, saw that their countrymen had the victory, they threw off the mask, and led on their followers to destroy and plunder the flying English. The English commander ordered Twenge to occupy the castle of Stirling, and then fled without halting till he reached Berwick, followed by what remained of his army.

Wallace's victory was complete. The loss on the side of the Scots was inconsiderable, but he had to lament the death of his faithful associate, Sir Andrew Moray. The English estimated their own loss at five thousand foot and a hundred horse, but in all probability it was much more considerable. The plunder which fell into the hands of the victors was immense. In their hatred of the English they made few or no prisoners, but slew all who fell into their hands, and they even indulged their fury by mutilating the dead. In their detestation of Cressingham, the Scottish soldiers threw themselves on his body, mangled it, and tore the flesh from his bones. His skin was taken off and cut to pieces, and it is even said that Wallace ordered a piece sufficient to make a sword-belt to be reserved.

The battle of Stirling was for a moment fatal to the English domination in Scotland. It struck terror into the English garrisons, and not only Dundee, but all the other fortresses in the kingdom, were surrendered to Wallace. He dismantled the castles of Edinburgh and Roxburgh, as though apprehensive that his triumph might not be lasting, and that they might again serve the purposes of Edward's tyranny. Even Berwick was deserted by its English garrison, and Wallace sent a Scottish knight, named Henry de Haliburton, to take possession of it.

WALLACE INVADES ENGLAND (1297 A.D.)

Thus Wallace on a sudden found himself in full possession of the whole of Scotland. The Scottish chieftain determined to profit by the terror caused by his present success to invade the northern counties of England. He ordered for this purpose a general levy of soldiers throughout the kingdom; every county, barony, town, and village being required to send a certain proportion of its fighting men to march under his banner. In the execution of this order Wallace soon found how little substantial assistance he was likely to reap from the barons, who were already jealous of his power, and were unwilling to acknowledge for their superior a man of so mean an origin. The consequence was that Wallace's levies were made slowly and imperfectly.

Mortified at the lukewarmness of the nobles, most of whom remained at least professing allegiance to the English king, Wallace now proceeded to adopt measures of coercion, and, causing gibbets to be erected in each barony and county town, he threatened with death all who disobeyed his

[1297–1298 A.D.]

summons to join the army. Some burgesses of Aberdeen were hanged; but in general this threat seems to have produced its full effect, and he soon found himself at the head of a vast though disorderly host. With these, taking as his associate in command Sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell, the son[1] of the Moray who had been slain at the bridge of Stirling, he marched towards Northumberland. The population of that county, struck with terror, deserted their homes, and with their families, cattle, and household furniture, sought refuge in Newcastle. The Scots had sent their scouts before them, and by these they were informed of the flight of the inhabitants, and, as plunder was their main object, they put a stop to their march, as though they intended to proceed no farther.



RUINS OF ROSLIN CASTLE.

But no sooner had the Northumbrians, imagining the danger was over, returned to their homes, than Wallace marched his army suddenly and rapidly across the border, and during several weeks the counties of Northumberland and Cumberland were plundered and ravaged in the most horrible manner. The county of Durham was only saved from the invaders by the approach of winter, which set in with such severity, and at the same time the scarcity of provisions became so great that multitudes of the Scots perished by cold and famine. Wallace thus found it necessary to retreat. Towards Christmas Lord Robert Clifford raised the men of Cumberland, and joining them with the strong garrison of Carlisle, had twice invaded Annandale, which he ravaged with fire and sword, in retaliation for the attack on the English border. The lands of Robert Bruce suffered on this occasion, and he made it a pretext for deserting the English party and joining Wallace.

WALLACE IS MADE GUARDIAN OF SCOTLAND

Soon after Wallace's return to Scotland an assembly was held at the Forest Kirk, in Selkirkshire, which was attended by the earl of Lennox, Sir William Douglas, and other great barons, and their victorious leader was there elected governor or Guardian of Scotland, in the name of King John, for Baliol was still acknowledged by the Scots as their king. Wallace held this high office "with the consent of the community of Scotland." In fact, though the lesser barons and gentry now joined him in great number, the earls of Scotland and the greater barons still held aloof, and were unwill-

[1 But Bain *m* shows that the son was but a child at the time, and there is some uncertainty as to the identity of this Moray.]

[1298 A.D.]

ing to acknowledge his superiority. But Wallace now began to exert the authority which had been placed in his hands with vigour and prudence, though perhaps with a little leaning to tyranny, though this may be excused by the turbulence of the people he had to govern. His attention was especially directed to the military condition of the kingdom, and he divided it into military districts, ordering in each shire, barony, lordship, town, and burgh, a muster-book to be kept of the number of fighting men between the ages of sixteen and sixty, and from these he drew, under pain of heavy penalty, whatever recruits he considered necessary. He proceeded at the same time to introduce a stricter discipline into his army, and endeavoured to restrain the licentiousness of the soldiers. His firmness compelled the greater nobles to submit, at least in appearance, to his authority.[n]

He also tried to revive trade, and a letter from him and Moray to the magistrates and commons of Lubeck and Hamburg is in existence, inviting them to resume their commerce with Scotland.[a]

EDWARD INVADES SCOTLAND, AND WINS AT FALKIRK (1298 A.D.)

The English monarch was absent in Flanders when these events took place, and what was still more inconvenient, before he could gain supplies from his parliament to suppress the Scottish revolt, Edward found himself obliged to confirm Magna Charta, the charter of the forest, and other stipulations in favour of the people; the English being prudently though somewhat selfishly disposed to secure their own freedom before they would lend their swords to destroy that of their neighbours. Complying with these demands, Edward, on his return from the Low Countries, found himself at the head of a gallant muster of all the English chivalry, forming by far the most superb army that had ever entered Scotland. [He had more than 80,000 foot and 10,000 horse, according to some accounts.] Wallace acted with great sagacity, and, according to a plan which often before and after proved successful in Scottish warfare, laid waste the intermediate country between Stirling and the frontiers, and withdrew towards the centre of the kingdom to receive the English attack, when their army should be exhausted by privation.

Edward pressed on with characteristic hardihood and resolution. Tower and town fell before him: but his advance was not without such inconvenience and danger as a less determined monarch would have esteemed a good apology for retreat. His army suffered from want of provisions, which were at length supplied in small quantities by some of his ships. As the English king lay at Kirkliston, in West Lothian, a tumult broke out between the Welsh and English in his army, which, after costing some blood, was quelled with difficulty. While Edward hesitated whether to advance or retreat, he learned through the treachery of two apostate Scottish nobles (the earls of Dunbar and Angus) that Wallace, with the Scottish army, had approached so near as Falkirk. This advance was doubtless made with the purpose of annoying the expected retreat of the English. Edward, thus apprised that the Scots were in his vicinity, determined to compel them to action. He broke up his camp, and, advancing with caution, slept the next night in the fields along with the soldiers.

Next morning, July 22nd, 1298, the armies met. The Scottish infantry were drawn up on a moor, with a morass in front. They were divided into four phalanxes or dense masses,[1] with lances lowered obliquely over each

[1 They were called "schiltrons" and were formed in circles. Hereford George [o] called them "an important advance in the art of war."]

[1298 A.D.]

other, and seeming, says an English historian, like a castle walled with steel. These spear-men were the flower of the army, in whom Wallace chiefly confided. He commanded them in person, and used the brief exhortation, "I have brought you to the ring; dance as you best can."

The Scottish archers, under command of Sir John Stewart, brother of the Steward of Scotland, were drawn up in the intervals between the masses of infantry. They were chiefly brought from the wooded district of Selkirk. We hear of no Highland bowmen amongst them. The cavalry, which only amounted to one thousand men at arms, held the rear.

The English cavalry began the action. The marshal of England led half of the men at arms straight upon the Scottish front, but in doing so involved them in the morass. The bishop of Durham, who commanded the other division of the English cavalry, was wheeling round the morass on the east, and perceiving this misfortune, became disposed to wait for support. "To mass, bishop!" said Ralph Basset of Drayton, and charged with the whole body. The Scottish men at arms went off without couching their lances; but the infantry stood their ground firmly. In the turmoil that followed, Sir John Stewart fell from his horse, and was slain among the archers of Ettrick, who died in defending or avenging him. The close bodies of Scottish spearmen, now exposed without means of defence or retaliation, were shaken by the constant showers of arrows; and the English men at arms finally charging them desperately while they were in disorder, broke and dispersed these formidable masses. The Scots were then completely routed, and it was only the neighbouring woods which saved a remnant from the sword. The body of Stewart was found among those of his faithful archers, who were distinguished by their stature and fair complexions from all others with which the field was loaded. Macduff and Sir John the Grahame, "the hardy wight and wise," still fondly remembered as the bosom friend of Sir William Wallace, were slain in the same disastrous action.

Popular report states this battle to have been lost by treachery; and the communication between the earls of Dunbar and Angus and King Edward, as well as the disgraceful flight of the Scottish cavalry without a single blow, corroborates the suspicion. But the great superiority of the English in archery may account for the loss of this as of many another battle on the part of the Scots. The bowmen of Ettrick Forest were faithful, but they could only be few. So nearly had Wallace's scheme for the campaign been successful, that Edward, even after having gained this great battle, returned to England, and deferred reaping the harvest of his conquest till the following season. If he had not been able to bring the Scottish army to action, his retreat must have been made with discredit and loss, and Scotland must have been left in the power of the patriots.

WALLACE RESIGNS THE GUARDIANSHIP; THE POPE CLAIMS SCOTLAND

The slaughter and disgrace of the battle of Falkirk might have been repaired in other respects; but it cost the Scottish kingdom an irredeemable loss in the public services of Wallace. He resigned the Guardianship of the kingdom,[1] unable to discharge its duties, amidst the calumnies with which faction

[1 Some have denied that Wallace resigned his authority and retired to France, but it is generally accepted. As an example of old exaggeration we may quote the English chronicler Hemingburgh,[f] who states that 350,000 Scots were killed or captured at Falkirk, which, as Burns[b] notes, is "more than the entire adult male population of Scotland capable of bearing arms in the nineteenth century."]

and envy aggravated his defeat. The bishop of Saint Andrews, Bruce, earl of Carrick, and Sir John Comyn were chosen Guardians of Scotland, which they administered in the name of Baliol. In the mean time that unfortunate prince was, in compassion or scorn, delivered up to the pope by Edward, and a receipt was gravely taken for his person from the nuncio then in France. This led to the entrance of a new competitor for the Scottish kingdom.

The pontiff of Rome had been long endeavouring to establish a claim, as if he had been lord of the manor of all Christendom, to whatsoever should be therein found to which a distinct and specific right of property could not be ascertained. His claim to the custody of the dethroned king being readily admitted, Boniface VIII was encouraged to publish a bull, claiming Scotland as a dependency on the see of Rome, because the country had been converted to Christianity by the reliques of Saint Andrew. The pope in the same document took the claim of Edward to the Scottish crown under his own discussion, and authoritatively commanded Edward I to send proctors to Rome, to plead his cause before his holiness.

This magisterial requisition was presented by the archbishop of Canterbury to the king, in the presence of the council and court, the prelate at the same time warning the sovereign to yield unreserved obedience since Jerusalem would not fail to protect her citizens, and Mount Zion her worshippers. "Neither for Zion nor Jerusalem," said Edward, in towering wrath, "will I depart from my just rights, while there is breath in my nostrils." Accordingly he caused the pope's bull to be laid before the parliament of England, who unanimously resolved, "that in temporals the king of England was independent of Rome, and that they would not permit his sovereignty to be questioned." Their declaration concludes with these remarkable words: "We neither do, will, nor can permit our sovereign to do anything to the detriment of the constitution which we are both sworn to, and are determined to maintain." A spirited assertion of national right, had it not been in so bad a cause as that of Edward's claim of usurpation over Scotland.

Meantime the war languished during this strange discussion, from which the pope was soon obliged to retreat. There was an inefficient campaign in 1299 and 1300. In 1301 there was a truce, in which Scotland as well as France was included. After the expiry of this breathing space, Edward I, in the spring of 1302, sent an army into Scotland of twenty thousand men, under Sir John de Segrave, a renowned general. He marched towards Edinburgh in three divisions, leaving large intervals between each. While in this careless order, Segrave's vanguard found themselves suddenly within reach of a small but chosen body of troops, amounting to eight thousand men, commanded by Sir John Comyn, the guardian, and a gallant Scottish knight, Sir Simon Fraser. Segrave was defeated, but the battle was scarce over when his second division came up. The Scots, flushed with victory, re-established their ranks, and having cruelly put to death their prisoners, attacked and defeated the second body also. The third division came up in the same manner. Again it became necessary to kill the captives, and to prepare for a third encounter. The Scottish leaders did so without hesitation, and their followers, having thrown themselves furiously on the enemy, discomfited that division likewise, and gained, as their historians boast, three battles in one day.

But the period seemed to be approaching in which neither courage nor exertion could longer avail the unfortunate people of Scotland. A peace with France, in which Philip the Fair totally omitted all stipulations in favour of his allies, left the kingdom to its own inadequate means of resist-

[1303–1305 A.D.]

ance, while Edward directed his whole force against it. The castle of Brechin, under the gallant Sir Thomas Maule, made an obstinate resistance. He was mortally wounded, and died in an exclamation of rage against the soldiers, who asked if they might not then surrender the castle. Edward wintered at Dunfermline, and began the next campaign (1303) with the siege of Stirling, the only fortress in the kingdom that still held out. But the courage of the guardians altogether gave way; they set the example of submission, and such of them as had been most obstinate in what the English king called rebellion were punished by various degrees of fine and banishment.[1]

With respect to Sir William Wallace, it was agreed that he might have the choice of surrendering himself unconditionally to the king's pleasure, provided he thought proper to do so; a stipulation which, as it signified nothing in favour of the person for whom it was apparently conceived, must be imputed as a pretext on the part of the Scottish nobles to save themselves from the disgrace of having left Wallace altogether unthought of. Some attempts were made to ascertain what sort of accommodation Edward was likely to enter into with the bravest and most constant of his enemies; but the demands of Wallace were large, and the generosity of Edward very small. The English king broke off the treaty, and put a price of three hundred marks on the head of the patriot.

Meantime Stirling Castle continued to be defended by a slender garrison, and, deprived of all hopes of relief, continued to make a desperate defence, [as described in our history of England], under its brave governor, Sir William Olifaunt, until famine and despair compelled him to an unconditional surrender, in 1304, when the king imposed the harshest terms on this handful of brave men.[j]

THE CAPTURE AND EXECUTION OF WALLACE (AUGUST 23d, 1305)

Wallace was now living the life of an outlaw in the wilds of the north. Here he long eluded the pursuit of his enemies, and might perhaps never have fallen into their hands had he not been betrayed by his own people. Wallace was hated by the Scottish nobles, not only because they looked upon him as an upstart, but because, when in power, he appears to have acted towards them with a proud, unconciliating bearing. They, therefore, were far from unwilling to deliver him up to the king's vengeance, if he fell into their hands. Many, also, of lower rank were ready to betray him, some with no better motive than the desire of obtaining the reward which was set upon his head.

Among Wallace's personal enemies was Sir John Menteith, a Scottish baron of high rank, whose nephew was slain fighting under that chieftain's banner at Falkirk. It is supposed that Menteith had cherished a feud against Wallace ever since that fatal battle, because he had retreated from the field and left his nephew to perish. Sir John Menteith was, at this time, sheriff of Dumbartonshire, and he joined the authority of his office with the activity of a personal enemy in tracing Wallace from one hiding-place to another. At length a treacherous servant of the fugitive gave information of the place

[1 During these ten years, not to speak of mere detachments, convoys, escorts, reinforcements, or garrisons, no fewer than twelve invading armies, consisting of Normans, Saxons, Welsh, and Irish, aided by Gascons from the south of France, and even Savoyards from the marches of Italy, had been poured across the Scottish border. Several of these armies exceeded in numbers that with which William of Normandy conquered Saxon England.—WM. BURNS.[b]]

of his retreat, and Menteith, having surrounded the house in which he was concealed, found him in bed "with his leman," and carried him off a prisoner.

He was immediately sent to London in fetters, where he was paraded triumphantly through the streets, and, in due course, was arraigned in Westminster Hall of high treason; and as it was reported that he had once boasted himself worthy to wear a crown in that place, a crown of laurel was placed in mockery on his head. He insisted upon his innocence of the disgraceful crime of treason, on the ground that he had never sworn fealty to the king of England, but he acknowledged that he had made war against him in defence of the independence of his country.

As might be expected, the Scottish hero was found guilty of everything that was laid to his charge, and he was condemned to suffer the death of a traitor. Upon this the laurel crown was taken from his head, and he was chained; and on the 23rd of August the sentence was carried into execution.[n]

Matthew of Westminster[h] (*Flores Historiarum*) describes him as "Wilielmus Waleis, a man void of pity, a robber given to sacrilege, arson, and homicide, more hardened in cruelty than Herod, more raging in madness than Nero," who was "condemned to a most cruel but justly deserved death. He was drawn through the streets of London at the tails of horses, until he reached a gallows of unusual height, especially prepared for him; there he was suspended by a halter; but taken down while yet alive, he was mutilated, his bowels torn out and burned in a fire, his head then cut off, his body divided into four, and his quarters transmitted to four principal parts of Scotland. Behold the end of the merciless man, who himself perishes without mercy!"[h]

The four quarters of Wallace's body were stuck up at Newcastle, Berwick, Perth, and Aberdeen. His head was placed on a pole on London Bridge. Thus ignominiously perished the man whom Scotland has ever revered as one of the purest and bravest of her patriots; though, under the mistaken feelings and prejudices of that age, the people of England exulted over his fate as that of an accursed felon, and shouted songs of exultation over his quivering remains. The refined cruelty of his death, though in accordance with the sanguinary laws of that period, casts a dark blot on the character of one of the greatest of the English monarchs.[n]

FREEMAN'S ESTIMATE OF WILLIAM WALLACE

Freeman[p] declares unequivocally that he regards the wars of Wallace as revolts, but he is not prepared to say that they were not justifiable. He declares that Wallace was not resisting an invader, and that "we need not look upon him either as the faultless hero which he appears in Scottish romance, nor yet as the vulgar ruffian which he appears in English history." He makes the somewhat grudging admission, however, that Wallace must have been a man of very extraordinary natural qualities, inasmuch as he rose from nothing to the command of armies, and even to the control of the government of the kingdom,—a verdict which no one, whatever his prejudice as to the character of Wallace, will be disposed to dispute. Probably Freeman's opinion that the failure of the nobles to support Wallace is rather to the credit of the Scottish hero than the reverse, is also not without justice. It is not quite so certain, however, that the term "fiendish brutalities" is justly applicable to the deeds practised by Wallace in England, if these deeds are considered in relation to the character of the times. What that character is, we have already seen in the account just given in the preceding paragraphs of the execution of Wallace himself.[a]

[1305 A.D.]

ESTIMATES OF WALLACE BY BURTON, MURISON, AND ROSEBERY

This great man has stood forth for six centuries, and will in all probability stand forth forever, as incomparably the most heroic and most fateful figure in the history of Scotland—a hero and a patriot second to none in the recorded history of the nations.

Burton[s] acknowledges freely that Wallace was "a man of vast political genius." The particulars are most limited, and yet they are ample to ground a large inference. It will be sufficient to recall his endeavours, in the midst of warlike activity, to resuscitate industry and commerce, to reorganise the civil order, to secure the aid of France and Rome, to minimise the friction with the barons, and to observe and to enforce deference to constitutional principle. It is a striking testimony to his greatness of mind that he was absolutely destitute of ambition, as ambition is ordinarily understood. Even at the height of his power and popularity, he does not seem to have had the faintest impulse to seize the crown, or, indeed, to seize anything for himself. It is a singularly bright leaf in Wallace's laurels that there remains no shadow of evidence of any inclination on his part to swerve from the straight course of pure and unselfish patriotism.

Beyond and above the exceptional tribute of "vast political and military genius"—a tribute doubly ample for any one man in any century of a nation's history—it is the unique glory of Wallace that he was the one man of his time that dared to champion the independence of his country.[1] More than that, though he died a cruel and shameful death amidst the exultant insults of his country's foes in the capital city of the enemy, he yet died victorious. He had kept alight the torch of Scottish freedom. He, a man of the people, had taught the recreant nobles that resistance to the invader was not hopeless, although those that took the torch immediately from his hand failed to carry it on; and the light was preserved by the commonalty till the torch was at length grasped by Bruce. Wallace, in fact, had made the ascendency of Bruce possible—a possibility converted into a certainty by the death of Edward I.

Lord Rosebery[t] has justly pointed to the attitude of Edward towards him in 1304 as "the greatest proof of Wallace's eminence and power." "The true deliverer of Scotland was Sir William Wallace."

The prime consideration is very finely singled out and expressed by Lord Rosebery:

"There are junctures in the affairs of men when what is wanted is a Man—not treasures, not fleets, not legions, but a Man—the man of the moment, the man of the occasion, the man of destiny, whose spirit attracts and unites and inspires, whose capacity is congenial to the crisis, whose powers are

[1 So Robert Burns exclaims:

"At Wallace' name what Scottish blood
But boils up in a springtide flood?"

And the English Wordsworth has paid this tribute in his *Prelude:*

"I would relate
How Wallace fought for Scotland; left the name
Of 'Wallace' to be found, like a wild flower,
All over his dear country; left the deeds
Of Wallace, like a family of ghosts,
To people the steep rocks and river banks,
Her natural sanctuaries, with a local soul
Of independence and stern liberty."]

equal to the convulsion—the child, and the outcome of the storm. We recognise in Wallace one of these men—a man of fate given to Scotland in the storms of the thirteenth century. It is that fact, the fact of his destiny and his fatefulness, that succeeding generations have instinctively recognised."

If it is fundamentally due to Wallace's heroic heart and mind that the national spirit of freedom saved Scotland from union with England, on any terms less dignified than the footing of independence, then the results of his noble struggle entitle him to a foremost place among the great men that have established the foundations of the British Empire. One sovereign, at least, of England, as well as of Scotland, acknowledged—and handsomely acknowledged—"the good and honourable service done of old by William Wallace for the defence of that our kingdom." Wallace made Scotland great; and, as Lord Rosebery proudly and justly claimed, "if Scotland were not great, the empire of all the Britains would not stand where it does." In the work of imperial expansion, consolidation, and administration, Scotsmen have done, and are doing, at least their fair share; but that share would have been indefinitely deferred, and indefinitely marred, but for the uncurbed passion of freedom pervading their nature. And to Scotsmen, in all the generations, freedom will ever be nobly typified in the immortal name of Sir William Wallace.[8]





CHAPTER V

ROBERT BRUCE

[1305–1331 A.D.]

> Thus was Edward possessed of Scotland, which neverthelesse (that the world might see God's hand in translating of kingdomes, being a point of his prerogative) was not long after plukt from his sonne, and the calamities which the Scots had suffered whelmed back upon the English, which peculiar art of Divine Providence you will more easily acknowledge, when you shall behold by how naked an instrument he raised againe the Scottish commonwealth out of that dust, in which, for a little season, it seemed to lye buried.—JOHN SPEED.[b]

WALLACE was dead. His body was disfigured and distributed in the great centres of his activity and influence, as an encouragement to English sympathisers and a sign of retribution to Scots that might yet cherish the foolishness of patriotism. The moral has been well rendered by Burton[c]:

"The death of Wallace stands forth among the violent ends which have had a memorable place in history. Proverbially such acts belong to a policy that outwits itself. But the retribution has seldom come so quickly, and so utterly in defiance of all human preparation and calculation, as here. Of the bloody trophies sent to frighten a broken people into abject subjection, the bones had not yet been bared ere they became tokens to deepen the wrath and strengthen the courage of a people arising to try the strength of the bands by which they were bound, and, if possible, break them once and for ever."

Wallace had done his work right well and truly, as builder of the foundations of Scottish independence. He had sealed his faith with his blood. Probably he died despairing of his country. Yet barely had six months come and gone when his dearest wish was fulfilled.[d]

To settle the government of his late acquisition, Edward condescended to ask and follow the advice of three Scotsmen, Robert Bruce, the successor of

Bruce the competitor for the crown, and Wishart, bishop of Glasgow, and John Mowbray, both of whom had distinguished themselves by their previous attachment to the cause of independence. At their suggestion he summoned a Scottish parliament at Perth (May 28th, 1305), in which ten commissioners were chosen to confer with the king in person at London. To them were joined ten Englishmen, with several of the judges, and all took an oath to give the best advice in their power, without suffering themselves to be swayed by any consideration of friendship, enmity, or interest.

The result of their deliberation was, on September 23rd: that John de Bretagne [or Britanny], Edward's nephew, should be appointed Guardian of the realm, with the aid of the present chamberlain and chancellor, both Englishmen; that for the better administration of justice, Scotland should be divided into four districts, to each of which two justiciaries, the one a native, the other an Englishman, were assigned; and that Bruce should intrust the castle of Kildrummy to a person for whose fidelity he should be responsible.[m]

Edward's recent biographer, T. F. Tout,[c] has said of this settlement:

"Admitting that Scotland was to be ruled by Edward at all, it is hard to see how the government of Scotland could have been better arranged than by this plan."

And the Scotch historian Burton[c] also says:

"It bears the impression of a high intelligence and foresight, mellowed by beneficence, and even kindliness. The author of it saw that, once brought together, without violence, or goading to national antipathy, the two nations would naturally co-operate and fuse into one compact empire; and no one could be more alive to the mighty destinies that such an empire might have to look to." Elsewhere he writes: "In truth Edward's leniency was one of the examples of a new policy towards Scotland which experience had taught him. Strengthening his hand to the utmost, he would yet lay it on gently, if not winningly. He was no Nero or Domitian, luxuriating in the lust of power, and besotting himself with bloody orgies. His ambition was to be an organiser and reformer; in his own way, a benefactor to his race, and this passion was the real source of his severities. He saw before him the splendid vision of the British Isles under one scheme of strong, orderly government, blessing all classes of the community; and his fury when thwarted—his rage against the self-willed barbarians who baffled his wise projects, drove him to cruelty."

This settlement was followed by an act of conditional indemnity. All who had engaged in the rebellion and afterwards submitted, were secured as to life and limb, and freed from imprisonment and disherison, on condition that they paid certain fines: the clergy one year's rent of their estates; Comyn, Gordon, and the bishop of Glasgow, three years'; William Baliol, Simon Fraser, and John Wishart, four years', and Ingelram de Umfraville, five years' rent. At the same time the order of temporary banishment against Comyn, Graham, and the bishop of Glasgow was recalled. The money arising from these fines was to be spent in Scotland, for the benefit of the kingdom. If it be considered that these men had given repeated proofs of their hostility to Edward, that they had sworn fealty to him and renounced it, had renewed their oaths and broken them again, we shall discover more reason to applaud his moderation than to accuse his severity. Take for example Wishart, bishop of Glasgow, of whom Edward complains to the pope that, after the forfeiture of Baliol, he swore fealty three times on "the body of Christ, the holy gospels, the cross Neot, and the black cross of Scotland," and yet joined Bruce and Wallace; was pardoned and swore fealty again.

[1305 A.D.]

again rebelled and was pardoned: swore fealty a fifth time and rebelled and was pardoned (see Palgrave). He now swore fealty a sixth time, and kept his oath till Bruce assumed the crown, when he broke it again. The world has seen many conquerors; but it will be difficult to find one who with such provocation has displayed an equal degree of lenity.[m]

Scotland, therefore, might be said to be entirely reduced, and Edward flattered himself that he was now in quiet to enjoy that sovereignty which had been purchased by a war of fifteen years, and at an incredible expense of blood and treasure. In less than six months from the execution of Wallace, this new system of government was entirely overthrown and Scotland was once more free.[g]

THE EARLY VACILLATIONS OF ROBERT BRUCE

Robert Bruce, no doubt, took his name from a Norman ancestor, a De Brus, who came in with the Conquest. The very first in succession, however, married a Scottish "heiress of Annandale," whereby the family became Scottish barons as early as the reign of Alexander I. It is said that Robert's actual birth occurred at Westminster, in England, but this is very doubtful. Be that as it may, the accident of his birth did not change the fact that the parents of the future king were domiciled Scottish subjects. How far he was influenced by patriotism, and how far by ambition, may be a difficult question to determine; but to speak of him as a "Norman adventurer in search of a crown," or as an English subject of Edward, owing no duty to his Scottish brethren, is merely to juggle with words. In every point of view he was more a Scotsman than Edward was an Englishman.[h]

Robert Bruce was put in possession of the earldom of Carrick by the resignation of his father in 1293. About this time Baliol, king of Scotland, had declared war against England; but none of the Bruce family joined him on that occasion. They continued to regard their own chief the elder Bruce's title to the crown as more just than that of Baliol. The oldest Bruce, indeed, as we have just noticed, nourished hopes that Edward would have preferred him to the crown on the deposition of his rival; but checked by the scornful answer of the monarch, that he had other business than conquering kingdoms for him, he retired to his great Yorkshire possessions, yielding his Scottish estates to the charge of his grandson, who showed at this early period, when a youth of two or three-and-twenty, a bold, bustling, and ambitious, but versatile disposition of mind. He had a natural spirit of ill-will against the great family of Comyn, because John Comyn of Badenoch had married Marjory, the sister of John Baliol. So that when Baliol's title was ended by his resignation, and the foreign residence and youth of his son placed him out of the question, John, called the Red Comyn, the son of John Comyn of Badenoch and Marjory Baliol, had, through his mother, the same title to the throne as that which had been preferred on the part of John Baliol: and the Comyns' claim, as Baliol's, in the last generation, then stood in direct opposition to that on which the Bruces rested as descendants from Isabella, second daughter of David, earl of Huntingdon.

But, besides the emulation which divided these two great families touching the succession of the crown, there had private injuries passed between them of a nature which, in that haughty age, were accounted deserving of persevering and inveterate vengeance. The lords who joined John Baliol in his revolt from Edward had issued a hasty order, confiscating the rich property of Annandale, because Bruce had not obeyed their summons. His domains

were granted by John Baliol to Comyn, earl of Buchan, and Bruce's castle of Lochmaben was occupied by him accordingly.

The necessary consequence was, that suspicion and hatred divided the heads of the two rival houses, and rendered it almost impossible for them to concur in any joint effort for their country's liberty, because, when that freedom should be achieved, they could not expect to agree which of them should be placed at the head of affairs. During the insurrection of Wallace, the younger Bruce acted, as we have seen, with more than usual versatility. He took every oath that could be suggested in attestation of his faith to the king of England, showed his zeal by plundering the lands of William of Douglas, the associate of Wallace, carried that baron's wife and family away prisoners; and having done all this to evince his faith to Edward, he united himself to Wallace and his associates. Once more Bruce saw reason to repent the part he had taken, again swore fealty, and gave his infant daughter as a hostage for keeping his faith in future.[i]

"The breaking of an oath," says Burton,[c] "has an ugly sound, and is not to be lightly spoken of; yet, like all other offences, it has to be measured by the special conditions of the time."

And Burns[h] says: "In the first place, the church claimed to dispense with almost every duty, public or private. It exercised the power of 'absolving' from the most sacred obligations, even when confirmed by solemn oaths. Under the feudal system every transaction between superior and vassal was made an occasion for homage and oaths of fealty, without taking account of the constantly recurring emergencies wherein such oaths were no longer considered binding. In short, an oath had ceased to be in fact what it might be in theory; and, in forming an estimate of the character of any historical personage, we must bear in mind the conditions of the time in this respect, just as we require to do with reference to the manner of carrying on war in the feudal ages. The very writers who so persistently denounce Robert Bruce do not hesitate to extol Harold as a patriot hero beyond reproach, without inquiring too minutely what share personal ambition had in his motives."

He permitted himself to be joined in the Scottish commission of regency, of which his rival, John the Red Comyn, was a distinguished member, having commanded, as we observed, at the memorable battle of Roslin. Upon the pacification between Edward and the Scots, and the death of his father in 1304, Bruce was permitted to take possession of his paternal estates, while Comyn, as the greater delinquent in English eyes, was subjected to a severe fine.

In 1304 Bruce enjoyed the favour and confidence of King Edward, and was one of those in whom that sagacious monarch chiefly trusted for securing Scotland to his footstool forever. Such, however, was far from being the intention of the young earl of Carrick. Though we can but obscurely trace what his purpose really was, this much is certain—a great object now presented itself, which formerly was not open to Bruce's ambition. In the insurrection of Wallace, and the subsequent stand made after the battle of Falkirk by the commissioners of regency, the name of John Baliol had always been used as the head and sovereign of Scotland, in whose right its natives were in arms, and for whom they defended their country against the English. It was probably the high influence of the Comyns, his near connections, which kept the claims of Baliol so long in the public eye. But, in his disgraceful renunciation, followed by a long absence from Scotland, after renouncing every exertion to defend his kingdom, the king, Toom-tabard,

[1304–1306 A.D.]

i.e., Empty Coat, as he was termed by the people, lost all respect and allegiance among his subjects. The crown of Scotland was therefore open to any daring claimant who might be disposed to brave the fury of the English usurper; and such a candidate might have rested, with some degree of certainty, upon the general feeling of the Scottish nation, and upon that disaffection which, like a strong ground-swell, agitated both the middle classes and populace throughout the country, who were disposed, from the spirit of independence with which they were animated, to follow almost any banner which might be displayed against England.

In this conjuncture Bruce entered into a secret treaty with William de Lambyrton, the primate of Scotland, binding themselves to stand by each other against all mortals (the king of England not being excepted). It was thought necessary to discover this league to John Comyn; or, perhaps, he had been led to suspect it, and such a communication had become unavoidable on the part of the conspirators. Comyn was given to understand that the purpose of the league was the destruction of the English supremacy in Scotland. The question was natural, "And what king do you intend to propose?" To this Bruce, in a personal conference with John Comyn, is said to have pointed out to him that their claims to the throne might be considered as equal; "therefore," said Bruce, "do you support my title to be king of Scots, and I will surrender my patrimonial estates to you; or give over to me your family possessions, and I will support your claim to the throne." Comyn, it is said by the Scottish historians, ostensibly embraced the alternative of taking Bruce's large property, and asserting his claim to royalty. But in secret he resolved to avail himself of this discovery to betray the intrigues of his rival to Edward.

BRUCE KILLS HIS RIVAL, THE RED COMYN (1306 A.D.)

Robert Bruce had returned to London, and was in attendance on the English court, when a private token from the earl of Gloucester, his kinsman, made him aware that his safety and liberty were in danger. It is said the earl of Gloucester sent Bruce a piece of money and a pair of spurs. Men's wits are sharpened by danger, and slighter intimations have been sufficient in such circumstances to put them on their guard, and induce them to take measures for their safety when peril hovered over them. He left London instantly, and hastened to Scotland.[1] It is said that near the Solway Sands Bruce and his attendants met an emissary of Comyn, who was despatched, they found, for the English court. They killed the messenger without hesitation, and from the contents of his packet learned the extent of Comyn's treachery. In five days Bruce reached his castle of Lochmaben.

It was on February 10th, 1306; and the English justiciaries appointed by Edward's late regulations for preservation of the peace of the country of Scotland were holding their assizes at Dumfries for that purpose. Bruce, not yet prepared for an open breach with England, was under the necessity of rendering attendance on this high court as a crown vassal, and came to the county-town for that purpose. He here found Comyn, whom the same duty had brought to Dumfries. Bruce invited his rival to a private interview, which was held in the church of the Friars Minorite; a precaution—an unavailing one, as it proved—for the safety of both parties and the peace-

[1 Part of this legend says that Bruce had his horse's shoes put on backward to deceive pursuers.]

ful character of the meeting. They met by themselves, the slender retinue of each baron remaining apart and without the church. Between two such haughty rivals a quarrel was sure to arise, whether out of old feud or recent injury. The Scots historians say that at their private interview Bruce upbraided Comyn with his treacherous communication to Edward: the English, more improbably, state that he then, for the first time, imparted to Comyn his plan of insurrection against England, which Comyn rejected with scorn, and that this gave occasion to what followed.

Without pretending to detail what no one save the survivor could have truly described, it is certain that a violent altercation took place, in which Comyn gave Bruce the lie, and Bruce in reply stabbed Comyn with his dagger. Confounded at the rashness of his own action, in a place so sacred, Bruce hastened out of the sanctuary. There stood without two of his friends and adherents, Kirkpatrick of Closeburne, and Lindsay, a younger son of Lindsay of Crawford. They saw Bruce's bloody weapon and disordered demeanour, and inquired eagerly the cause. "I doubt," said Bruce, "I have slain the Red Comyn." "Do you trust that to doubt?" said Kirkpatrick; "I'll mak sikar" (*i.e.*, "I'll make sure"); so saying, he rushed into the church, and despatched the wounded man. Sir Robert Comyn, the uncle of John, interfered to save his kinsman, but was slain along with him. The English justiciaries, hearing this tumult, barricaded themselves in the hall where they administered justice. Bruce, however, compelled them to surrender, by putting fire to their place of retreat, and thereafter dismissed them in safety.

This rash act of anger and impatience broke off all chance which might still have remained to Bruce of accommodating matters with Edward, who now knew his schemes of insurrection, and must have regarded Comyn as a victim of his fidelity to the English government. On the other hand, the circumstances attending the slaughter were marked with sacrilege and breach of a solemn sanctuary, so as to render the act of homicide detestable in the eyes of all save those who from a strong feeling of common interest might be inclined to make common cause with the perpetrator. This interest could only exist among the Scottish patriots, who might see in Bruce the vindicator of his country's liberty, and his own right to the crown; claims so sacred as to justify in their eyes his enforcing them against the treacherous confidant who had betrayed the secret to the foreign usurper, even with the dagger's point, and at the foot of the altar. Bruce was, therefore, in a position as critical as if he had stood midway up a dizzy precipice, where the path was cut away behind him. The crown of Scotland hung within a possibility of his reaching it; and though the effort was necessarily attended with a great risk of failure, yet an attempt to retreat in any other direction must have been followed by inevitable destruction. Sensible of the perils of the choice, Bruce, therefore, resolved to claim the throne, with the unalterable resolution either to free his country or perish in the attempt.

He retired from Dumfries into the adjoining wilds of Nithsdale, and resided in obscurity in the hut of a poor man, near the remarkable hill called the Dun of Tynron. Meantime he sent messengers abroad in every direction, to collect his friends and followers through his extensive estates, and to warn such nobles as he knew to be favourable to Scottish independence. But their numbers were but few, and they were ill prepared for a hasty summons. His own family supplied him with four bold brethren, all men of hardihood and skill in arms. His nephew, afterwards the celebrated Thomas Randolph, and his brother-in-law, Christopher Seaton, also followed the cause

[1306 A.D.]

of their relation. Of churchmen, the primate of Scotland, the bishop of Glasgow, and the abbot of Scone joined in the undertaking, together with the earls of Lennox and of Athol, and some fourteen barons, with whose assistance Bruce was daring enough to defy the whole strength of England. He went from Dumfriesshire to Glasgow, where he determined to take the decisive measure of celebrating his coronation at Scone. On his road thither Bruce was joined by a warrior, who continued till his death the best and most disinterested of his friends and adherents. This was the young Sir James of Douglas [called "the Good"], son of William of Douglas, the heroic companion of Wallace, and, like his father, devoted to the independence of Scotland.

BRUCE IS CROWNED AT SCONE, AND PUT TO FLIGHT (1306 A.D.)

On the 27th of March, 1306, the ceremony of crowning Bruce was performed at Scone with as much state as the means of the united barons would permit. Edward had carried off the royal crown of Scotland: a slight coronet of gold was hastily made to supply its place. The earls of Fife had, since the days of Malcolm Canmore, uniformly possessed and exercised the right of placing the crown on the king's head at his coronation, in memory of the high services rendered by their ancestor, Macduff, to that monarch. On this occasion the earl of Fife did not attend; but the right was, contrary to his inclination, exercised by his sister, Isabella, the countess of Buchan, who absconded from her husband, in order that the blood of Macduff might render the service due to the heir of Malcolm Canmore. For this she was afterwards strangely and cruelly punished by Edward I.

Although the figure which Robert Bruce had hitherto made in public life was of a fickle and apparently selfish description, yet his character for chivalrous accomplishments stood high, and when he took the field many of Wallace's old followers began to join him. Meantime Edward directed Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke, under the title of Guardian of Scotland, to proceed to put down the rebellion in that kingdom. He was accompanied by Lord Clifford and Henry Percy. The king himself was then ill, and scarce able to mount on horseback.

Meanwhile Bruce, against whom these vindictive preparations were directed, was engaged in strengthening his party, without any considerable success. His enterprise was regarded as desperate, even by his own wife (according to the English authorities), who, while he boasted to her of the sovereign rank he had obtained, said to him: "You are, indeed, a summer king; but you will scarce be a winter one." He appears to have sought an encounter with the earl of Pembroke, who, with an army of English, had thrown himself into the fortified town of Perth. Bruce arrived before the town, June 19th, 1306, with a host inferior to that of the English earl by fifteen hundred men-at-arms.

Nevertheless he sent Pembroke a challenge to come forth and fight. The Englishman replied that he would meet him on the morrow. Bruce retired to the neighbouring wood of Methven, where he took up his quarters for the night, expecting no battle until next day. But Pembroke's purpose was different from what he expressed. He caused his men instantly to take arms, though the day was far spent, and, sallying from the town of Perth, assaulted with fury the Scots, who were in their cantonments and taken at unawares. They fought boldly, and Bruce himself was thrice unhorsed.

At one moment he was prisoner in the hands of Sir Philip de Mowbray, who shouted aloud that he had taken the new king. Christopher Seaton struck Mowbray to the earth, and rescued his brother-in-law. About four hundred of the Scots kept together, and effected their escape to the wilds of Athol. Several prisoners were made, and some pardoned or admitted to ransom; but those of distinction were pitilessly hanged, drawn, and quartered. Young Randolph, Bruce's nephew, submitted to the king of England, and was admitted to favour.

Bruce, seeing his party almost totally dissipated by the defeat at Methven, was obliged to support himself and the few who remained with him, amongst whom were his own wife and many other ladies, by the toils of the chase. From Athol the noble fugitives retreated into Aberdeenshire, and from thence they approached the borders of Argyllshire. Winter was approaching, and threatened not only to diminish their supplies of sustenance, but was likely, by the rigour of the weather, to render it impossible for their females any longer to accompany them.

The greater part of the shire of Argyll, which they now approached, was under the command of a powerful chief called Macdougal, or John of Lorn. This prince had married an aunt of the slaughtered John Comyn, and desired nothing with more ardour than an opportunity to avenge the death of his ally upon the homicide. Accordingly, when Bruce attempted to penetrate into Argyllshire at the head of his company, he was opposed by John of Lorn, who encountered him at a place called Dalry (*i.e.*, the king's field), near the head of Strathfillan, August 11th. The Highlandmen being on foot, and armed with long pole-axes, called Lochaber-axes, attacked the little band of Bruce where the knights had no room to manage their horses, and did them much injury. Bruce, compelled to turn back, placed himself in the rear of his followers, and protected their retreat with the utmost gallantry. Three Highlanders, a father and two sons, assaulted him at once; but Bruce, completely armed, and excellent at the use of his weapon, rid himself of them by despatching them one after another.

Driven back from the road by which he had purposed to approach the western isles, where he had some hopes of finding shelter, Bruce laboured under great and increasing difficulties, the first effect of which was to compel him to separate the ladies from his company. His younger brother, Nigel Bruce, was sent to conduct the queen and her attendants back to Aberdeenshire, where his brother was still master of a strong castle, called Kildrummie, which might serve them for some time as a place of refuge.

On the banks of Loch Lomond Bruce met with the earl of Lennox, who, wandering there for protection, discovered the king was in his neighbourhood, by hearing a bugle sounded with an art which he knew to be peculiar to his master. They met, embraced, and wept. By the guidance and assistance of Lennox, Bruce reached the province of Cantire, then subject to Angus, called Lord of the Isles. Here the king met with Sir Neil Campbell, who had gone before him to propitiate this powerful Highland prince, whose favour was the more easily obtained that he was unfriendly to John Macdougal of Lorn, the personal enemy of Robert Bruce. This Angus was also the descendant of the renowned Somerled, and head of the sept of the Macdonalds, the most powerful scion of those original Scots who colonised Argyllshire under Fergus, the son of Eric, and who, seated in Cantire, Islay, and the other western islands, had, since the death of Alexander III, nearly shaken off subordination to the crown of Scotland, and paid as little respect to the English claim upon their supremacy.

[1306 A.D.]

Bruce resolved to bury himself in the remote island of Rathlin,[1] on the coast of Ireland, a rude and half-desolate islet, but inhabited by the clan of Macdonalds, and subject to their friendly lord. By this retreat he effected his purpose of secluding himself from the jealous researches made after him by the adherents of the English monarch, and the feudal hatred of John of Lorn. Here Bruce continued to lurk in concealment during the winter of 1306.

In the mean time his friends and adherents in Scotland suffered all the miseries which the rage of an exasperated and victorious sovereign could inflict. His wife and his daughter were taken forcibly from the sanctuary of Saint Duthac, at Tain, and consigned to the severities of separate English prisons, where they remained for eight years. The countess of Buchan, who had placed the crown on the Bruce's head, was immured in a place of confinement [called "a cage" and by tradition said to have been shaped like a crown], constructed expressly for her reception on the towers of the castle of Berwick, where the sight of her prison might make her the subject of wonder or scorn to all that passed. The bishop of Saint Andrews, the bishop of Glasgow, and the abbot of Scone, taken in arms, were imprisoned by Edward, who applied to the pope for their degradation, in which, however, he did not succeed. Nigel Bruce, a gallant and beautiful as well as highly accomplished youth, held out his brother's castle of Kildrummie till a traitor in the garrison set fire to the principal magazine, when surrender became inevitable. He was tried, condemned, and executed. Christopher Seaton, who so gallantly rescued the Bruce at the battle of Methven, shared with his brother-in-law the same melancholy fate. The vengeance of Edward did not spare his own blood. The earl of Athol had some relationship with the royal family of England; but the circumstance having been pleaded in favour of the earl, Edward only gave so much weight to it as to assign him the distinction of a gallows fifty feet high.

Simon Fraser, one of the commanders at the victory of Roslin (the other being the unfortunate John Comyn), still disdained to surrender, and continued in arms, till being defeated at a place called Kirkincliffe, near Stirling, he was finally made prisoner, exposed to the people of London loaded with fetters, crowned with a garland in mockery, and executed with all the studied cruelty of the treason law. To add to the disastrous deaths of his friends and associates, the fate of Bruce personally seemed utterly destitute. He was forfeited by the English government as a man guilty of murder and sacrilege, and his large estates, extending from Galloway to the Solway Firth, were bestowed on different English nobles, of which Sir Henry Percy and Lord Robert Clifford had the greatest share. A formal sentence of excommunication was at the same time pronounced against him by the papal legate, with all the terrific pomp with which Rome knows how to volley her thunders.

Thus closed the year 1306 upon Scotland. The king, lurking in an obscure isle beyond the verge of his dominions, an outlawed man, deprived at once of all civil and religious rights, and expelled from the privileges of a Christian, in as far as Rome had power to effect it; the heads and limbs of his best and bravest adherents, men like Seaton and Fraser, who had upheld the cause of their country through every species of peril, blackening in the sun on the walls of their own native cities, or garnishing those of their vindictive enemy.

[1 Some have thought that, as Rathlin was under Edward's control, Bruce must rather have gone to Norway.]

BRUCE RETURNS TO THE CONTEST (1307 A.D.)

With the return of spring, hope and the spirit of enterprise again inspired the dauntless heart of Robert Bruce. He made a descent on the isle of Arran, with the view of passing from thence to the Scottish mainland. A faithful vassal in his earldom of Carrick engaged to watch when a landing could be made with some probability of success, and intimate the opportunity to Bruce. The signal agreed upon was a fire to be lighted by the vassal on the cape or headland beneath Turnberry Castle, upon seeing which it was resolved Bruce should embark with his men. The light long watched for at length appeared; but it had not been kindled by Bruce's confidant. The king sailed to the mainland without hesitation, and was astonished to find his emissary watching on the beach, to tell him the fire was accidental, the English were reinforced, the people dispirited, and there was nothing to be attempted with a prospect of success. Robert Bruce hesitated; but his brother Edward, a man of courage which reached to temerity, protested that he would not go again to sea, but being thus arrived in his native country, would take the good or evil destiny which Heaven might send him. Robert himself was easily persuaded to adopt the same bold counsel; and a sudden attack upon a part of the English who were quartered in the town gave them victory and a rich booty, as Percy, who lay in the castle, did not venture to sally to the relief of his men.

This advantage was followed by others. It seemed as if Fortune had exhausted her spite on the dauntless adventurer, or that Heaven regarded him as having paid an ample penance for the slaughter of Comyn. Bruce was joined by friends and followers, and the English were compelled to keep their garrisons; until Sir Henry Percy, instead of making head against the invader, deemed it necessary to evacuate Turnberry Castle, and retreat to England. James Douglas penetrated into his own country in disguise, and collecting some of his ancient followers, surprised the English garrison placed by Lord Clifford in Douglas Castle, and putting the garrison to the sword, mingled the mangled bodies with a large stock of provisions which the English had amassed, and set fire to the castle. The country people to this day call this exploit the "Douglas's Larder."

The efforts of Bruce were not uniformly successful. Two of his brothers, Thomas and Alexander, had landed in Galloway, but were defeated and made prisoners by Roland Macdougal, a chief of that country who was devoted to England. He sent the unfortunate brothers to Edward, who executed them both, and became thus accountable to Bruce for the death of three of his brethren.[1] This accident rendered the king's condition more precarious than it had been, and encouraged the Gallowegians to make many attempts against his person, in some of which they made use of bloodhounds. At one time he escaped so narrowly that his banner was taken, and, as it happened, by his own nephew, Thomas Randolph, then employed in the ranks of the English. When pressed upon on this and similar occasions, it was the custom of Bruce to elude the efforts of the enemy by dispersing his followers, who, each shifting for himself, knew where to meet again at some place of rendezvous, and often surprised and put to the sword some part of the enemy which were lying in full assurance of safety.

[1 If for no worthier things there was room still in Edward's frail body for hatred and ferocity. He had the satisfaction yet, before he died, to reap a small but rich harvest of vengeance. These are the acts that break the spirit of servile races, but only move those of higher mettle to vengeance.—BURTON.c]

[1307 A.D.]

At length, after repeated actions and a long series of marching and countermarching, Pembroke was forced to abandon Ayrshire to the Bruce, as Percy had done before him. Douglas on his part was successful in Lanarkshire, and the numerous patriots resumed the courage which they had possessed under Wallace. A battle was fought at Loudoun-hill, in consequence of an express appointment, between Bruce and his old enemy the earl of Pembroke, who was returning to the west with considerable reinforcements, the 10th of May, 1307, in which the Scottish king completely avenged the defeat at Methven. Pembroke fled to Ayr, in which place of refuge the earl of Gloucester was also forced to seek safety. By these and similar skirmishes, in which his perfect knowledge of the principles of partisan warfare enabled him to take every advantage afforded by the excellence of his intelligence arising from the good will of the country, or by circumstances of ground, weather, weapons, and the like, the Scottish king gradually accustomed his men to repose so much confidence in his skill and wisdom that his orders for battle were regarded as a call to assured victory. He himself, James Douglas, and others among his followers, displayed at the same time all that personal and chivalrous valour which the manners of the age demanded of a leader, and which often restored a battle when well-nigh lost. It was to these latter qualities also, as well as to precaution and sagacity, that Bruce was indebted for his escape from several treacherous attempts to take away his life, by the friends of the slaughtered Comyn, or the adherents of the king of England. Several of such assassins were slain by Robert with his own hand; and a general opinion, long suppressed by the former course of adverse events, began to be entertained through Scotland that Heaven, in the hour of utmost need, had raised up in the heir of the Scottish throne a prince destined by Providence to deliver his country, and that no weapon forged against him should prosper.



OLD ENTRANCE GATE AT ARRAN

THE DEATH OF EDWARD I AND ACCESSION OF EDWARD II (1307 A.D.)

In fulfilment of his romantic vow, "to heaven and the swans," Edward had advanced as far as Carlisle, to open his proposed campaign against the Scots, but had been detained there during the whole winter by the wasting effects of a dysentery. As the season of action approached, and the rumours of Bruce's success increased, the king persuaded himself that resentment would restore him the strength which age and disease had impaired.

It was, indeed, a mortifying condition in which he found himself. For the space of nineteen or twenty years the conquest of Scotland had been the darling object of his thoughts and plans. It had cost him the utmost exertion of his bold and crafty faculties—blood had been shed without measure, wealth lavished without grudging, to accomplish this darling plan; and now, when disease had abated his strength and energies, he was doomed to see

from his sick-bed the hills of Scotland, while he knew that they were still free.

As if endeavouring to restore by a strong effort of the mind the failing strength of his body, he declared himself recovered, hung up in the cathedral the horse-litter in which he had hitherto travelled, but which he conceived he should need no longer, and, mounting his war-horse, proceeded northward. It was too forced an effort to be continued long. Edward only reached the village of Burgh on the Sands, and expired there on the 7th of July, 1307. On his death-bed his thoughts were entirely on the Scottish affairs: he made his son swear that he would prosecute the war without truce or breathing-space; he repeated the strange injunction that, his flesh being boiled from his bones, the latter should be transported at the head of the army with which he was about to invade Scotland, and never be restored to the tomb till that obstinate nation was entirely subdued. By way of corollary to this singular precept the dying king bequeathed his heart to be sent to the Holy Land, in whose defence he had once fought.[i]

For his epitaph he ordered these words put on his tomb, "Edwardus Primus, Scotorum Malleus" ("Edward I, Hammer of the Scots"). Against the praises of his glorious achievements, Buckle[j] and others have emphasised the fact that all the treasures he spent, the lives of English and Scotch he sacrificed, were in vain, for his conquest fell to naught the moment his strong hand was helpless to check the growing power of Bruce.[a]

Edward II, the feeble yet headstrong successor of the most sagacious and resolute of English princes, neglected the extraordinary direction of the dying monarch respecting the disposal of his body, which he caused to be interred at Westminster (by which means the bones of Edward I probably escaped falling into Scottish custody), and naming first the earl of Pembroke, and afterwards John de Bretagne, earl of Richmond, in his room, to be Guardian of Scotland, he himself found it more agreeable to hasten back to share the pleasures of London with Gaveston and his other minions, than to undertake the difficult and laborious task of subduing Bruce and his hardy associates.

The English Guardian, however, did his duty, and soon assembled a force so superior to that of Bruce that the king thought it necessary to shift the war into the northern parts of Scotland, where the enemy could not be so suddenly reinforced. He left the indefatigable James of Douglas to carry on the war in the wooded and mountainous district of Ettrick forest.

In Aberdeenshire King Robert was joined by Sir Alexander and Sir Simon Fraser, sons of the gallant hero of Roslin. But he was opposed by Comyn, earl of Buchan, who to party hatred added an eager desire to revenge the death of his kinsman slain by Bruce. The time seemed favourable for his purpose, for Bruce was at this time afflicted with a lingering and wasting distemper, which impaired his health and threatened his life. In this condition, he thought it wise to retreat before the earl of Buchan, who at length pressed so closely on his rear as to beat up their quarters in the town of Old Meldrum, and cause some loss. "These folks will work a cure on me," said Bruce, starting from the litter which he had been of late compelled to use; and rushing into battle, though obliged to be supported in his saddle, he was so actively seconded by his troops that he totally defeated the earl of Buchan; and in reward for the pertinacity with which that lord had pursued him, he ravaged his country so severely that the "herrying" of Buchan was the subject of lamentation for a hundred years afterwards, and traces of the devastation may be even yet seen.

[1308 A.D.]

The citizens of Aberdeen declared in Bruce's favour, and adding acts to professions, stormed and took the castle, and expelled the English garrison. The citadel of Forfar was also taken, and both fortresses were demolished by order of Bruce; a course of policy which he always observed, because the English were more skilful in the attack and defence of fortified places.

Edward Bruce fought and won several actions against the English in Galloway, as well as against the natives of that barbarous country, who had always taken part against the Bruce's interest. He gained these successes through exertion of a reckless courage which defied all the usual calculations of prudence. At length, after a severe defeat given to the native chiefs and their southern allies on the banks of the Dee, June 29th, 1308, Edward expelled the English entirely from Galloway, and brought that rude province into submission to his brother.

Douglas again retook and dismantled his own fortress of Douglas, upon which he had now made three attacks, two of which were completely successful. He then proceeded to scour the hills of Tweeddale and the forest of Ettrick. In reconnoitring the country on the small river of Lyne the Douglas approached a house, in which a spy whom he sent forward heard men talking loudly, one of whom used the "devil's name" as an oath or adjuration. Conjecturing they must be soldiers who dared make familiar use of so formidable a phrase, Douglas caused his attendants to beset the house, and made prisoners therein Thomas Randolph, the king's nephew, and Alexander Stewart of Bonkill, both of whom since the battle of Methven had adhered to the English interest. They were well treated and sent to the king, who gently rebuked Randolph for breach of allegiance. "It is you," said the haughty young warrior, "who degrade your own cause by trusting to ambuscades instead of facing the English in the field." "That may happen in due time," replied Bruce: "in the mean time it is fitting that you be taught your duty by restraint." Thomas Randolph was sent accordingly to prison, where he did not long remain. He was reconciled to his uncle, whom he ever after served with the utmost fidelity: indeed, Douglas only, among the followers of the Bruce, was held to equal him in military fame. [He later became the "great earl of Moray."]

THE RAPID TRIUMPH OF BRUCE

Bruce's successes now enabled him to chastise the lord of Lorn, by whom, after his defeat at Methven, he had been so severely persecuted. He marched towards Argyllshire, and arrived at Dalmally. Here he learned that John of Lorn and his Highlanders had stationed themselves in a formidable pass, where the great mountain of Cruachan-Ben sinks down upon the margin of Loch-Awe, so that the road passes among precipices on the left hand, and the deep lake on the other. But Bruce understood as well as any modern tactician how such difficulties were to be overcome. While he himself engaged the attention of the mountaineers by threatening an assault in front, he despatched Douglas, with a party of light troops, to march round the mountain and turn the pass, thus attacking the defenders in front, flank, and rear at once. They were routed with great slaughter. The lords of Lorn, father and son, escaped by sea. Their castle of Dunstaffnage was taken, and their country pillaged, August, 1308.

Thus did Robert Bruce, with steady and patient resolution, win province after province from the English, encouraging and rewarding his friends, overawing and chastising his enemies, and rendering his authority more

respected day by day. The profound wisdom and resolute purpose of Edward I would have been required to sustain, against Bruce's talents, the conquests he had made; but the weak and fickle character of his son was all that England had to oppose to him.[1]

The measures to which Edward resorted were imperfect, feeble, hastily assumed, and laid aside without apparent reason. At one time he put his faith in William de Lambyrton, the archbishop of Saint Andrews, whom his father had cast into prison. This prelate being liberated and pensioned by the second Edward, volunteered his services to promulgate the bull of excommunication against Robert Bruce; but if the bull had made but slight impression on the Scots during the king's adversity, it met with still less regard when the splendour of repeated success disposed his countrymen in general to blot from their remembrance the deed of violence with which so brilliant a career had commenced. The death of John Comyn was but like a morning cloud which is forgotten in the blaze of a summer noon.

THE TRUCE OF 1309 AND THE DECLARATION OF THE CLERGY

The king of France, who had deserted the Scots in their utmost need, now began to be once more an intercessor in their behalf; and the English king consented to offer a truce to Bruce and his adherents; but the Scots, on their part, required payment of a sum of money before they would grant one. Edward's measures showed a predominance of weakness and uncertainty.

All public measures in Scotland, on the other hand, were marked by the steadiness of conscious superiority which they borrowed from the character of their sovereign. The estates of the kingdom solemnly declared the award of Edward adjudging the crown of Scotland to John Baliol was an injustice to the grandfather of Bruce. They recognised the deceased lord of Annandale as the true heir of the crown, owned his grandson as their king, and denounced the doom of treason against all who should dispute his right to the crown.[2] The clergy of the kingdom [assembled at Dundee in February, 1309] issued a spiritual charge to their various flocks, acknowledging Bruce as their sovereign, in spite of the thunders of excommunication which had been launched against him.

At length, in 1310, Edward, roused into action, assembled a large army at Berwick, and entered Scotland, but too late in the year for any effective purpose. Bruce was contented with eluding the efforts of the invaders to bring on a general battle, cutting off their provisions, harassing their marches, and augmenting the distress and danger of an invading army in a country at once hostile and desolate. A second, a third, a fourth expedition was attempted with equally indifferent success. What mischief the Scots might sustain by these irruptions was fearfully compensated by the retaliation of King Robert, who ravaged the English frontiers with pitiless severity.

King Robert left the borders to present himself before Perth, which was well fortified, and held out by an English garrison. In one place the moat was so shallow that it might be waded. On that point Bruce made a daring attack. Having previously thrown the garrison off their guard by a pretended retreat, he appeared suddenly before the town at the head of a chosen storming

[1 Robert Bruce is reported to have said that he would have esteemed it of more honour to win a foot of soil from Edward I than to wrest a whole kingdom from Edward II.]

[2 This action of the estates is mentioned by Kerr,[h] but according to Tytler,[g] "no record of such proceeding remains."]

party. He himself led the way, completely armed, bearing a scaling ladder in his hand, waded through the moat where the water reached to his chin, and was the second man who mounted the wall. The place was speedily taken.

The confidential friends to whom Bruce intrusted the command of separate detachments in various parts of Scotland, among whom were men of high military talent, endeavoured to outdo each other in following the example of their heroic sovereign. Douglas and Randolph particularly distinguished themselves in this patriotic rivalry. The strong and large castle of Roxburgh was secured by its position, its fortifications, and the number of the garrison from any siege which the Scots could have formed. But on the eve of Shrove Tuesday (March 6th, 1313), when the garrison were full of jollity and indulging in a drunken wassail, Douglas and his followers approached the castle, creeping on hands and feet, and having dark cloaks flung over their armour. They seemed to the English soldiers a strayed herd of some neighbouring peasant's cattle, which had been suffered to escape during the festivity of the evening. They therefore saw these objects arrive on the verge of the moat and descend into it without wonder or alarm, nor did they discover their error till the shout of "Douglas! Douglas!" announced that the wall was scaled and the castle taken. As if to match this gallant action, Thomas Randolph possessed himself of the yet stronger castle of Edinburgh, March 14th, 1313. This also was by surprise.

The Bruce's success was not limited to the mainland of Scotland; he pursued the Macdougal of Galloway, to whom he owed the captivity and subsequent death of his two brothers, into the Isle of Man, where he defeated him totally, stormed his castle of Rushin, and subjected his island to the Scottish domination. When Bruce returned to the mainland of north Britain from this expedition, he had the pleasure to find that the energy of his brother Edward had pursued the great work of expelling the English invaders with uninterrupted success. He had taken the town and castle of Rutherglen and of Dundee; the last of which had during the previous year resisted the Scottish arms, in consequence, partly, of a breach of compact.

But this good news was chequered by news of a more doubtful quality. After his success at Rutherglen and Dundee, Sir Edward Bruce laid siege to Stirling, the only considerable fortress in Scotland which still remained in the hands of the English. The governor, Sir Philip de Mowbray, defended himself with great valour, but at length, becoming straitened for provisions, entered into a treaty, by which he agreed to surrender the fortress if not relieved before the feast of Saint John the Baptist, in the ensuing midsummer. Bruce was greatly displeased with the precipitation of his brother Edward in entering into such a capitulation without waiting his consent. It engaged him necessarily in the same risk which had so often proved fatal to the Scots, namely, that of perilling the fate of the kingdom upon a general battle, in which the numbers, discipline, and superior appointments of the English must insure them an advantage, which experience had shown they were far from possessing over their northern neighbours when they encountered them in small bodies. The king upbraided his brother with the temerity of his conduct; but Edward, with the reckless courage which characterised him, defended his agreement on the usage of chivalry, and rather seemed to triumph in having brought the protracted conflict between the kingdoms to the issue of a fair field.

Meantime Sir Philip de Mowbray, governor of Stirling, availed himself of the truce which the treaty had procured for the garrison under his com-

mand to hasten in person to London, and state to Edward and his council that almost the last remnant of Edward the First's conquests in Scotland must be irretrievably lost unless Stirling was relieved. The time allowed by the treaty including several months, was sufficient for collecting the whole gigantic force of England, and the disposition both of the king and his nobility was earnest in employing it to the best advantage.

The preparations of England for this decisive enterprise were upon such a scale as to stagger the belief of modern historians, yet their extent is proved by the records which are still extant. Ninety-three great tenants of the crown brought forth their entire feudal service of cavalry, to the number of forty thousand, three thousand of whom were completely sheathed in steel, both horses and riders. The levies in the counties of England and Wales extended to twenty-seven thousand infantry. A great force was drawn from Ireland, both under English barons, settlers in that country, and under twenty-six Irish chiefs, who were ordered to collect their vassals and join the army. The whole array was summoned to meet at Berwick on June 11th, 1314, the period being prolonged to the last limits Sir Philip Mowbray's engagement would permit, in order to give time to collect the vast quantity of provisions, forage, and everything else required for the movement and support of a host, which was indisputably the most numerous that an English monarch ever led against Scotland, amounting in all to upwards of one hundred thousand men.[1]

Bruce, who was well informed respecting these formidable preparations, exhausted the resources of his powerful military genius in devising and preparing the means of opposing them.

DEFICIENCIES OF THE SCOTCH ARMY

The crisis of this long and inveterate war seemed approaching. From the spring of 1306 to that of 1314 the fortunes of Bruce seem to have been so much on the ascendant that none of the slight reverses with which his career was chequered could be considered as seriously interrupting it. He was now acknowledged as king through the greater part of Scotland, although far from possessing the decisive authority attached to the chief magistrate of a settled government. Bruce had chiefly to provide against three disadvantages, being the same which oppressed Wallace at the battle of Falkirk, and of which the first two at least continued to be severely felt by the Scottish in every general action with the English while they remained separate nations.

The first was the Scottish king's great deficiency in cavalry, which, more especially the men-at-arms, who were arrayed in complete steel, was accounted by far the most formidable part, or rather the only efficient part of a feudal army. On this point Bruce held an opinion more proper to our age than to his. He had, perhaps, seen the battle of Falkirk, where the resistance of the Scottish masses of infantry had been so formidable as well-nigh to foil the English cavalry, and he knew the particulars of that of Courtrai, where the French men-at-arms were defeated by the Flemish pikemen. His own experience of the battle of Loudoun Hill went to support the opinion, though accounted singular at the time, that a body of steady infantry, armed with spears and other long weapons, and judiciously posted, would, if they

[1 "This number has never been seriously disputed. There can be no doubt that the army thus assembled for the 'final conquest of Scotland' was the most numerous and best equipped that ever before or since stood on British ground."—BURNS.]

could be brought to stand firm and keep their ranks, certainly beat off a superior body of horse—a maxim uncontroverted in modern warfare.

Bruce's second difficulty lay in the inferiority of his archers, whose formidable shafts constituted the artillery of the day. The bow was never a favourite weapon with the Scottish, and their archery were generally drawn from the Highlands, undisciplined, and rudely armed with a short bow, very loosely strung: this, being drawn to the breast in using it, discharged a clumsy arrow with a heavy head of forked iron, which was shot feebly, and with little effect.[1] These ill-trained and ill-armed archers were all whom the Scottish had to oppose to the celebrated yeomen of England, who could manage a bow of six feet long, and by drawing the arrow to his ear, gain purchase enough to discharge shafts of a cloth-yard long.

The third disadvantage at which this decisive contest must be fought on the part of Scotland was the disparity of numbers, which was very great. Robert's utmost exertions on this trying occasion could not collect together more than about thirty thousand fighting men, though, as was usual with a Scottish army, there were followers of the camp amounting to ten thousand more, to whom, although usually a useless incumbrance, or rather a nuisance to a well-ordered army, fortune assigned on this occasion a singular influence on the fortune of the day. Bruce, thus inferior in numbers, endeavoured, like an able general, to compensate the disadvantage by so choosing his ground as to compel the enemy to narrow their front of attack, and prevent them from availing themselves of their numerous forces, by extending them in order to turn his flanks.

With such resolutions, Robert Bruce summoned the array of his kingdom to rendezvous in the Tor-wood, near the brook of Bannockburn,[2] about four miles from Stirling, and by degrees prepared the field of battle which he had selected for the contest.

INCIDENTS AND EFFECTS OF BANNOCKBURN

Having led his troops into the field of combat, on the tidings of the English approach, June 23rd, 1314, the king of Scotland commanded his soldiers to arm themselves, and making proclamation that those who were not prepared to conquer or die with their sovereign were at liberty to depart, he was answered by a cheerful and general expression of their determination to take their fate with him. The followers of the camp were dismissed with the baggage, to station themselves behind an eminence to the rear of the Scottish army, still called the Gillies' (that is, the servants') hill.

On approaching Stirling, the English king detached Sir Robert Clifford with eight hundred horse, directing him to avoid the front of the Scottish army, and, fetching a circuit round them, turn their left flank, and throw himself into Stirling. The English knight made a circuit eastwards, where some low ground concealed his manœuvres, when the eagle eye of Bruce detected a line of dust, with glancing of spears and flashing of armour, taking northward, in the direction of Stirling. He pointed this out to Randolph. "They have passed where you kept ward," said he. "Ah, Randolph, there is a rose fallen from your chaplet!"

[1] A picturesque account of how the Scottish army of this time looked and moved will be found, as quoted from Froissart, in our history of England, Vol. xviii.]

[2] The battle of Bannockburn has been so fully described in our history of England, Vol. xviii., ch. xi., that we include here only a few personal incidents illuminative of the character of the Scotch warriors.]

The earl of Moray was wounded by the reproach, and with such force as he had around him, which amounted to a few scores of spearmen on foot, he advanced against Clifford to redeem his error. The English knight, interrupted in his purpose of gaining Stirling, wheeled his large body of cavalry upon Randolph, and charged him at full speed. The earl of Moray threw his men into a circle to receive the charge, the front kneeling on the ground, the second stooping, the third standing upright, and all of them presenting their spears like a wall against the headlong force of the advancing cavaliers. The combat appeared so unequal to those who viewed it from a distance that they considered Randolph as lost, and Douglas requested the king's assistance to fetch him off. "It may not be," said the Bruce; "Randolph must pay the penalty of his indiscretion. I will not disorder my line of battle for him."—"Ah, noble king," said Douglas, "my heart cannot suffer me to see Randolph perish for lack of aid"; and with a permission half extorted from the king, half assumed by himself, Douglas marched to his defence; but upon approaching the scene of conflict, Randolph's little body of men was seen emerging like a rock in the waves, from which the English cavalry were retreating on every side with broken ranks, like a repelled tide. "Hold and halt!" said the Douglas to his followers; "we are come too late to aid them; let us not lessen the victory they have won by affecting to claim a share in it." When it is remembered that Douglas and Randolph were rivals for fame, this is one of the bright touches which illuminate and adorn the history of those ages of which blood and devastation are the predominant character.

Another preliminary event took place the same evening. Bruce himself, mounted upon a small horse or pony, was attentively marshalling the ranks of his vanguard. He carried a battle-axe in his hand, and was distinguished to friend and enemy by a golden coronet which he wore on his helmet. A part of the English vanguard made its appearance at this time; and a knight amongst them, Sir Henry de Bohun, conceiving he saw an opportunity of gaining himself much honour, and ending the Scottish war at a single blow, couched his lance, spurred his powerful war-horse, and rode against the king at full career, with the expectation of bearing him to the earth by the superior strength of his charger and length of his weapon. The king, aware of his purpose, stood as if expecting the shock; but the instant before it took place he suddenly moved his little palfrey to the left, avoided the unequal encounter, and striking the English knight with his battle-axe, as he passed him in his career, he dashed helmet and head to pieces, and laid Sir Henry Bohun at his feet a dead man.[i]

Barbour,[l] who is the sole authority for this incident, says that Bruce spurred forward to meet Sir Henry.

"Schyr Henry myssit the noble king,
And he that in his stirrups stood
With the ax that was hard and gud,
With so gret main reached him a dint
That neither hat nor helm might stint
The heavy dusche that he him gave,
That near the head to the harness clave."[l]

The Scottish nobles remonstrated with Robert on the hazard in which he had placed his person. The king looked at his weapon, and only replied, "I have broken my good battle-axe."

On the morning of Saint Barnaby, called the Bright, being June 24th,

[1314 A.D.]

1314, Edward advanced in full form to the attack of the Scots, whom he found in their position of the preceding evening.

As the Scottish saw the immense display of their enemies rolling towards them like a surging ocean, they were called on to join in an appeal to Heaven against the strength of human foes. Maurice, the abbot of Inchaffray, bare-headed and bare-footed, walked along the Scottish line, and conferred his benediction on the soldiers, who knelt to receive it, and to worship the Power in whose name it was bestowed.

During this time the king of England was questioning Umfraville about the purpose of his opponents. "Will they," said Edward, "abide battle?"—"They assuredly will," replied Umfraville; "and to engage them with advantage, your highness were best order a seeming retreat, and draw them out of their strong ground." Edward rejected this counsel, and observing the Scottish soldiers kneel down, joyfully exclaimed, "They crave mercy." "It is from Heaven, not from your highness," answered Umfraville: "on that field they will win or die." The king then commanded the charge to be sounded and the attack to take place.

The English archers, as at the battle of Falkirk, now began to show their formidable skill, at the expense of the Scottish spearmen; but for this Bruce was prepared. He commanded Sir Robert Keith, the marshal of Scotland, with those four hundred men-at-arms whom he had kept in reserve for the purpose, to make a circuit and charge the English bowmen in the flank. This was done with a celerity and precision which dispersed the whole archery, who having neither stakes or other barrier to keep off the horse, nor long weapons to repel them, were cut down at pleasure, and almost without resistance.

The battle continued to rage, but with disadvantage to the English. The Scottish archers had now an opportunity of galling their infantry without opposition; and it would appear that King Edward could find no means of bringing any part of his numerous centre or rearguard to the support of those in the front, who were engaged at disadvantage. The cause seems to have been that, his army consisting in a great measure of horse, a space of ground was wanted for the squadrons to act in divisions and with due order.

Bruce, seeing the confusion thicken, now placed himself at the head of the reserve, and addressing Angus of the Isles in the words, "My hope is constant in thee," rushed into the engagement, followed by all the troops he had hitherto kept in reserve. The effect of such an effort, reserved for a favourable moment, failed not to be decisive. Those of the English who had been staggered were now constrained to retreat; those who were already in retreat took to actual flight.

At this critical moment the camp-followers of the Scottish army, seized with curiosity to see how the day went, or perhaps desirous to have a share of the plunder, suddenly showed themselves on the ridge of the Gillies'-hill, in the rear of the Scottish line of battle; and as they displayed cloths and horse coverings upon poles for ensigns, they bore in the eyes of the English the terrors of an army with banners. The belief that they beheld the rise of an ambuscade, or the arrival of a new army of Scots, gave the last impulse of terror, and all fled now, even those who had before resisted. The slaughter was immense; the deep ravine of Bannockburn, to the south of the field of battle, lying in the direction taken by most of the fugitives, was almost choked and bridged over with the slain, the difficulty of the ground retarding the fugitive horsemen till the lancers were upon them. Others, and in great numbers, rushed into the river Forth, in the blindness of terror, and perished

there. No less than twenty-seven barons fell on the field: the earl of Gloucester was at the head of the fatal list. Young, brave, and high-born, when he saw the day was lost, he rode headlong on the Scottish spears and was slain. Sir Robert Clifford, renowned in the Scottish wars, was also killed. Two hundred knights and seven hundred esquires of high birth and blood graced the list of slaughter with the noblest names of England; and thousands of the common file filled up the fatal roll.[1]

The king by a rapid and continued flight through a country in which his misfortunes must have changed many friends into enemies, at length gained the castle of Dunbar, where he was hospitably received by the earl of March. From Dunbar Edward escaped almost alone to Berwick in a fishing skiff, having left behind him the finest army a king of England ever commanded.

The quantity of spoil gained by the victors at the battle of Bannockburn was inestimable, and the ransoms paid by the prisoners largely added to the mass of treasure. Five near relations to the Bruce, namely, his wife, her sister Christian, his daughter Marjory, the bishop of Glasgow (Wishart), and the young earl of Mar, the king's nephew, were exchanged against the earl of Hereford, high constable of England. The Scottish loss was very small. Sir William Vipont and Sir Walter Ross were the only persons of consideration slain. Sir Edward Bruce is said to have been so much attached to the last of these knights as to have expressed his wish that the battle had remained unfought, so Ross had not died.[i]

Burton[c] has said of Bruce's tactics: "It was the same that Wallace had practically taught, and it had just helped the Flemings to their victory of Courtrai. Its leading feature was, the receiving charges of cavalry by clumps, square or circular, of spearmen; and, simple as it was, it was revolutionising the military creed of Europe by sapping the universal faith in the invincibility of mounted men-at-arms by any other kind of troops."

Burns[h] makes the claim that it was Wallace who was the actual originator of this highly important tactic. He points out that Wallace won his victory against the Norman-English at Stirling Bridge in the year 1297 and fought the battle of Falkirk in the following year; whereas the Flemish victory of Courtrai against the king of France did not take place until 1302. Bruce's victory of Loudoun Hill occurred in the year 1307, the battle of Bannockburn in June, 1314, and the Swiss victory at Morgarten in November, 1315. It would be interesting to know, but impossible to demonstrate, what share conscious imitation had in introducing this new system of defence in different parts of Europe within so short a period.[a]

Sir Walter Scott[i] has thus summed up the effect of the battle:

"As a lesson of tactics, the Scots might derive from this great action principles on which they might have gained many other victories. Robert Bruce had shown them that he could rid the phalanx of Scottish spearmen of the fatal annoyance of the English archery, and that, secured against their close and continued volleys of arrows, the infantry could experience little danger from the furious charge of the men-at-arms. Yet in no battle, save that of Bannockburn, do we observe the very obvious movement of dispersing the bowmen by means of light horse ever thought of, or at least adopted; although it is obvious that the same charge which drove the English archers from the field might have enabled the bowmen of Scotland to come

[1 Like Courtrai and Morgarten, Bannockburn marked the momentous change from mediæval to modern warfare. The armed knights gave place to the common soldiers led by skilful generals, as the arbiters of the destiny of nations. In the career of Bruce it was the turning-point.—McKAY, *n*]

[1314 A.D.]

into the action, with unequal powers, perhaps, but with an effect which might have been formidable when unopposed.

"But if, in a strategical point of view, the field of Bannockburn was lost on the Scottish nation, they derived from it a lesson of pertinacity in national defence which they never afterwards forgot during the course of their remaining a separate people. They had seen, before the battle of Bannockburn, the light of national freedom reduced to the last spark, their patriots slain, their laws reversed, their monuments plundered and destroyed, their prince an excommunicated outlaw, who could not find in the wildernesses of his country a cave dark and inaccessible enough to shelter his head; all this they had seen in 1306; and so completely had ten years of resistance changed the scene, that the same prince rode over a field of victory a triumphant sovereign, the first nobles of the English enemies lying dead at his feet or surrendering themselves for ransom. It seems likely that it was from the recollection of that extraordinary change of fortune that the Scots drew the great lesson, never to despair of the freedom of their country, but to continue resistance to invaders, even when it seemed most desperate.

"Dark times succeeded these brilliant days, and none more gloomy than those during the reign of the conqueror's son. But though there might be fear or doubt, there could not be a thought of despair when Scotsmen saw hanging like hallowed reliques above their domestic hearths the swords with which their fathers served the Bruce at the field of Bannockburn. And the Scots may have the pride to recollect, and other nations to learn from their history, that to a brave people one victory will do more to sustain the honourable spirit of independence than twenty defeats can effect to suppress it."

Froude[o] says: "Experience sufficiently stern had convinced the English government that their northern neighbours would never stoop to the supremacy inflicted upon Wales; and had shown resolutely that they would die to the last man before they would acquiesce in servitude, might be exterminated, but could not be subdued. After the battle of Bannockburn the impossible task had been tacitly relinquished, and the separate existence of Scotland, as an independent kingdom, was no longer threatened."

Burns,[h] however, adds this comment: "This, if taken literally, is misleading. No doubt, the defeat was of so decisive a character as to render the final result all but certain. But it required many others, though of a minor kind, to bring about the conviction described by Mr. Froude; and it was yet fourteen long years till the Treaty of Northampton."

Finally we may quote Dr. Thomas Arnold[p] on the influence of Bannockburn on English history: "So little does the prosperity of a people depend upon success in war, that two of the greatest defeats we (English) ever suffered have been two of our greatest blessings—Orleans and Bannockburn It is curious, too, that in Edward II's reign the victory over the Irish proved our curse, as our defeat by the Scots turned out a blessing. Had the Irish remained independent, they might afterwards have been united to us as Scotland was; and had Scotland been reduced to subjection, it would have been another curse to us, like Ireland."[a]

The victory of Bannockburn produced an effect on the public mind through England which, did we not find it recorded by her own historians, we could hardly reconcile to the triumphs of the same people in the past reign of Edward I, and the subsequent one of Edward III. "A hundred English," says Walsingham,[q] "would not be ashamed to fly from three or four private Scottish soldiers, so much had they lost their national courage."

Thrice within twelve months Scottish armies, commanded by James

Douglas and Edward Bruce, broke into the English frontiers, and ravaged them with fire and sword, executing great cruelties on the unfortunate inhabitants, forcing the few who could so escape to take shelter under the fortifications of Berwick, Newcastle, or Carlisle, all strong towns, carefully fortified and numerously garrisoned. In the mean time a famine spread its ravages through both countries.

EDWARD BRUCE APPOINTED HEIR; HE INVADES IRELAND (1315 A.D.)

In 1315 the estates or parliament of Scotland, bethinking themselves of the evils sustained by the nation at the death of Alexander III, through the uncertainty of the succession to the crown, entered into an act of settlement, by which Edward, the king's brother, we may suppose upon the ancient principles of the Scottish nation, was called to the throne in case of Robert's decease without heirs male; and Edward or his issue failing, the succession was assured to King Robert's only child, Marjory, and her descendants. The princess was immediately married to Walter, the high-steward [or stewart] of Scotland,[1] and the heir of that auspicious marriage having succeeded in a subsequent generation to the throne of Scotland, their descendants later sat upon that of Britain.

It is probable that Robert's acquaintance with his brother Edward's martial character and experience in war inclined him to give his assent that he and his issue should occupy the throne, rather than expose the unsettled state to the government of a female by devolving it upon his own daughter. But there is also reason to believe that the monarch was suspicious that the fiery valour and irregular ambition of Edward would lead him to dispute the right of his daughter; and King Robert was willing to spare Scotland the risk of a disputed claim to the throne, found by experience to be the inlet of so many evils, even at the sacrifice of postponing the right of his own daughter. If this be the ground of the arrangement, it is an additional instance of the paternal regard which the great Bruce bore to the nation whose monarchy he had restored, and whose independence he had asserted.

But Edward Bruce's ambition was too impatient to wait the succession to the Scottish crown. A party of Irish chiefs sent an invitation to Edward Bruce to come over with a force adequate to expel the English from Ireland, and assume the sceptre. By consent of King Robert, who was pleased to make a diversion against England upon a vulnerable point, Edward invaded Ireland at the head of a force of six thousand Scots [and three hundred small vessels, May 25th, 1315].

He fought many battles and gained them all. He became master of the province of Ulster, and was solemnly crowned king of Ireland; but found himself amid his successes obliged to entreat the assistance of King Robert with fresh supplies; for the impetuous Edward, who never spared his own person, was equally reckless of exposing his followers; and his successes were misfortunes, in so far as they wasted the brave men with whose lives they were purchased. Robert Bruce led supplies to his brother's assistance, May 2nd, 1316, with an army which enabled him to overrun Ireland, but without gaining any permanent advantage. He threatened Dublin, and penetrated as far as Limerick in the west, but was compelled, by scarcity of

[1 The hereditary title of Stewart became a surname, and hence the royal line of Stewart or Stuart, through which Victoria became Queen of Scotland, England, and Ireland.—Wm. Burns.*h*]

provisions, to retire again into Ulster, in the spring of 1317. He shortly after returned to Scotland, leaving a part of his troops with Edward.

After his brother's departure, Edward's career of ambition was closed at the battle of Dundalk, where, October 5th, 1318, fortune at length failed a warrior who had tried her patience by so many hazards. On that fatal day he encountered, against the advice of his officers, an Anglo-Irish army far more numerous than his own. A strong champion among the English, named John Maupas, singling out the person of Edward, slew him, and received death at his hands: their bodies were found stretched upon each other in the field of battle. The victors ungenerously mutilated the body of him before whom most of them had repeatedly fled.[1] A general officer of the Scots, called John Thomson, led back the remnant of the Scottish force to their own country. And thus ended the Scottish invasion of Ireland, with the loss of many brave soldiers, whom their country afterwards severely missed in her hour of need.

Meanwhile some important events had taken place in Scotland while these Irish campaigns were in progress. The king, whose attention was much devoted to nautical matters, had threatened the English coast with a disembarkation at several points. He had also destroyed what authority his ancient and mortal foe, John of Lorn, still retained in the Hebrides, made him prisoner, and consigned him to the castle of Lochleven, where he died in captivity. New efforts to disturb the English frontiers revived the evils of those unhappy countries. In 1316 Robert, at the head of a considerable army, penetrated into Yorkshire, and destroyed the country as far as Richmond, which only escaped the flames by paying a ransom. But an assault upon Berwick, and an attempt to storm Carlisle, were both successfully resisted by the English garrisons. During the time that Robert Bruce was in Ireland with his brother, the English on their side made several attempts on the borders. But though the king was absent, Douglas and Stewart defended the frontiers with the most successful valour.

BRUCE IN CONFLICT WITH THE POPE

Our history has so long conducted us through an unvarying recital of scenes of war and battle, that we feel a relief in being called to consider some intrigues of a more peaceful character, which place the sagacity of Robert Bruce in as remarkable a point of view as his bravery. The king of England, suffering by the continuation of a war which distressed him on all points, yet unwilling to purchase peace by the sacrifices which the Scots demanded, fell on the scheme of procuring a truce without loss of dignity by the intervention of the pope. John XXII, then supreme pontiff, was induced by the English influence to issue a bull, commanding a two years' peace betwixt England and Scotland. Two cardinals were intrusted with this document, with orders to pass to the nations which it concerned, and there make it known. These dignitaries of the church had also letters, both sealed and patent, addressed to both kings. And privately they were invested with powers of fulminating a sentence of excommunication against the king of Scots, his brother Edward, and any others of their adherents whom they might think fit. The cardinals, arrived in England, despatched two nuncios to Scotland, the bishop of Corbeil and a priest called Aumori, to deliver the pope's letters

[1] Hailes says: "His body was quartered and distributed for a public spectacle over Ireland. Bermingham presented the head to the English king, and obtained the dignity of earl of Lowth as a reward for his services." Compare the treatment of Wallace.]

to the Scottish king. For comfort and dignity on their journey, these two reverend nuncios set out northwards, in the train of Lewis de Beaumont, bishop elect of Durham, who was passing to his diocese to receive consecration. But within a stage of Durham the party was surprised by a number of banditti, commanded by two robber knights, called Middleton and Selby, who, from being soldiers, had become chiefs of outlaws. Undeterred by the sacred character of the churchmen, they rifled them to the last farthing, and dismissing the nuncios on their journey to Scotland, carried away the bishop elect, whom they detained a captive till they extorted a ransom so large that the plate and jewels of the cathedral were necessarily sold to defray it.

Disheartened by so severe a welcome to the scene of hostilities, the nuncios at length came before Bruce, and presented the pope's letters. Those which were open he commanded to be read, and listened to the contents with much respect. But, ere opening the sealed epistles, he observed that they were addressed not to the king, but to Lord Robert Bruce, governor in Scotland.[1] "These," he said, "I will not receive nor open. I have subjects of my own name, and some of them may have a share in the government. For such the holy father's letters may be designed, but they cannot be intended for me, who am sovereign of Scotland." The nuncios had no alternative but to retire and report their answer to the cardinals. These dignitaries resolved, at all risks, to execute the pope's commission, by publishing the bulls and instruments. But not caring to trust their reverend persons across the border, they confided to Adam Newton, father guardian of the friars Minorite of Berwick, the momentous and somewhat perilous task of communicating to Robert Bruce what they had no reason to think would be agreeable tidings.

The unlucky father guardian was commanded to be gone at his own peril. The reader will anticipate the consequences. The friar on his return fell into the hands of four outlaws, who stripped him of his papers and despatches, tore, it is said, the pope's bull, doubtless to prevent that copy at least from being made use of, and sent him back to Berwick unhurt, indeed, but sorely frightened. It is diverting enough to find that the guardian surmised that, by some means or other, the documents he was intrusted with had fallen into the hands of the Lord Robert Bruce and his accomplices. It was thus that with a mixture of firmness and dexterity Bruce eluded a power which it would not have been politic to oppose directly, and baffled the attempts of the pontiff to embarrass him by spiritual opposition.

THE FIGHT FOR BERWICK (1318 A.D.)

When father Adam Newton delivered his message, or rather proffered to deliver it, to Robert Bruce, the Scottish king was lying with a body of troops in the wood of Old Cambus, where he was secretly maturing an important enterprise. Of all Edward the First's northern conquests Berwick alone remained with his unfortunate son. A burgess named Spalding, of Scottish extraction probably, if we may judge by his name, and certainly married to a Scottish woman, was so much offended at some hard usage which he had received from the English governor, that he resolved, in revenge, to betray the place to Robert Bruce. By agreement with Spalding the Scotch came beneath the walls of the town on a night when he was going the rounds, March 28th, 1318, and received his assistance in the escalade. Douglas, Randolph,

[1 A curious repetition of this incident occurred in the early days of the American Revolution, when the English admiral Howe addressed a communication to "Mr. George Washington," which he refused to receive until readdressed with his military title.]

[1318-1319 A.D.]

and a young knight, called Sir William Keith of Galston, drove back the English, after some hard fighting, into the precincts of the castle, which soon after surrendered when the king appeared in person before it. Bruce, delighted with this acquisition, placed the town and castle in charge of his brave son-in-law Walter, the high-steward of Scotland.

Having thus made sure of his important acquisition, Bruce resumed anew his destructive incursions into the northern provinces of England, burned Northallerton, Boroughbridge, and Skipton in Craven, forced Ripon to ransom itself for a thousand marks, and returned from this work of ravage, uninterrupted and unopposed, his soldiers driving their prisoners before them "like flocks of sheep." Such passages, quoted from English history, recall to the reader the invasion of the Picts and Scots upon the unwarlike South Britons. But the ascendency asserted by the Scots over the English during this reign did not rest so much on any superiority of courage on the part of the former. The feuds among the nobility of England ran high, and the public quarrels between the king and his barons distracted the movements of the government and the military defence of the kingdom. The whole country was in that state of total discontent, division, and misrule, that it was found impossible to combine the national forces for one common object.[b]

Burton thus justifies the Scottish severity:

"All the laws of war, even those of our own time, would justify this terrible and indiscriminate retribution on the English people, for the injuries which the Scots had suffered from the English government. The longer, indeed, that the cruel persecution continued, the more ample was the justification. Just after the battle of Bannockburn it seemed needless, since the English king might be expected to abandon his claims; but all the while Scotland was soliciting peace and an acknowledgment of independence, and all the while her solicitations were thrown back with scorn. The cruel retaliation has the best of justifications—it became in the end effective. England at last spoke of a truce from hostilities."[c]

Omitting for the present some civil affairs of considerable importance, that we may trace the events of the war, we have now to mention that Edward II, stung with resentment at the loss of Berwick, determined on a desperate effort to regain that important town. Having made a temporary agreement with his discontented barons, at the head of whom was his relation Thomas, earl of Lancaster, the English king was able to assemble a powerful army with which he invested the place, July 24th, 1319.

A tremendous engine was brought forward, called "the Sow," being a large shed composed of very strong timbers, and having a roof sloping like the back of the animal from which it took its name. Like the Roman *testudo*, the sow, or movable covert, was designed to protect a body of miners beneath its shelter, while, running the end of the engine close to the wall, they employed themselves in undermining the defences of the place.

The Scots had reposed their safety in the skill of a mercenary soldier, famed for his science as an engineer. This person, by name John Crab, and a Fleming by birth, had erected a huge catapult, or machine for discharging stones, with which he proposed to destroy the English sow. The huge engine moved slowly towards the walls, September 13th, 1319; one stone, and then a second, was hurled against it in vain, and amid the shouts of both parties the massive shed was approaching the bulwark. Crab had now calculated his distance and the power of his machine, and the third stone, a huge mass of rock, fell on the middle of the sow, and broke down its formidable timbers.

"The English sow has farrowed!" shouted the exulting Scots, when they saw the soldiers and miners who had lain within the machine running headlong to save themselves by gaining the trenches. The Scots, by hurling lighted combustibles, of which they had a quantity prepared, consumed the materials of the English engine. The Steward, who, with a hundred men of reserve, was going from post to post distributing succours, had disposed of all his attendants except one, when he suddenly received the alarming intelligence that the English were in the act of forcing the gate called Saint Mary's. The gallant knight, worthy to be what fate designed him, the father of a race of monarchs, rushed to the spot, threw open the half-burned gate, and making a sudden sally, beat the enemy off from that as well as the other points of attack.

Bruce, although the garrison of Berwick had as yet made a successful defence, became anxious for the consequences of its being continued, and he resolved to accomplish the relief of Berwick, by making such a powerful diversion as should induce Edward to raise the siege. With this view, fifteen thousand men, under Douglas and Randolph, entered England on the west marches, and turning eastward, made a hasty march towards York, for the purpose of surprising the person of the queen of England, who then resided near that city. Isabella received notice of their purpose, and fled hastily southward. Her husband was little indebted to those who supplied her with the tidings which enabled her to make her escape.

The Chapter of Mitton: A Truce Declared

The Scots proceeded, as usual, to ravage the country. The archbishop of York, in the absence of a more professional leader, assumed arms, and assembled a large but motley army, consisting partly of country people, ecclesiastics, and others, having little skill or spirit save that which despair might inspire. The Scots encountered them with the advantage which leaders of high courage and experience possess over those who are inexperienced in war, and veteran troops over a miscellaneous and disorderly levy. The conflict took place near Mitton, on the river Swale, September 20th, 1319. By the simple stratagem of firing some stacks of hay the Scots raised a dense smoke, under cover of which a division of the army turned unperceived around the flank of the archbishop's host, and got into their rear. The irregular ranks of the English were thus attacked in front and rear at once, and instantly routed with great slaughter. Three hundred of the clerical order fell in the action, or were slain in the rout, where many of the fugitives were driven into the Swale. In the savage pleasantry of the times this battle, in which so many clergymen fell, was called "the white battle," and the "Chapter of Mitton."

The tidings of this disaster speedily obliged Edward to raise the siege of Berwick and march to the south in hope to intercept the Scots on their return from Yorkshire. Randolph and Douglas eluded the enemy by retreating to their own country through the west marches loaded with prisoners and spoil. They had plundered in this incursion eighty-four towns and villages. About the close of the same year, Douglas renewed the ravage in Cumberland and Westmoreland, and again returned with a great prey of captives and cattle, destroying at the same time the harvest which had been gathered into the farm-yards. It was said that the name of this indefatigable and successful chief had become so formidable that women used, in the northern counties, to still their froward children by threatening them with the Black Douglas.

[1318–1319 A.D.]

These sinister events led to a truce in 1319 between the two countries for the space of two years, to which Bruce, who had much to do for the internal regulation of his kingdom, willingly consented.

THE SCOTCH PARLIAMENT OF 1318

In 1318 a parliament was convoked at Scone, whose first act was an engagement for solemn allegiance to the king, and for aiding him against all mortals who should menace the liberties of Scotland or impeach his royal rights, how eminent soever might be the power, authority, and dignity of the opponent; peculiar expressions by which the pope was indicated. Whatever native of Scotland should fail in his allegiance was denounced a traitor, without remission. Edward Bruce being dead without heirs of his body, and Marjory, at that time the Bruce's only child, being also deceased, the infant prince, Robert, son of the late princess and her husband, the Steward of Scotland, and grandson of Robert, was proclaimed heir, in default of male issue of the king's body. The regency of the kingdom was settled on Thomas Randolph, earl of Moray, and failing him, upon James, Lord Douglas. Rules were laid down for the succession.

An assize of arms was next enacted. Every man being liable to serve in defence of his country, all Scottish natives were required to provide themselves with weapons according to their rank and means. Every man worth ten pounds a year of land was enjoined to have in readiness a buff jacket and head-piece of steel; those whose income was less might substitute iron for the back and breast-piece, and the knapscap or helmet. All these were to have gloves of plate and a sword and spear. Each man who possessed a cow was to be equipped with a bow and sheaf of arrows, or a spear. No provisions are made for horsemen. The royal tenants-in-chief, doubtless, came forth as men-at-arms; but the policy of Robert Bruce rested the chief defence of Scotland on its excellent infantry. Prudent and humane rules were laid down for providing for the armed array, when passing to and from the king's host, directed to the end of rendering them as little burdensome as possible to the country which they traversed in arms. At the same time they were to be supplied with provisions on tender of payment. The supplying warlike weapons or armour to England was strictly prohibited, under pain of death.

The rights and independence of the Scottish church were dauntlessly asserted, in resentment, probably, of the pope's unfriendly aspect towards Bruce. Ecclesiastics were prohibited from remitting money to Rome. Native Scotsmen residing in a foreign country were not permitted to draw their revenues from Scotland. Such were the patriotic measures adopted by the parliament of Scotland held at Scone in 1318.

Pope John XXII had been highly offended with the manner in which the Bruce had neglected his injunctions for a truce and refused to receive the letters which his holiness had addressed to him. In 1318 he enjoined the two cardinals to publish the bulls of excommunication against Bruce and his adherents. The reasons alleged were, that the Scottish governor, as he affected to term him, had taken Berwick during the papal truce; that he had refused to receive the nuncios of the legates; and certain secret reasons were hinted at, which his holiness for the present kept private. Neither the church nor people of Scotland paid any attention to these bulls, though published by the legates in all solemnity. The flame of national freedom and independence burned too clear and strong to be disturbed by the breath

of Rome. The prelates of York and London were ordered to repeat the ceremony, with bell, book, and candle, every Sunday and festival day through the year.

THE MANIFESTO OF ABERBROTHOCK OR ARBROATH (1320 A.D.)

The parliament of Scotland now took it upon them to reply to the pope in vindication of themselves and their sovereign. At Aberbrothock or Arbroath, on April 6th, 1320, eight earls and thirty-one barons of Scotland, together with the great officers of the crown and others, in the name of the whole community of Scotland, placed their names and seals to a spirited manifesto or memorial, in which strong sense and a manly spirit of freedom are mixed with arguments suited to the ignorance of the age.

This celebrated document commences with an enumeration of proofs of the supposed antiquity of the Scottish nation, detailing its descent from Scota, daughter of Pharaoh, king of Egypt, its conversion to the Christian faith by Saint Andrew the apostle, with the long, barbarous roll of baptised and unbaptised names, which, false and true, filled up the line of the royal family. Having astounded, as they doubtless conceived, the pontiff with the nation's claim to antiquity, of which the Scots have been at all times more than sufficiently tenacious, they proceeded in a noble tone of independence. The unjust interference of Edward I with the affairs of a free people, and the calamities which his ambition had brought upon Scotland, were forcibly described, and the subjection to which his oppression had reduced the country was painted as a second Egyptian bondage, out of which their present sovereign had conducted them victoriously by his valour and prudence, like a second Joshua or Maccabæus. The crown, they declared, was Bruce's by right of blood, by the merit which deserved it, and the free consent of the people who bestowed it. But yet they added in express terms, that not even to this beloved and honoured monarch would they continue their allegiance, should he show an inclination to subject his crown or his people to homage or dependence on England, but that they would in that case do their best to resist and expel him from the throne; "for," say the words of the letter, "while a hundred Scots are left to resist, they will fight for the liberty that is dearer to them than life." They required that the pope, making no distinction of persons, like that Heaven of which he was the vicegerent, would exhort the king of England to remain content with his fair dominions, which had formerly been thought large enough to supply seven kingdoms, and cease from tormenting and oppressing a poor people his neighbours, whose only desire was to live free and unoppressed in the remote region where fate had assigned them their habitation.

They reminded the pope of his duty to preserve a general pacification throughout Christendom, that all nations might join in crusade for the recovery of Palestine, in which they and their king were eager to engage, but for the impediment of the English war. They concluded by solemnly declaring, that if his holiness should, after this explanation, favour the English in their schemes for the oppression of Scotland, at his charge must lie all the loss of mortal life and immortal happiness which might be forfeited in a war of the most exterminating character. Lastly, the Scottish prelates and barons declared their spiritual obedience to the pope, and committed the defence of their cause to the God of truth, in the firm hope that he would endow them with strength to defend their right, and confound the devices of their enemies.

As the king of France also offered his mediation, his holiness began to make more equitable proposals for peace between England and Scotland. It is probable, however, that the sovereigns principally concerned were each of them desirous to await the issue of certain dark and mysterious intrigues, which Edward and Robert respectively knew to have existence in the court of the enemy.

A WAR OF CONSPIRACIES

And, first, for the internal discontents of Scotland. Notwithstanding the great popularity of Bruce, as is evinced by the letter of the barons which we have just analysed, there had been so many feuds, separate interests, and quarrels previous to his accession, and his destruction of the power of the Anglicised barons had given so much offence, that we cannot be surprised that there should be some throughout the nation who nourished sentiments towards their king very different from those of love and veneration, which prevailed in the community at large. These sentiments of envy and ill-will led to a conspiracy, in which David de Brechin, the king's nephew, with five other knights and three esquires, men of rank and influence, were secretly combined to a highly treasonable purpose. They had agreed, it would seem, to put the king to death, and place on the throne William de Soulis, hereditary butler of Scotland. This ambitious knight's grandfather, Nicolas de Soulis, had been a competitor for the crown as grandson of Marjory, daughter of Alexander the second, and wife of Alan Dureward; an undeniable claim, had his ancestress been legitimate. Sir William had himself been lately employed as a conservator of the truce upon the borders, and it is probable he had been then tampered with by the agents of Edward, and disposed to enter into this flagitious and it would seem hopeless conspiracy.

The countess of Strathern, to whom the guilty secret was intrusted, betrayed it through fear or remorse. The conspirators were seized and brought to trial before parliament. Sir William de Soulis and the countess of Strathern were condemned to perpetual imprisonment. Sir David de Brechin, Sir William Malherbe, Sir John Logie, and an esquire, named Richard Brown, were condemned to death, which they accordingly suffered. Four others of the principal conspirators were tried for their lives, and acquitted. Though the acquittal of these persons, and the clemency extended to the principal conspirator, afford every reason to believe that the trials were equitably if not favourably conducted, yet so little were men accustomed to consider the meditation of a mere change of government or innovation in the state as anything worthy of death, that the punishment seems to have been generally regarded as severe, and the common people gave the name of the Black Parliament to that by whose decrees so much noble blood had been spilled. The age, however accustomed to slaughter in the field, was less familiar with capital punishments which followed on the execution of the laws.

David de Brechin's fate excited much public sympathy. He was young, brave, connected with the blood royal, and had distinguished himself by his feats against the infidels in the Holy Land.

As the conspiracy of Sir William de Soulis and his accomplices was probably known to Edward of England, so there can be no doubt that Robert Bruce was participant of that which Thomas earl of Lancaster was carrying on against the former monarch. To this, perhaps, it was owing that commissioners appointed by both nations broke up their convention in 1321, without being able to settle the grounds on which the truce should be exchanged for a lasting peace.

As a king never stands more securely than on the ruins of a discovered and suppressed conspiracy, Edward now wrote to the pope to give himself no further solicitude to procure a truce or peace with the Scots, since he had determined to bring them to reason by force.

EDWARD'S DEFEAT: END OF THE TWENTY-THREE YEARS' WAR (1323 A.D.)

King Edward made extensive preparations for a campaign on a great scale. But while Edward was making preparations, the Scots were already in action. Randolph broke into the west marches with those troops to whom the road was become familiar, and hardly had they returned, when the king himself, at the head of one large body, advanced through the western marches into Lancashire, wasting the country on every side; while Douglas and Randolph, who entered the borders more to the east, joined him with a second division. They marched through the vale of Furness, laying everything waste in their passage, and piling their waggons with the English valuables. They returned into Scotland upon the 24th of July, after having spent twenty-four days in this destructive raid.

It was August, 1322, before King Edward moved northward, with a gallant army fit to have disputed a second field of Bannockburn. But Bruce not being now under an engagement to meet the English in a pitched battle, the reputation of his arms could suffer no dishonour by declining such a risk; and his sound views of military policy recommended his evading battle. He carefully laid the whole borders waste as far as the firth of Forth, removing the inhabitants to the mountains, with all their effects of any value. When the English army entered, they found a land of desolation, which famine seemed to guard. The king advanced to Edinburgh unopposed.

On their march the soldiers only found one lame bull. "Is he all that you have got?" said the earl Warrenne to the soldiers who brought in this solitary article of plunder. "By my faith, I never saw dearer beef."

At Edinburgh they learned that Bruce had assembled his forces at Culross, where he lay watching the motions of the invaders. The English had expected their ships in the firth, and waited for them three days. The vessels were detained by contrary winds, the soldiers suffered by famine, and Edward was obliged to retreat without having seen an enemy. They returned by the convents of Dryburgh and Melrose, where they slew such monks as were too infirm to escape, violated the sanctuaries, and plundered the consecrated plate.[1] This argues a degree of license which, in an army, seldom fails to bring its own punishment. When the English soldiers, after much want and privation, regained their own land of plenty, they indulged in it so intemperately, that sixteen thousand died of inflammation of the bowels, and others had their constitutions broken for life.

Robert Bruce hastened to retaliate the invasion which he had not judged it prudent to meet and repel. He pushed across the Tweed at the head of his army, and made an attempt upon Norham Castle, in which he failed. He learned, however, that the king of England was reposing and collecting forces at Biland Abbey, near Malton; and as the Scots, although they fought on foot, generally used in their journeys small horses of uncommon strength and hardihood, Robert, by a forced march, suddenly and unexpectedly placed himself in front of the English army. But they were admirably drawn

[1] The effect of these ravages was repaired by the restoration of the abbey church of Melrose, the beautiful ruins of which still show the finest specimens of Gothic architecture.

up on the ridge of a hill, accessible only by a single, narrow, and difficult ascent. Bruce commanded Douglas to storm the English position. As he advanced to the attack he was joined by Randolph, who with four squires volunteered to fight under his command. Sir Thomas Ughtred and Sir Ralph Cobham, who were stationed in advance of the English army to defend the pass, made a violent and bloody opposition. But Bruce, as at the battle of Cruachan Ben, turned the English position by means of a body of Highlanders accustomed to mountain warfare, who climbed the ridge at a distance from the scene of action, and attacked the flank and rear of the English position.

King Edward with the utmost difficulty escaped to Bridlington, leaving behind him his equipage, baggage, and treasure. John of Bretagne, earl of Richmond, and Henry de Sully, grand butler of France, were made prisoners. The Steward of Scotland, at the head of five hundred Scottish men-at-arms, pursued the routed army to the walls of York, and knight-like (as the phrase then was) abode there till evening, to see if any would issue to fight. The Scots then raised an immense booty in the country, and once more withdrew to their own land loaded with spoil.

The sense of the difficulties with which he was surrounded at length induced Edward to become seriously desirous of a long truce, preparatory to a solid peace with Scotland. Henry de Sully, the French knight made prisoner at Biland Abbey, acted as mediator, and a truce was agreed upon, May 30th, at a place called Thorpe. The ratification, dated at Berwick, June 7th, 1323, was made by Bruce in the express and avowed character of king of Scotland, and was so accepted by the English monarch. The truce was concluded to endure for thirteen years

RECONCILIATION WITH THE POPE; ALLIANCE WITH FRANCE

Bruce had now leisure to direct his thoughts towards achieving peace with Rome; for his being in the state of excommunication, though a circumstance little regarded in his own dominions, must have operated greatly to his disadvantage in his intercourse with other states and kingdoms of Europe. The king despatched to Rome his nephew, the celebrated Randolph earl of Moray, who conducted the negotiation with such tact and dexterity, that he induced the pope to address a bull to his royal relation under the long-withheld title of king of Scotland.

Randolph's talents for negotiation were also displayed in effecting a league between Scotland and France, which the circumstances of the times seemed strongly to recommend, and which was entered into accordingly. This French alliance was productive of events very prejudicial to Scotland in after ages, often involving the country in war with England when the interests of the nation would have strongly recommended neutrality. But these evil consequences were not so strongly apparent as the immediate advantage of securing the assistance and support of a wealthy and powerful nation, who were, like themselves, the natural enemies of England.

Scotland had now, what was a novelty to her stormy history, a continuance of some years of peace. Several changes took place in the royal family. The first and happiest was the birth of a son to Bruce, who afterwards succeeded his father by the title of David II. The joy of this event was allayed by the death of the king's son-in-law, the valiant Stewart. His wife, the princess Marjory, had died soon after the birth of her son in 1316. The Stewart's behaviour at Bannockburn, when almost a boy, at the siege of Berwick, where he defended the place against the whole force of England, at Biland

Abbey, and on other occasions, had raised his fame high among the Scottish champions of that heroic period.

In consequence of these changes in the family of the king a parliament was held at Cambuskenneth in July, 1326, in which it is worthy of observation that the representatives of the royal boroughs for the first time were admitted; a sure sign of the reviving prosperity of the country, which has always kept pace with or rather led to the increasing importance of the towns. In this parliament the estates took their oath of fealty to the infant David, son of Robert Bruce, and failing him or his heirs, to Robert Stewart, son of Walter Stewart, so lately lost and lamented, and Marjory, also deceased, the daughter of Robert by his first queen. The same parliament granted to the Bruce a tenth of the rents of all the lands of the kingdom of Scotland, to be levied agreeably to the valuation or extent, as it is termed, of Alexander III.



Costume in Time of Robert Bruce

EDWARD III FAILS IN AN INVASION (1327 A.D.)

In the year 1327 a revolution took place in the government of England, which had a strong effect on the relations between that kingdom and Scotland. Edward II, more weak than wilful, executed a compulsory resignation in favour of his son Edward III, and, thus dethroned, was imprisoned, and finally most cruelly murdered.

It is probable that Robert Bruce was determined to take advantage of the confusion occasioned by this convulsion in England to infringe the truce and renew the war, with the purpose of compelling an advantageous peace. For this he wanted not sufficiently fair pretexts, though it may be doubted whether he would have made use of them had not the opportunity for renewing the war with a kingdom governed by a boy, and divided by factions, seemed so particularly inviting. His ostensible motives, however, were that although an article of the treaty at Thorpe, confirmed at Berwick, provided that the spiritual excommunication pronounced against Bruce should be suspended till the termination of the truce, yet Edward, by underhand measures at the court of Rome, had endeavoured to prejudice the cause of the Scottish king with the pontiff, and obstruct, if possible, the important object of his reconciliation with Rome. It was also alleged on the part of

[1327 A.D.]

Scotland, that the English cruisers had infringed the truce, by interrupting the commerce between Flanders and Scotland, and particularly by the capture of various merchant vessels, for which no indemnity could be obtained.

Negotiations for continuing the truce, or converting it into a final peace, which seems the point aimed at by Bruce, were finally broken off between the two kingdoms: and Edward III already, though in early youth, animated by the martial spirit which no king of England possessed more strongly, appointed his forces to meet at Newcastle before May 29th, 1327, alleging that the king of Scotland had convoked his army to assemble at that day upon the borders, in breach of the truce concluded at Thorpe. The rendezvous took place, however, at York, where a noble army convened under command of the young king, the future hero of Crécy, to which magnificent host had been added, at the expense of a large subsidy, five hundred men-at-arms from Hainault, who were then reckoned the best soldiers in Europe.

In the mean time the Scottish forces, to the number of two or three thousand men-at-arms, well mounted and equipped for a day of battle, and a large body of their light cavalry, amounting to more than ten thousand, with many followers, who marched on horseback, but fought on foot, invaded the western border, according to their custom, and penetrating through the wild frontier of Cumberland, came down upon Weardale, in the bishopric of Durham, marking their course with more than their usual ferocity of devastation. These forces, superior to all known in Europe for irregular warfare, were conducted by the wisdom, experience, and enterprising courage of the famed Randolph and "the good" Lord James Douglas, guided, doubtless, by the anxious instructions of the Bruce, who, though only fifty-three years of age, was affected by a disease of the blood then termed the leprosy, which prevented his leading his armies in person.

The king of England, on the other hand, at the head of a princely army of sixty thousand men, including five hundred belted knights, animated by the presence of the queen mother and fifty ladies of the highest rank, who witnessed their departure, set out from York, with the determination of chastising the invaders and destroyers of his country, in 1327. The high spirit of the youthful monarch was animated, besides, by a defiance which Bruce despatched to him by a herald, stating his determination to work his pleasure with fire and sword on the English frontiers.[i]

The account of the humiliating failure of English hopes has been fully recounted in Vol. 21. As there described, the Douglas penetrated the English camp, cut the ropes of the tent where the young king was asleep, and very nearly kidnapped him. Though he failed in this, he got safely away.[a]

The English retreated to Durham, dejected and distressed, especially the knights and men-at-arms of Hainault, many of whom, instead of the praise and plunder they hoped to acquire, had lost their valuable horses and property. They were dismissed, however, with thanks and reward; and it is said these troops, notwithstanding their total inefficiency, had cost the kingdom of England a sum equal to 320,000*l.* sterling of modern money.

THE TREATY OF NORTHAMPTON RECOGNISES THE INTEGRITY OF SCOTLAND (1328 A.D.)

King Edward III next convoked a parliament at York, in which there appeared a tendency on the part of England to concede the main points on which proposals for peace had hitherto failed, by acknowledging the independence of Scotland, and the legitimate sovereignty of Bruce. These dis-

positions to reconciliation were much quickened by the sudden apparition of King Robert himself on the eastern frontier, where he besieged the castles of Norham and Alnwick, while a large division of his army burned and destroyed the open country, and the king himself rode about hunting from one park to another as if on a pleasure party. The parliament of York, although the besieged castles made a gallant defence, agreed upon a truce, which it was now determined should be the introduction to a lasting peace. As a necessary preliminary, the English statesmen resolved formally to execute a resignation of all claims of dominion and superiority which had been assumed over the kingdom of Scotland, and agreed that all muniments or public instruments asserting or tending to support such a claim should be delivered up.

This agreement was subscribed by the king on March 4th, 1328. Peace was afterwards concluded at Edinburgh on March 17th, 1328, and ratified at a parliament held at Northampton on May 4th, 1328. It was confirmed by a match agreed upon between the princess Joanna, sister to Edward III, and David, son of Robert I, though both were as yet infants.[1]

Articles of strict amity were settled betwixt the nations, without prejudice to the effect of the alliance between Scotland and France. Bruce renounced the privilege of assisting rebels of England, should such arise in Ireland, and Edward the power of encouraging those of the isles who might rise against Scotland. It was stipulated that all the charters and documents carried from Scotland by Edward the first should be restored, and the king of England was pledged to give his aid in the court of Rome towards the recall of the excommunication awarded against King Robert. Lastly, Scotland was to pay a sum of twenty thousand pounds, in consideration of these favourable terms. The borders were to be maintained in strict order on both sides, and the fatal coronation stone was to be restored to Scotland.[c]

There was another separate obligation on the Scottish side, which led to most serious consequences in the subsequent reign. The seventh article of the Peace of Northampton provided that certain English barons, Thomas Lord Wake of Lidel, Henry de Beaumont earl of Buchan, and Henry de Percy should be restored to the lands and heritages in Scotland, whereof they had been deprived during the war by the king of Scots seizing them into his own hand. The execution of this article was deferred by the Scottish king, who was not, it may be conceived, very willing again to introduce English nobles as land-holders into Scotland. The English mob on their part resisted the removal of the fatal stone from Westminster, where it had been deposited; a pertinacity which "superstitious eld" believed was its own punishment, since with slow but sure attraction the mystic influence of the magnetic palladium drew the Scottish Solomon, James VI, to the sovereignty in the kingdom where it was deposited. The deed called Ragman's Roll, being the list of the barons and men of note who subscribed the submission to Edward the first in 1296, was, however, delivered up to the Scots; and a more important pledge, the English princess Joanna, then only seven years old, was placed in the custody of Bruce, to be united at a fitting age to her boy-bridegroom, David, who was himself two years younger.

The treaty of peace made at Northampton has been termed dishonourable to England by her historians. But stipulations that are just and necessary in themselves cannot infer dishonour, however disadvantageous they may be. The treaty of Northampton was just, because the English had no title to the superiority of Scotland; and it was necessary, because Edward III

[1 David was probably five years old. Burton *c* sets the date of his birth at 1324, but Mackinnon *t* finds more evidence for 1323.]

had no force to oppose the Scottish army, but was compelled to lie within the fortifications of York, and see the invaders destroy the country nearly to the banks of the Humber. What is alike demanded by justice and policy it may be mortifying but cannot be dishonourable to concede; and before passing so heavy a censure on the Northampton parliament, these learned writers ought to have considered whether England possessed any right over Scotland; and, secondly, whether that which they claimed was an adequate motive for continuing an unsuccessful war.

THE LAST DAYS OF ROBERT BRUCE (1329 A.D.)

Bruce seemed only to wait for the final deliverance of his country to close his heroic career. He had retired, probably for the purpose of enjoying a milder climate, to his castle of Cardross, on the firth of Clyde, near Dumbarton. Here he lived in princely retirement, and, entertaining the nobles with rude hospitality, relieved by liberal doles of food the distresses of the poor. Nautical affairs seem to have engaged his attention very much, and he built vessels, with which he often went on the adjacent firth. He practised falconry, being unequal to sustain the fatigue of hunting. We may add, for everything is interesting where Robert Bruce is the subject, that he kept a lion, and a fool named Patrick, as regular parts of his establishment. Meantime his disease (a species of leprosy, as we have already said, which had origin in the hardships and privations which he had sustained for so many years) gained ground upon his remaining strength.[i]

The Death of Bruce as Related by Froissart: Bruce's Heart

During this truce it happened that King Robert of Scotland, who had been a very valiant knight, waxed old, and was attacked with so severe an illness that he saw his end was approaching; he therefore summoned together all the chiefs and barons in whom he most confided, and after having told them that he should never get the better of this sickness, he commanded them, upon their honour and loyalty, to keep and preserve faithfully and entire the kingdom for his son David, and obey him and crown him king when he was of a proper age, and to marry him with a lady suitable to his station.

He after that called to him the gallant Lord James Douglas, and said to him, in presence of the others: "My dear friend, Lord James Douglas, you know that I have had much to do, and have suffered many troubles, during the time I have lived, to support the rights of my crown: at the time that I was most occupied I made a vow, the non-accomplishment of which gives me much uneasiness—I vowed that if I could finish my wars in such a manner that I might have quiet to govern peaceably, I would go and make war against the enemies of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the adversaries of the Christian faith. To this point my heart has always leaned; but our Lord was not willing, and gave me so much to do in my lifetime, and this last expedition has lasted so long, followed by this heavy sickness, that, since my body cannot accomplish what my heart wishes, I will send my heart in the stead of my body to fulfil my vow. And, as I do not know any one knight so gallant or enterprising, or better formed to complete my intentions than yourself, I beg and entreat of you, dear and special friend, as earnestly as I can, that you would have the goodness to undertake this expedition for the love of me, and to acquit my soul to our Lord and Saviour; for I

have that opinion of your nobleness and loyalty, that, if you undertake it, it cannot fail of success—and I shall die more contented; but it must be executed as follows:

"I will, that as soon as I shall be dead, you take my heart from my body, and have it well embalmed; you will also take as much money from my treasury as will appear to you sufficient to perform your journey, as well as for all those whom you may choose to take with you in your train; you will then deposit your charge at the Holy Sepulchre of our Lord, where he was buried, since my body cannot go there. You will not be sparing of expense—and provide yourself with such company and such things as may be suitable to your rank—and wherever you pass, you will let it be known that you bear the heart of King Robert of Scotland, which you are carrying beyond seas by his command, since his body cannot go thither."

All those present began bewailing bitterly; and when the Lord James could speak, he gave his promise upon his knighthood.

The king said: "Thanks be to God! for I shall now die in peace, since I know that the most valiant and accomplished knight of my kingdom will perform that for me which I am unable to do for myself."

Soon afterwards the valiant Robert Bruce, king of Scotland, departed this life on June 7th, 1329. His heart was embalmed, and his body buried in the monastery of Dunfermline.

Early in the spring the Lord James Douglas, having made provision of everything that was proper for his expedition, embarked at the port of Montrose, and sailed directly for Sluys in Flanders, in order to learn if any one were going beyond the sea to Jerusalem, that he might join companies. He remained there twelve days, and would not set his foot on shore, but stayed the whole time on board, where he kept a magnificent table, with music of trumpets and drums, as if he had been the king of Scotland. At last, after staying at Sluys twelve days, he heard that Alphonso, king of Spain, was waging war against the Saracen king of Granada. He considered, that if he should go thither he should employ his time and journey according to the late king's wishes; and when he should have finished there he would proceed further to complete that with which he was charged. He made sail, therefore, towards Spain, and landed first at Valentia; thence he went straight to the king of Spain, who was with his army on the frontiers, very near the Saracen king of Granada.

It happened, soon after the arrival of the Lord James Douglas, that the king of Spain issued forth into the fields, to make his approaches nearer the enemy; the king of Granada did the same; and each king could easily distinguish the other's banners, and they both began to set their armies in array. The Lord James placed himself and his company on one side, to make better work and a more powerful effort. When he perceived that the battalions on each side were fully arranged, and that of the king of Spain in motion, he imagined they were about to begin the onset; and as he always wished to be among the first rather than last on such occasions, he and all his company stuck their spurs into their horses, until they were in the midst of the king of Granada's battalion, and made a furious attack on the Saracens. He thought that he should be supported by the Spaniards; but in this he was mistaken, for not one that day followed his example. The gallant knight and all his companions were surrounded by the enemy: they performed prodigies of valour; but they were of no avail, as they were all killed. It was a great misfortune that they were not assisted by the Spaniards.

Lord Hailes adds another incident: The detached troops fought with

[1329 A.D.]

equal advantage, and the Moorish cavalry fled. Douglas with his companions eagerly pursued the Saracens. Taking the casket from his neck, which contained the heart of Bruce, he threw it before him and cried, "Now pass thou onward as thou wast wont, and Douglas will follow thee or die!" The fugitives rallied; surrounded and overwhelmed by superior numbers, Douglas fell, while attempting to rescue Sir William St. Clare, of Roslin, who shared his fate. Robert and Walter Logan, both of them knights, were slain with Douglas. His friend, Sir William Keith, having had his arm broke, was detained from the battle. His few surviving companions found his body in the field, together with the casket, and reverently conveyed them to Scotland. The remains of Douglas were interred in the sepulchre of his fathers, in the church of Douglas.

His natural son, Archibald Douglas, erected a marble monument to his memory; but his countrymen have more effectually perpetuated his fame, by bestowing on him the name of "the good Sir James Douglas." Fordun[u] reports that Douglas was thirteen times defeated in battle, and fifty-seven times victorious.[s]

Perhaps the reader will not dislike to see the portrait of Douglas, drawn by Barbour.[a]

'In visage was he some deal gray,
And had black hair, as I heard say;
But then, of limbs he was well made,
With bones great, and shoulders braid;
His body well made and lenzie,
As they that saw him said to me.
When he was blyth, he was lovely,
And meek, and sweet in company;
But who in battle might him see,
Another countenance had he;
And in his speech he lispt some deal,
But that set him right wonder well."[e]

TYTLER'S ESTIMATE OF BRUCE

At some interview, shortly before his death, Bruce delivered to the Scottish barons his last injunctions regarding the best mode of conducting the war against England. They concentrate, in a small compass, the wisdom and experience which he had gained during the whole course of his protracted but glorious war; and it is perhaps not too much to say that there is no instance in their subsequent history, in which the Scots have sustained any signal defeat, where it cannot be traced to a departure from some of the directions of what is affectionately called the Good King Robert's Testament. His injunctions were, that the Scots in their wars ought always to fight on foot; that, instead of walls and garrisons, they should use the mountains, the morasses, and the woods; having for arms the bow, the spear, and the battle-axe; driving their herds into the narrow glens, and fortifying them there, whilst they laid waste the plain country by fire, and compelled the enemy to evacuate it.

"Let your scouts and watches," he concluded, "be vociferating through the night, keeping the enemy in perpetual alarm; and, worn out with famine, fatigue, and apprehension, they will retreat as certainly as if routed in battle." Bruce did not require to add, that then was the time for the Scots to commence their attacks, and to put in practice that species of warfare which he had taught them to use with such fatal effect. Indeed, these are the principles of war which will in every age be adopted by mountaineers in defence

of their country; and nearly five hundred years after this, when a regular Russian army invaded Persia, we find the khan, Aga Mahommed, speaking to his prime minister almost in the very words of Bruce: "Their shot shall never reach me, but they shall possess no country beyond its range; they shall not know sleep; and let them march where they choose, I will surround them with a desert."

Bruce undoubtedly belongs to that race of heroic men, regarding whom we are anxious to learn even the commonest particulars. But living at so remote a period, the lighter shades and touches which confer individuality are lost in the distance. We only see, through the mists which time has cast around it, a figure of colossal proportion, walking amid his shadowy peers.

In his figure the king was tall and well shaped. Before broken down by illness, and in the prime of life, he was nearly six feet high. His forehead was low, his cheek-bones strong and prominent, and the general expression of his countenance open and cheerful, although he was maimed by a wound which had injured his lower jaw. His manners were dignified and engaging; after battle nothing could be pleasanter or more courteous; and it is infinitely to his honour, that in a savage age, and smarting under injuries which attacked him in his kindest and tenderest relations, he never abused a victory, but conquered often as effectually by his generosity and kindness as by his great military talents.

His memory was stored with the romances of the period, in which he took great delight. Their hair-breadth escapes and perilous adventures were sometimes scarcely more wonderful than his own, and he had early imbibed from such works an appetite for individual enterprise and glory, which, had it not been checked by a stronger passion, the love of liberty, might have led him into fatal mistakes. It is quite conceivable that Bruce, instead of a great king, might, like Richard the first, have become only a kingly knight-errant.

But from this error he was saved by the love of his country, directed by an admirable judgment, an unshaken perseverance, and a vein of strong good sense. It is here, although some may think it the homeliest, that we are to find assuredly the brightest part of the character of the king. It is these qualities which are especially conspicuous in his long war for the liberty of Scotland. They enabled him to follow out his plans through many a tedious year with undeviating energy; to bear reverses, to calculate his means, to wait for his opportunities, and to concentrate his whole strength upon one great point, till it was gained and secured to his country for ever. Brilliant military talent and consummate bravery have often been found amongst men, and proved far more of a curse than a blessing; but rarely, indeed, shall we discover them united to so excellent a judgment, controlled by such perfect disinterestedness, and employed for so sacred an end.

Immediately after the king's death his heart was taken out, as he had himself directed. He was then buried with great state and solemnity under the pavement of the choir, in the abbey church of Dunfermline, and over the grave was raised a rich marble monument, which was made at Paris. Centuries passed on; the ancient church, with the marble monument, fell into ruins, and a more modern building was erected on the same site. This gave way to time, and in clearing the foundation for a third church in 1819 the workmen laid open a tomb which proved to be that of Robert the Bruce. The lead coating in which the body was found enclosed was twisted round the head into the shape of a rude crown. A rich cloth of gold, but much decayed, was thrown over it, and, on examining the skeleton, it was found

that the breast-bone had been sawn asunder to get at the heart. There remained, therefore, no doubt that, after the lapse of almost five hundred years, his countrymen were permitted, with a mixture of delight and awe, to behold the very bones of their great deliverer.

SIR WALTER SCOTT'S ESTIMATE OF BRUCE

Remarkable in many things, there was this almost peculiar to Robert Bruce, that his life was divided into three distinct parts, which could scarcely be considered as belonging to the same individual. His youth was thoughtless, hasty, and fickle, and from the moment he began to appear in public life until the slaughter of the Red Comyn[1] and his final assumption of the crown, he appeared to have entertained no certain purpose beyond that of shifting with the shifting tide, like the other barons around him, ready, like them, to enter into hasty plans for the liberation of Scotland from the English yoke; but equally prompt to submit to the overwhelming power of Edward. Again, in a short but very active period of his life, he displayed the utmost steadiness, firmness, and constancy, sustaining, with unabated patience and determination, the loss of battles, the death of friends, the disappointment of hopes, and an uninterrupted series of disasters, on which scarce a ray of hope appeared to brighten. This term of suffering extended from the field of Methven-wood till his return to Scotland from the island of Rathlin, after which time his career, whenever he was himself personally engaged, was almost uniformly successful, even till he obtained the object of his wishes—the secure possession of an independent throne.

When these things are considered, we shall find reason to conclude that the misfortunes of the second or suffering period of Bruce's life had taught him lessons of constancy, of prudence, and of moderation, which were unknown to his early years, and tamed the hot and impetuous fire which his temper, like that of his brother Edward, naturally possessed. He never permitted the injuries of Edward I (although three brothers had been cruelly executed by that monarch's orders) to provoke him to measures of retaliation; and his generous conduct to the prisoners at Bannockburn, as well as elsewhere, reflected equal honour on his sagacity and humanity. His manly spirit of chivalry was best evinced by a circumstance which happened in Ireland, where, when pursued by a superior force of English, he halted and offered battle at disadvantage, rather than abandon a poor washerwoman, who had been taken with the pains of labour.

Robert Bruce's personal accomplishments in war stood so high that he was universally esteemed one of the three best knights of Europe during that martial age, and gave many proofs of personal prowess. His achievements seem amply to vindicate this high estimation, since the three Highlanders slain in the retreat from Dalry, and Sir Henry de Bohun, killed by his hand in front of the English army, evince the valorous knight, as the plans of his campaigns exhibit the prudent and sagacious leader. The Bruce's skill in the military art was of the highest order; and in his [alleged and perhaps apocryphal] "testament," as it is called, he bequeathed a legacy to his countrymen,

[1 Freeman" deals very bluntly with Bruce: "History (that is, real history) sets before us William Wallace as *quidam latro publicus* (a certain public robber), the savage devastator of England; it sets before us Robert Bruce as a traitor in turn to every cause, as a pardoned rebel, who at last took to patriotism as his only chance to escape the punishment of a treacherous private murder."]

which, had they known how to avail themselves of it, would have saved them the loss of many a bloody day.[1]

If, however, his precepts could not save the Scottish nation from military losses, his example taught them to support the consequences with unshaken constancy. It is, indeed, to the example of this prince, and to the events of a reign so dear to Scotland, that we can distinctly trace that animated love of country which has been ever since so strong a characteristic of north Britons that it has been sometimes supposed to limit their affections and services so exclusively within the limits of their countrymen as to render that partiality a reproach which liberally exercised is subject for praise. In the day of Alexander III and his predecessors, the various tribes whom these kings commanded were divided from each other by language and manners; it was only by residing within the same common country that they were forced into some sort of connection; but after Bruce's death we find little more mention of Scots, Galwegians, Picts, Saxons, or Strathclyde Britons. They had all, with the exception of the Highlanders, merged into the single denomination of Scots, and spoke generally the Anglo-Scottish language.

This great change had been produced by the melting down of all petty distinctions and domestic differences in the crucible of necessity. In the wars with England all districts of the country had been equally oppressed, and almost all had been equally distinguished in combating and repelling the common enemy. There was scarce a district of Scotland that had not seen Bruce's banner displayed, and had not sent forth brave men to support it; and so extensive were the king's wanderings, so numerous his travels, so strongly were felt the calls on which men were summoned from all quarters to support him, that petty distinctions were abolished; and the state which, consisting of a variety of half-independent tribes, resembled an ill-constructed faggot, was now consolidated into one strong and inseparable stem, and deserved the name of a kingdom.

It is true that the great distinction between the Saxon and Gaelic races in dress, speech, and manner still separated the Highlander from his Lowland neighbour, but even this leading line of separation was considerably softened and broken in upon during the civil wars and the reign of Robert Bruce.

But the principal consolidating effect of this long struggle lay in the union which it had a tendency to accomplish between the higher and inferior orders. The barons and knights had, as we have before remarked, lost in a great measure the habit of considering themselves as members of any particular kingdom,

[1] These verses are thus given by Tytler.[g] I have, for the sake of rendering them intelligible, adopted the plan of modern spelling, retaining the ancient language. The original verses are in Latin leonines.

On foot should be all Scottish war,
By hill and moss themselves to bear:
Let wood for walls be—bow and spear
And battle-axe their fighting gear:
That enemies do them no drear,
In strait place cause keep all store,
And burn the plain land them before;
Then shall they pass away in haste,
When that they nothing find but waste;
With wiles and wakening of the night,
And mickle noises made on height;
Then shall they turn with great affray,
As they were chased with sword away.
This is the council and intent
Of good King Robert's testament.

or subjects of any particular king, longer than while they held fiefs within his jurisdiction. These loose relations between the nobles and their followers were altered and drawn more tight when the effect of long-continued war, repeated defeats, undaunted renewal of efforts, and final attainment of success, bound such leaders as Douglas, Randolph, and Stewart to their warriors, and their warriors to them. The faithful brotherhood which mutual dangers and mutual conquests created between the leader and the followers on the one hand, betwixt the king and the barons on the other—the consciousness of a mutual object which overcame all other considerations, and caused them to look upon themselves as men united in one common interest—taught them at the same time the universal duty of all ranks to their common country, and the sentiments so spiritedly expressed by Barbour,[t] the venerable biographer of Bruce himself:

> Ah, freedom is a noble thing;
> Freedom makes men to have liking
> To man all solace freedom gives;
> He lives at ease who freely lives;
> And he that aye has livèd free
> May not well know the misery,
> The wrath, the hate, the spite, and all
> That's compass'd in the name of thrall.[u]

A REVIEW OF SCOTCH COMMERCE AND CULTURE

We have mentioned in a former chapter the introduction of the Flemings into Scotland, and the impulse which they gave to the commencement of its manufactures and commerce. Malcolm Canmore and his queen also encouraged the arrival of foreign merchants into Scotland; David I was also distinguished for his attention to foreign commerce; and his burgh laws for the regulation of trade show not only his solicitude on this subject, but the important fact that the dyeing and manufacture of woollen cloth had been already introduced into Scotland.

So plentiful, also, was the trade in fish, already a source of national wealth, that during the same reign, as we learn from a MS. in the Cottonian library, the frith of Forth was often covered with boats manned by Scottish, English, and Belgian fishermen. Berwick was now the great Scottish port for foreign commerce, while Perth was properly as yet the capital of the kingdom, and a town distinguished for its wealth. Leith, Stirling, and Aberdeen are also mentioned as places possessing some trade and shipping. It was much, indeed, that such a country at the commencement of the reign of Richard I of England, could repurchase its independence for the then very large sum of ten thousand marks, and that in the succeeding reign of John it could pay fifteen thousand by the Treaty of Berwick.

Shipbuilding, too, seems to have been one of the departments of Scottish commercial enterprise, and Matthew Paris[w] tells us that one of the large vessels which accompanied the fleet of St. Louis on his first crusade in 1286 had been built at Inverness for continental service. Nor, amidst this new stir of commerce and manufacture by which the country was enriched, were those arts neglected by which its manners were refined and softened.

Even at this early period music was a favourite study of the Scotch, while their musical instruments were the harp, the pib-corn, and the bagpipe. We are also informed by Giraldus[x] Cambrensis, that the music of the Irish, who played only upon the harp with brass strings and the timbrel, was inferior to that of Scotland, for which reason they were wont to repair thither

"as to the fountain-head of perfection in that art.' In this way the progress of Scotland went onward from reign to reign, and all seemed to promise that her only contention with her powerful rival would be that which now so happily prevails—the contest of industry, and intelligence, and moral worth. But by one fatal accident all this was arrested and thrown back; and the first utterance of the Scottish muse in her own native tongue was a touching lamentation over the disaster:—

"Quhen Alysandyr, our Kyng, was dede,
That Scotland led in luive and Le,
Away wes sons of Ale and Brede,
Of Wyne and Wax, of Gamyn and Gle;
Oure gold was changyd into lede.
Cryst, born into virgynyte,
Succour Scotland and remed
That stad is in perplexyte!"

This was the death-wail of which Berwick was the funeral-pile. So great and prosperous had that town grown at the death of Alexander III, and so numerous were its inhabitants, that in the chronicle of Lanercost[1] it is termed a second Alexandria. The sea, it added, was its wealth, the waters were its walls, and its rich citizens were very liberal in their donations to religious houses. But after its capture by Edward I, in 1296, and the indiscriminate massacre that followed, Berwick never recovered its consequence, but became a mere debatable town and place of strife between the English and the Scots. Then followed those long wars in which Scotland fought not merely for independence but existence, and in which every art and occupation were thrown aside, except those of self-defence and plunder; and a dreary interval had to elapse before her deeds were fitted for any other record than that of mere military achievement.

It is not, however, to be supposed that amidst the prevalent ignorance and barbarism which this death-struggle entailed upon the country for years, Scotland was merely illustrious by the deeds of Wallace, Bruce, and the Douglases. On the contrary, the bright intellects whom she produced in her darkest hour gave a fair presage of what might be expected when happier days succeeded. One of these eminent men was Sir Michael Scott, of Balwearie, the contemporary of Roger Bacon, and, like him, not only distinguished by his scientific attainments, but also by the character of a magician and necromancer. His death occurred in 1292, the same year in which Bacon also deceased. Notwithstanding his exclusive renown among his own countrymen as seer, wizard, and necromancer, the works of Michael Scott, of which several have been printed, and the testimony of his learned contemporaries, prove him to have been one of the most acute intellects as well as one of the most learned and universal scholars of his day.

Another eminent northern genius of this period was John Duns Scotus, a man whom England and Ireland have been eager to claim for a native, and of whom any country might well be proud. It seems certain, however, that Scotland was his native country, as the name (Scotus) had long ceased to be applied to Ireland, and that the town of Dunse in Berwickshire was either his birth-place or residence. He was born in the latter part of the thirteenth century, but at what precise date cannot be ascertained. Having been instructed in the elements of learning by the Franciscan friars, who were struck with the early signs of acuteness which he exhibited, he was carried off a prisoner to England, along with his preceptors, in one of those destructive irruptions of the war of Edward I, in which neither priest nor

layman was spared. After his liberation, John of Dunse repaired to Merton Hall, Oxford, and made such proficiency in the studies of logic, mathematics, and theology, that in 1301 he was appointed professor of divinity, and became so renowned as a lecturer on the sentences of Peter Lombard, that Oxford was crowded with students, of whom thirty thousand attended his prelections.

From Oxford he was sent to Paris by the Franciscans, to defend the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, which he did with such logical acuteness that the impugners were confuted, or at least confounded and silenced, and the honorary title of Subtle Doctor was conferred upon the successful champion. He had also a keen controversy on the subject of divine grace with Thomas Aquinas, in opposition to whose followers, called the Thomists, he founded a sect in theological science called the Scotists, who were soon diffused throughout all the churches and schools of Christendom.

Immense as were his writings and literary labours, Duns Scotus died at Cologne in 1308, while founding a university, being at that time not more than forty-four, or as others declare, only thirty-four years old. His written works alone, which were collected and published in 1639, filled twelve folio volumes!

It would be difficult, indeed, either to describe the almost religious adoration with which his authority was received, or the influence it exercised over the intellect of Europe in this period of struggle and transition: it was said of him, that he could have been the inventor of philosophy if it had not previously existed—that his knowledge of all the mysteries of religion was so profound and perfect that it was rather intuitive certainty than belief—and that he wrote so many books that one man is hardly able to read them, and no one man is able to understand them. Even, however, when the supremacy of Aristotle was passing away, and solid intellectual realities taking the place of idle sophisms, the writings of Duns Scotus held a high place, and were quoted with respect by the master spirits of the revolution. And such the feeling still continues to be, even in the present scrupulous age, among those who examine his mountainous tomes, and are able to appreciate them.

Very different from the pursuits of the preceding persons were those of John de Fordun.[u] This worthy priest, a native of Fordoun in Kincardineshire, and born about the middle of the fourteenth century, seems from his earliest days to have had a heart glowing with patriotism, as well as a mind directed to the writing of history. These feelings naturally suggested the great task of his life, which was to recover, if it were possible, the history of his native country—that history which Edward I had so mercilessly endeavoured to destroy. This, indeed, was a labour such as few national historians have encountered; and he set about it with a diligence and in a manner such as the task fully required. To find his materials he was obliged to traverse Britain and Ireland, pursuing his investigations from town to town, and from castle to castle, gathering whatever document, relic, story, or tradition was to be found about his native country, and securing them in his pilgrim's wallet for future consideration and arrangement.

After his quest was ended he sat down in Aberdeen, of the church of which he was a canon, and there, during the years between 1387 and 1399, employed himself in his important work, entitled the *Scotichronicon*, in five books, the last three being a history of Scotland from 1056 to 1153. Being arrested in his labour of love by the infirmity of old age, he handed over the rest of his materials to Walter Bower,[v] who continued the *Scotichronicon* to the year 1436. A history undertaken under such singular disadvantages, as well as at such a credulous period, might be expected to abound in more

than the ordinary share of fable; but still the full value of the work it is not easy to estimate. It secured those perishable national records which otherwise might have been irretrievably lost, and thereby became the groundwork of future Scottish histories.

In turning from philosophy and history to poetry, we find that there the fervour of the Scottish genius was not wanting. We have not the same means of ascertaining its early history in the northern as in the southern division of the island, but from the origin and character of the Scottish Lowlanders we are warranted in concluding that they, too, had their gleemen and troubadours, and that every district had its favourite lay or romance. It is still more interesting to find that the emancipation of the poetry of Britain from the old Saxon and Norman tongues into that which was finally to become the standard English language commenced, not in England but in Scotland.

The specimen we have already quoted as the oldest of the kind possesses a regularity of measure, and harmony of language, which the versification of England did not attain until more than a century afterwards. But we have not merely the small specimen alluded to for our warrant in the assertion that Scotland was properly the birthplace of English poetry. At the time when the lament on the death of Alexander III was written there was a poet of high eminence in Scotland, whose chief work, after having disappeared for centuries, was discovered and published in our own day. We allude to the poetical romance of *Sir Tristrem*, and its author, Thomas Rymer.

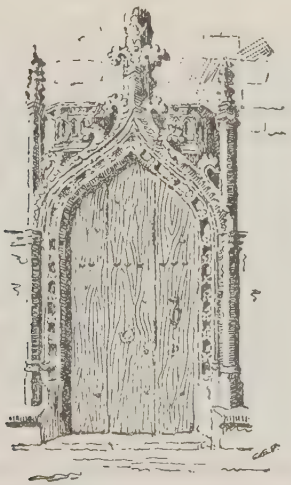
Over the history of this early poet much of that mythic obscurity is to be found which so much aggrandised the names of Ossian and Homer. He is sometimes called Thomas the Rhymer from his poetical character, and Thomas of Ercildoune from the name of the village, now called Earlston, in Berwickshire, his place of residence. From early notices it may be inferred that he was born as early as 1219, and composed his poem about 1250, and that his life extended over a great part of that century, as we find him still alive at the period of the death of Alexander III in 1286. When we remember the original twofold application of the title *vates*, we need not be surprised if Thomas the Rhymer, in such a rude period, was reckoned a prophet as well as poet, and that from the natural love of the marvellous the former predominated over the latter character. His predictions were preserved, while his *Sir Tristrem* was allowed to sink into forgetfulness; and while subsequent authors continued to speak of him as a prophet, his predictions in rhyme were cherished like household treasures in Scottish cottages even till a very recent period. It was only perhaps the publication of his works by Sir Walter Scott which showed that "true Thomas" was a poet, and nothing more. With regard to the merits of *Sir Tristrem*, it is generally allowed that as it was the first, it was also the best of early Scottish poetical romances.

But the muse of Scotland soon found a more stirring as well as important occupation than the writing of chivalrous fictions. The terrible struggles that ensued on the death of Alexander III, and the long war of independence which Scotland waged against England, produced whole Iliads of warlike adventure, and veritable knights as gallant as those of the Round Table, while a spirit had been already evoked, and a language created every way fitted to express them. And when this war had ended, and ended so successfully for Scotland, it would have been strange if the country had produced no poet to raise the hymn of liberty, and record the deeds by which it had been achieved.

That poet was John Barbour,[1] archdeacon of Aberdeen. He is supposed to have been born in or near 1332 A.D., and was one of the commissioners

appointed to treat with England about the ransom of David II. During his boyhood, therefore, many of the old veterans of the Bruce's wars must still have been alive, while the deeds of the hero himself, now fully appreciated by the deliverance they had wrought, must have been the theme of general conversation and eulogium. In a happy hour, accordingly, for Scotland and its history, he chose the deeds of the "good King Robert" for his theme; and the result was his poem of *The Bruce*, which he finished in 1375, when Scotland was under the peaceful reign of Robert II, and the English fully occupied with their conquests in France.

Besides its being a record of "soothfastness," as he assures us,—which he well might do from the recentness of the events,—the life of Bruce abounded in adventures sufficiently brilliant and wonderful for the purposes of poetry, so that while the worthy archdeacon produced a true history, his work was also a complete epic. Of the poetical merits of *The Bruce* it would now be needless to speak: these are so well attested that Barbour is now universally classed in the highest rank of epic poets. It is gratifying to find that poor though his country was, and illiterate though the people were reckoned, his patriotic task was not unrequited, for a yearly pension was assigned to him from the exchequer during life.[2]





CHAPTER VI

DAVID II AND THE BALIOLS

[1329-1371 A.D.]

"Early consolidation and perfect unity are, in one point of view, sources of great strength to a nation, as in the case of France. But, in another point of view, a nation may derive advantage from the independent action of different elements in its composition, down to a later period of its history. Wholesome checks are thus imposed upon tendencies which would otherwise become too dominant and give a one-sided character to civilisation; and questions are kept in some measure open which would otherwise be prematurely closed. Nothing seems more lamentable, to ordinary readers, than the death of that heiress of Scotland who was apparently destined to unite her country peacefully with England, by marrying the heir of Edward I. No doubt a union, if it had taken place at that time, would have spared the two countries several centuries of bloody and desolating wars. Yet, nothing contributed more than the distinct national character and distinct religion of the Scotch, to save Britain from being entirely subjugated by the absolutism of Stratford and the anglicanism of Laud. It was not in London, but in Edinburgh, that those conspirators first encountered serious resistance."—GOLDWIN SMITH.[b]

DAVID II AND THE REGENTS

THE wise provision that Bruce made for the regency secured the peaceful succession of his son, David II (1329-1371), who was the first Scottish king anointed at his coronation—a privilege conceded to Bruce in a bull which reached Scotland after his death. According to the ideas of the age this placed the Scottish king on an equality with the sovereigns of Europe. The War of Independence quickened the sentiment of Scottish nationality, and left the country poorer in wealth, but richer in spirit. The memories of Wallace and of Bruce educated the people and produced in the next generation their earliest literature. England, unconscious of the benefit, gained by its own defeat. But for the resistance of the Scots it might have become earlier

than France a centralised feudal monarchy. The distinct character of the Scots—a blend of the Celt, Saxon, Norseman, and Norman—strengthened by variety the collective force of Britain. The loss which must be balanced against the gain was the bitter hatred between two races of kindred origin within one narrow isle, which for centuries retarded the progress of both, especially of the smaller kingdom.[c]

The Regency of Randolph (1329–1332 A.D.)

The parliamentary settlement at Cambuskenneth had nominated Randolph [first earl of Moray] as regent of the kingdom, a choice which could not have been amended; but after-circumstances occasioned it to be much regretted that, by devolving on Douglas the perilous and distant expedition to Palestine, Bruce's request should have deprived the country of the services of the only noble who could have replaced those of the earl of Moray in case of death or indisposition. Scotland never lost a better worthy at a period when his services were more needed. Douglas united the romantic accomplishments of a knight of chivalry with the more solid talents of a great military leader. The good Lord James of Douglas left no legitimate issue; but a natural son of his, distinguished by the title of the knight of Liddesdale, makes an important figure in the following epoch, having inherited his father's military talents and courage, but unfortunately without possessing his pure and high-spirited sentiments of chivalrous loyalty.

Randolph assumed the government of Scotland with the cautious wisdom which might have been expected from his experience. He was conscious that Edward III, though prudently observing the Treaty of Northampton, felt its articles as a shameful dereliction of Edward I's claims, and that the people of England regarded it as a dishonourable composition, patched up by Queen Isabella and her usurping favourite, Mortimer, without regard to national honour, in order to get rid of the incumbrance of the Scottish war.

We have stated that an article in the Treaty of Northampton stipulated that the lords Beaumont and Wake of Liddel, with Sir Henry Percy [called the Disinherited], should be restored to their estates in Scotland, which had been declared forfeited by Robert Bruce. Of the three, Percy alone had been restored. It certainly appears that Robert Bruce had protracted the execution of this part of the Treaty of Northampton with a degree of delay, for which it was easy to assign reasons in policy, though it might have been difficult to support them in equity. But after Mortimer's fall, the restoration of Beaumont and Wake was positively demanded by the young king. The Scottish regent had by this time acquired information that the English lords in question and others had engaged in a conspiracy to invade Scotland, and dethrone, if possible, his youthful ward; a hostile enterprise which authorised Randolph to refuse the restitution demanded at such a conjuncture.

To understand the nature of this undertaking, the reader must be informed (and here a remarkable name in Scottish history again occurs) that John Baliol, for a short time the vassal king of Scotland, died in obscurity at his hereditary castle in Normandy, shortly after the decisive battle of Bannockburn, leaving a son, Edward. With the hope of intimidating Bruce, Edward II had sent to Normandy for this young man, who then displayed a bold and adventurous character; and the younger Baliol had accordingly appeared at the English court in 1324, and again in 1327, where, as the person among the Disinherited who in his father's deposition had suffered the greatest forfeiture of all, though not at the hand of King Robert, he naturally took a

lead in the undertaking of Wake, Beaumont, and the other lords and knights who like them desired restoration of Scottish estates, though they could not, like them, plead the advantage of the express clause in the Treaty of Northampton. These high-spirited and adventurous barons, assembling a small force of three hundred horse and a few foot soldiers, determined with such slender means to attempt the subjugation of a kingdom which had of late repeatedly defied the whole strength of England.

Although the attempt seemed a desperate one, the regent Randolph took even more than necessary pains to prepare for it. But the best means of resistance lay in his own high talents and long experience, and of the advantages of these his country was deprived in an evil hour. He died at Musselburgh, July 20th, 1332, when leading the Scottish army northward, to provide against the threatened descent of Baliol and his followers. A demise so critical was generally ascribed to poison; and a fugitive monk was pointed out as the alleged perpetrator of the deed.

The Disinherited Barons and Baliol's Victory at Dupplin Muir (1332 A.D.)

It seemed as if the sound governance, military talent, and even common defence of the Scottish people had died with Robert Bruce, Douglas, and Randolph. The veteran soldiers, indeed, survived, but without their leaders, and as useless as a blade deprived of its hilt: and the nobility, who had universally submitted to the talents of Randolph, now broke out into factious emulation. After much jealous cabal, Donald earl of Mar, a man of very ordinary talent, although nephew to Robert Bruce, was elevated to the regency. This took place at Perth; and the ill-omened election was scarce made when the Scots nobles learned that Baliol and the disinherited barons had entered the firth of Forth, disembarked at Kinghorn, defeated the earl of Fife, and, marching across the country, were encamped near Forteviot, July 31st, with the river Earn in their front. Their host had been joined by many adherents, but did not in all amount to more than three thousand men. With an army far more numerous, the earl of Mar encamped upon Dupplin Muir, on the opposite or right bank of the river; while a second army composed of southern barons, led by the earl of March, was arrived within eight miles of the enemy's left flank.

A more desperate situation could scarce be conceived than that of Baliol, and he relieved himself by a resolution which seemed to be as desperate. A stake planted by a secret adherent of the disinherited lords in a ford of the Earn indicated a secure place of crossing. The English army passed the river at midnight, August 12th, and in profound silence, surprised the camp of their numerous enemies, who were taken at unawares, dizzy with sleep and wassail; for they had passed a night of intemperance, and totally neglected posting sentinels. The English made a most piteous carnage among their unresisting enemies. The young earl of Moray showed the spirit of his father, and collecting his followers at the head of a dauntless but small body, drove back the enemy. But the incapacity of the earl of Mar, who in the doubtful light of the dawning bore down in a confused mass without rule or order, overwhelmed instead of supporting Randolph and his little body of brave adherents. Opposition ended, the rout became totally irretrievable, and the swords of the enemy were blunted with slaughter.[1] After

[1 Among the slain were Randolph, earl of Moray; Robert Bruce's natural son, the earl of *Carrick*; Robert Bruce's brother-in-law, the earl of Menteith, and the regent himself, the earl of Mar.]

[1332 A.D.]

the battle of Dupplin Muir the invaders took possession of Perth without opposition.

The earl of March dispersed his army, and afterwards showed his real sentiments by acceding once more to the English interest.

The foreign invasion having thus succeeded, though made on a scale wonderfully in contrast with the extent of the means prepared, the domestic conspiracy was made manifest. The family of Comyn in all its branches, all who resented the proceedings against David de Brechin and the other conspirators condemned by the Black Parliament; all who had suffered injury, or what they termed such, in the disturbed and violent times, when so much evil was inflicted and suffered on both sides; all, finally, who nourished ambitious projects of rising under the new government, or had incurred neglect during the old one, joined in conducting Edward Baliol to Scone, where he was crowned king in their presence, when Sinclair, prelate of Dunkeld, whom the Bruce on account of his gallantry termed his own bishop, officiated at the ceremony of crowning an usurper, to the prejudice of his heroic patron's son.

Edward Baliol, in temporary possession of the Scottish crown, speedily showed his unworthiness to wear it. He hastened to the border, to which Edward III was now advancing, with an army, to claim the lion's share among the Disinherited barons, to whom he had afforded private countenance in their undertaking, and whose ultimate success was finally to depend upon his aid. Unwarned by his father's evil fortune, Edward Baliol renewed in all form the subjugation of the kingdom of Scotland, took on himself at Roxburgh, November 23rd, 1332, the feudal fetters which even his father had found it too degrading to endure; and became bound, under an enormous penalty, to serve King Edward in his wars, he himself with two hundred, and his successors with one hundred men-at-arms, and to extend and strengthen the English frontiers by the cession of Berwick, and lands to the annual amount of two thousand pounds. Having made this mean bargain with the king of England, and thereby, as he thought, secured himself the powerful assistance of that nation, Baliol was lying carelessly encamped at Annan, when he was surprised by a body of royalist horse, which had assembled at Moffat. Edward himself was fain to escape to the English borders, almost naked, an exile and a fugitive, having scarcely possessed his usurped crown for three months.

Meantime the royalists had found a trustworthy leader in Sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell. In his youth he had been the companion of Wallace, and afterwards the faithful follower of Bruce, who acknowledged his attachment by preferring him to the hand of his sister Christina, a widow, by the death of the heroic Christopher Seaton. Sir Andrew Moray was a soldier of the Bruce's school, calm, sagacious, and dauntlessly brave. His first measure of importance was to remove the persons of the young king and queen to France, where the faith of Philip was engaged for their safety and honourable maintenance. His next undertaking was less fortunate. He made an attempt to take by surprise the castle of Roxburgh, into which Baliol had then thrown himself, and imprudently engaged his own person in the dangerous enterprise.

He was made prisoner to the infinite prejudice of the royal cause; his place being poorly supplied by Archibald Douglas, although a brave soldier, and brother to the good Lord James. It was a great additional misfortune that a short time after, in a severe battle which was fought on the borders, the knight of Liddesdale (Sir William Douglas, natural son of the good Lord James) was defeated in a considerable action and made prisoner. He was

treated with great rigour and detained captive for two years. Thus was Scotland deprived, in her hour of utmost need, of two more of her choicest soldiers.

THE ENGLISH RECONQUER SCOTLAND AT HALIDON HILL (1333 A.D.)

Edward III now prepared to assist his vassal Baliol, and assembling a large army, May, 1333, came before Berwick, the securing of which place the Scots deemed justly an object of primary consequence, since Baliol had consented to surrender it to England. The earl of March, whose apostasy was not yet suspected, was governor of the castle of Berwick, and Sir Alexander Seaton of the town. They defended the place strenuously, and burned a large vessel with which the English assaulted the walls from the sea. But the garrison were reduced to such distress that they were compelled, according to the custom of the time, to agree to surrender, if not relieved by a certain day, and hostages were delivered to that effect, the son of Seaton the governor being one.

Forgetting or disregarding the earnest admonition of King Robert, the regent Douglas resolved to commit the fate of the country to the risk of a decisive conflict. On crossing the Tweed, July 19th, and approaching Berwick on the northern side, the Scottish regent became aware of the army of England drawn up in four great battalions, with numerous bodies of archers to flank them. The ground which they occupied was the crest of an eminence called Halidon Hill. The Scots stationed themselves on the opposite ridge of high ground: the bottom which divided the hills was a morass. On the morning of the 20th the Scots, with inconsiderate impetuosity, advanced to the onset. By doing so they exposed their whole army—whilst descending the hill and crossing the morass—to the constant and formidable discharge of the English archers, against whom they had no similar force to oppose. The inevitable consequence was that they lost their ranks, and became embarrassed in the morass, where many were slain. But the nobles, who fought on foot in complete armour at the head of their followers, made a desperate effort to lead a great part of the army through the bog, and ascended the opposite hill. They came to close battle with the English, who, calm and in perfect order, were not long in repulsing an attack made by disordered ranks and breathless soldiers. The Scottish, after finding their efforts vain, endeavoured to retreat. In the mean time the pages and camp-followers, who held the horses of the combatants, seeing the battle lost, began to fly, and carry off the horses along with them, without respect to the safety of their masters; so that the carnage in this bloody battle was very great, and numbers of the gentry and nobility fell.

The venerable earl of Lennox, the faithful companion of Robert Bruce, the earls of Ross, Carrick, Sutherland, Menteith, and Athol, were all slain, together with knights and barons to a countless number, and all with a trifling loss on the part of the English. The regent, Douglas himself, wounded and made prisoner, died soon after he was taken. Berwick surrendered in consequence of this decisive action, and the earl of March, governor of the castle, returned openly to the English interest, and was admitted to Edward's favour and confidence.

The Scots had suffered a loss in this action which was deemed by the English totally irrecoverable.[1] "The Scottish wars are ended," said an

[1] The defeat of Halidon Hill undid for a time the whole work of Bruce in Scotland, and it was only the memory and inspiration of his example that saved her.—HUME BROWN.[d]]

English historian, "since no one of that nation remains having interest enough to raise an army, or skill sufficient to command one." Through all Scotland, so lately the undisputed dominions of the Bruce, only four castles and a strong tower which did not reach to the importance of such a title, remained in possession of the royalists who adhered to his unfortunate son.[g]

The measures which Edward adopted on making himself master of Berwick were little calculated to conciliate the minds of those whom he somewhat prematurely considered as a conquered people. He seized and forfeited the estates of all the barons in the county of Berwick, who held their property by charter from King Robert; in giving leases of houses within the town, or of lands within the shire, he prohibited his tenants and vassals from subleasing them to any except Englishmen; he directed the warden of the town to collect together all the Scottish monks whom he suspected of instilling rebellious principles into their countrymen, and to transport them to England, to be there dispersed amongst the monasteries of their respective



CASTLE URQUHART, LOCH-NESS
Besieged in 1334 by the English

orders on the south side of the Trent; and he commanded the chiefs of the different monastic orders in England to depute to Scotland some of their most talented brethren, who were capable of preaching pacific and salutary doctrines to the people, and of turning their hostility into friendship. Orders were also transmitted to the magistrates of London and other principal towns in the kingdom, directing them to invite merchants and traders to settle in Berwick, under promise of ample privileges and immunities; and, in the anticipation that these pacific measures might still be inadequate to keep down the spirit of resistance, he emptied the prisons throughout England of several thousands of criminals condemned for murder and other heinous offences, and presented them with a free pardon on the condition of their serving him in his Scottish wars.[h]

Amid this scene of apparent submission Edward Baliol held a mock parliament at Edinburgh, February 10th, 1334, for the gratification of his ally, the king of England. The obligation of homage and feudal service to the king of England was undertaken by Edward Baliol in the fullest extent; the town of Berwick was given up; and as King Edward was desirous to hold a large portion of Scotland under his immediate and direct authority, Baliol, by a solemn instrument, made an absolute surrender to England of the frontier provinces of Berwickshire, Roxburghshire, Selkirkshire, Peebleshire, and Dumfriesshire, together with Lothian itself, in all its three divisions, thus yielding up the whole land between the northern and southern Roman rampart, and restricting Scotland to the possessions beyond the estuaries of Forth and Clyde, inhabited of old by the free Caledonians. For the rem-

nants of the kingdom, thus mutilated and dismembered, Baliol paid homage. At the same parliament Baliol, by ample cessions and distributions of territory, gratified the Disinherited lords, to whose valour he owed his extraordinary success. A quarrel arose amongst these proud barons which had important consequences.

SCOTLAND RISES AGAIN UNDER MORAY (1334 A.D.)

About this time Sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell, made prisoner, as we have seen, at Roxburgh, escaped or was liberated from prison; and his appearance in Scotland, with the discord among the English barons, was a signal for a general insurrection of the royalists. Moray was joined by the discontented Mowbray. Richard Talbot, marching southward, was attacked and defeated by William Keith of Galston, who had distinguished himself at the siege of Berwick. Sir Andrew Moray, with his new ally, Mowbray, besieged the powerful Henry de Beaumont in his fortress of Dundearg in Buchan, and by cutting off the supplies of water compelled him to surrender, and put him to a great ransom. The impulse became general through Scotland. The men of Bute arose against the English captain, slew him, and sent his head to their master, the Stewart of Scotland. In Annandale and in Ayrshire, where Bruce had his family estates, the royalists gathered on every side.

The Stewart had distinguished himself by his bravery and generosity of disposition. By universal approbation of the royalists this gallant and amiable young man was associated in the regency. The young earl of Moray, son of the heroic Randolph, was returned from France, whither he had fled after the battle of Halidon Hill, and pushed David Hastings of Strathbogie so hard, that he not only compelled him to surrender, but found means to induce him to join the conqueror. Baliol fled into England, thereby showing plainly how slight was his reliance on any support save such as came from that kingdom, and how steadily the great bulk of the Scottish nation were attached to the legitimate heir of Bruce.

Edward III advanced into Scotland November, 1334. He met no opposition, for the Scots brought no army to the field; but he was assailed by want and the stormy weather incident to the season; and so little was Edward's reputation raised by this incursion, that the earl of March, a nobleman uniformly guided by his own interest, chose that very crisis to renounce the allegiance of England.

The chiefs of the loyal Scots now assembled a parliament at Dairsie, in Fife, April, 1335, in order to settle upon a combined plan of operations for the liberation of the country. But their counsels came to no useful or steady result, chiefly owing to the presumption of David de Strathbogie, earl of Athol, who assumed a species of superiority which the Scottish nobles could not endure. The parliament broke up in great disorder. It may be that this discord was attended with some consequences indirectly advantageous to Scotland. As the parliament could not agree upon raising a large army, they could not commit the imprudence of risking a general action. In the summer succeeding, Edward again invaded Scotland on the east marches, July 1st, 1335; while Baliol, with a body of Welsh troops and foreigners, entered on the west. They laid waste the country with fire and sword with emulous severity. The Scots kept King Robert's testament in recollection; and lurking among the woods and valleys, they fell by surprise upon

such English as separated themselves from the main body, or straggled from the march in their thirst for plunder.

In the end of July a large body of Flemish men-at-arms landed at Berwick, in the capacity of auxiliaries to England. These strangers, commanded by Guy count of Namur, conceiving the country entirely undefended, advanced fearlessly to Edinburgh, at that time an open town, the castle having been demolished. Count Guy had scarce arrived there when an army of Scottish royalists, commanded by the earls of Moray and March and Sir Alexander Ramsay, attacked him. The battle took place on the Borough Moor, and was fiercely disputed for some time; till the knight of Liddesdale, who had escaped or been released from his English captivity, swept down from the Pentland Hills, and turned the scale of battle. The Flemings retired into the city, and fought their way as they retreated up to the hill where the castle lay in ruins. They were speedily obliged to capitulate. The Scots treated their valiant prisoners with much courtesy, releasing them on their parole not to fight against David, and sending an escort to see the foreigners safe into England.

Unhappily, the regent earl of Moray went himself with the party, and on his return towards Lothian, after dismissing the Flemings, was made prisoner and thrown into Bamborough Castle. Thus the services of the worthy successor of Randolph were, for a time, lost to his country. The English continued their ravages, and with such success that men were reduced to use that sort of lip-homage which the heart refuses. "If you asked a grown-up person," says an old historian, "who was his king, he dared make no other answer save by naming Edward Baliol; while the undissembling frankness of childhood answered the same question with the name of David Bruce."

Scotland being in this low condition, and Edward having received the submission of the versatile earl of Athol, restored to that powerful nobleman his large English estates, and named him regent or governor of Scotland under Baliol. The Stewart, over whom this David de Strathbogie seems to have possessed but too much influence, was also induced, contrary to his interests, as nearly concerned in the succession, to acknowledge Baliol as his sovereign. After fortifying Perth, and rebuilding the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling, Edward the Third returned to his own dominions.

The irresistible pressure of immediate superiority of force being once more removed, the spirit of determined resistance began again to manifest itself. The Scottish loyalists once more chose for their head Sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell. Moray, joined by the earl of March and the knight of Liddesdale, came suddenly on the earl of Athol, then lying in the forest of Kilblain, whose troops, suddenly and fiercely attacked in a species of pass, gave way on all sides. The earl of Athol was steady in personal courage, though fickle in political attachment: he looked round with scorn on his fugitive followers, and striking his hand on a huge rock which lay near him said, "Thou and I will this day fly together." Five knights of his household abode fought, and fell with him, refusing all quarter. Edward himself advanced to avenge the death of a powerful, if not a steady, partisan. He led into Scotland a numerous army, which wasted the country as far as Moray, carrying devastation wherever he went. But he had then done the utmost which was in his power, and was compelled to retreat by the consequences to his own army of the very desolation which they themselves had made. But no sooner was the weight and presence of the English host withdrawn than all the Scottish patriots were again in arms in every quarter of the country, assaulting and storming, or surprising by stratagem, the garrisons that had been left to overawe them,

and proving that they were worthy to have been subjects of the Bruce, by the intelligence with which they executed his precepts. The regent distinguished himself in this war as much by his alertness in seizing opportunities of advantage, as he had done when opposed to Edward by the prudence which affords none to the enemy.

In the mean time war broke out between France and England. On October 7th, 1337, King Edward publicly asserted his claim to the throne of that kingdom; yet, with this new and more dazzling object in his view, he did not turn his eyes from the conquest of Scotland. The earls of Salisbury, Arundel, and Norfolk were intrusted with the command of the northern army, and the former laid siege to the strong castle of Dunbar, defended, in the absence of the earl of March, by his wife, the daughter of the heroic Thomas Randolph, earl of Moray, and animated by a portion of his courage.

This lady, whom the common people used to call Black Agnes of Dunbar, was one of those by whose encouragement, according to a phrase of Froissart,[e] a man may become of double strength in the hour of danger. She daily made the round of the walls in sight of besiegers and besieged, and caused the maidens of her train to wipe the battlements with their handkerchiefs, when the stones from the engines struck them, as if in scorn of the English artillery. At one time, by engaging him in a pretended plot to receive surrender of the castle from a traitorous party within, she had well nigh made the earl of Salisbury her prisoner. On another occasion, an arrow shot by an archer of her train struck to the heart an English knight, in spite of his being completely armed. "There goes one of my lady's tiring-pins," said Montague, earl of Salisbury: "the countess's love-shafts pierce to the heart."

The good knight Sir Alexander Ramsay contrived, by means of a light vessel and a dark night, to throw into the castle a supply of provisions and soldiers. This was announced to the besiegers by a sally; and they were so much disheartened as to raise the siege, which had lasted five months, and retire from before Dunbar with little honour.

Similar advantages were gained by the patriots all through Scotland. The state, indeed, sustained a heavy loss in the death of Sir Andrew Moray, the regent, who, after all his battles and dangers, expired in peace at his castle of Avoch, in Ross. Brother-in-law of the Bruce, and one of the last of his leaders, he evinced till his dying day the spirit of valour, sagacity, and patriotism which merited that distinguished alliance.

REGENCY OF ROBERT THE STEWART OF SCOTLAND

The Stewart of Scotland, freed from the baneful influence which the anglicised earl of Athol had exercised over him, was now chosen sole regent, and showed himself worthy of the trust. He commenced the siege of Perth, assisted by five ships of war and some men-at-arms, which were sent from France. The regent was assisted in pressing this siege by the abilities of William Bullock, an ecclesiastic who loved the battlefield or the political scenes of the cabinet better than mass or matins. He showed the hardihood of his character during a total eclipse of the sun, which took place in the midst of his operations. While all others, both in the besieging army and garrison, were sinking under their superstitious fears, Bullock took advantage of the darkness to wheel his military engines so close to the wall that when the sunshine returned the besieged found themselves under the necessity of surrendering. The Stewart was equally successful in reducing Stirling

and other English posts to the north of the Forth, and bringing the whole country to the peace of King David.

Other Scottish leaders distinguished themselves in different provinces. Sir William Douglas, the knight of Liddesdale, totally expelled the English from Teviotdale. A still more important acquisition on the Scottish part was that of Edinburgh Castle, which Edward III had fortified when in Scotland during his last campaign.

Sir Alexander Ramsay, the same who gallantly relieved the castle of Dunbar, yielded to none of the champions whom we have named in devotion to the cause of his country. His fame for chivalry was so high, that no Scottish youth of that neighbourhood was held worthy of esteem unless he had proved his gallantry by riding for some time in Ramsay's band.

THE RETURN OF THE YOUNG KING DAVID II (1341 A.D.)

By the achievements of these brave men the English force was so much weakened throughout Scotland, and the government of the legal monarch so completely restored, that it was thought advisable that King David and his consort should return from France to their own kingdom.[1] They landed at the small port of Inverbervie in Kincardineshire in the month of May, 1341.

In the same spring Sir Alexander Ramsay added to his long list of services the important acquisition of the castle of Roxburgh, which, according to the desperate fashion of the times, he took by escalade.

Unhappily the mode which the young and inexperienced king took to reward this gallant action proved fatal to the brave knight by whom it was achieved. David conferred on Ramsay the sheriffdom of Roxburgh as a fitting distinction to one who had taken the principal fortress of the county. The knight of Liddesdale, who had large possessions in Roxburghshire, and pretensions by his services to the sheriffdom, was deeply offended by the preference given to Ramsay. He came upon Sir Alexander Ramsay, accompanied with an armed force, while he was exercising justice at Hawick, dispersed his few attendants, wounded him while on the bench of justice, threw him on a horse, and through many a wild bog and mountain path carried him to his solitary and desolate castle of the Hermitage, where he cast him into the dungeon of that lonely and darksome fortress. The noble captive was left with his rankling wounds to struggle with thirst and hunger, supporting for some time a miserable existence by means of grain which fell from a granary above, until death relieved him from suffering.

The most disgraceful part of this hideous story remains to be told. David, whose favour, imprudently evinced, had caused the murder of the noble Ramsay, saw himself obliged, by the weakness of his government and the pressure of the disorderly times, not only to pardon the inhuman assassin, but to grace him with the keeping of the castle of Roxburgh, which the valour

[1] Both Scotland and its king owed much to the steadfastness with which Philip had championed their cause. But for the intervention of France, and the outbreak of the Anglo-French conflict, Scotland would have been hard beset in the unequal struggle with its southern neighbor, though the evidence it had given of its marvellous powers of resistance, even before Philip threw down the gauntlet, was sufficiently galling to English prestige. It would ill become us to repeat the depreciative and often malignant aspersions of the English chroniclers and historians because he manfully refused to own himself a usurper at his English vassal's summons, and faithfully championed the rights of his young *protégé* of Scotland.—MACKINNON.]

of his murdered victim had won from the enemy, and the sheriffdom of the county, which was rendered vacant by his murder.

A fate similar to that of Ramsay was sustained by a victim less deserving of pity. Bullock, the fighting ecclesiastic, who had deserted the standards of England for those of Scotland, and had taken so great a share in the reduction of Perth, was suddenly, by the royal order, seized on by Sir David Berkeley, thrown into the castle of Lochendorb in Morayshire, and there, like Ramsay, starved to death.[g]

It is difficult to imagine a more lamentable picture than that presented by the utter desolation of Scotland at this period. The famine, which had been felt for some years, now raged in the land. Many of the Scots had quitted their country in despair, and taken refuge in Flanders; others, of the poorer sort, were driven into the woods, and, in the extremities of hunger, feeding like swine upon the raw nuts and acorns which they gathered, were seized with diseases which carried them off in great agony. The continued miseries of war reduced the country round Perth to the state of a desert, where there was neither house for man nor harbour for cattle, and the wild deer coming down from the mountains resumed possession of the desolate region, and ranged in herds within a short distance of the town.

It is even said that some unhappy wretches were driven to such extremities of want and misery as to prey upon human flesh; and that a horrid being, vulgarly called Christicleik, from the iron hook with which he seized his victims, took up his abode in the mountains, and, assisted by a ferocious female with whom he lived, lay in ambush for the travellers who passed near his den, and methodically exercised the trade of a cannibal. The story is perhaps too dreadful for belief, yet Wyntoun,[i] who relates it, is in no respect given to the marvellous; and a similar event is recorded as late as the reign of James the Second.[h]

These wretched cannibals were detected, condemned, and burned to death. Famine, and the wretched shifts by which men strove to avoid its rage, brought on disease, their natural consequence. A pestilence[1] swept the land in 1350 and destroyed many of the enfeebled inhabitants, while others emigrated to France and Flanders, forsaking a country on which it seemed to have pleased Heaven to empty the bitterest vials of its wrath. And the termination of these misfortunes was far distant.[g]

The almost contemporaneous reigns of David II and Edward III reversed the position of the two countries: Scotland had now one of its feeblest and England one of its most powerful kings. Had not the love of liberty become the life-blood of both nobles and commons in Scotland it must have succumbed in the desperate struggle.[c]

David the Second was, as might be expected from the son of Robert Bruce, dauntlessly intrepid. He possessed a goodly person (a strong recommendation to the common people), and skill in martial exercises. But his education at the court of France had given him an uncontrollable love of pleasure. He was young also, being only about eighteen when he landed at Inverbervie, and totally inexperienced. Such was the situation and disposition of the juvenile king of a country at once assailed by foreign war with an enemy of superior force, by civil faction and discord in its most frightful shape, by raging pestilence and wasting famine. It was only the additional curse of a weak and imprudent prince that could have added fresh gall to so much

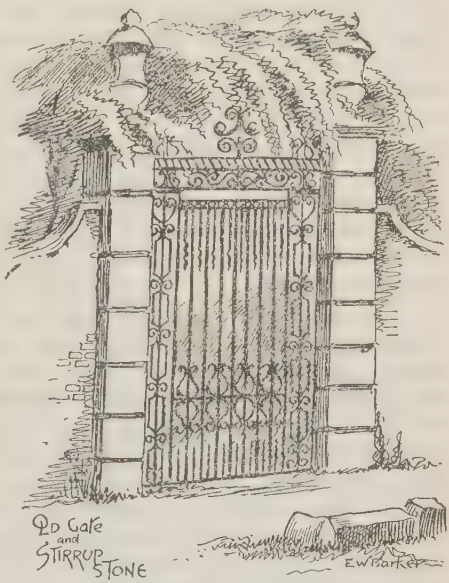
[1 This was the famous Black Death which ravaged Europe. In Scotland it was called, before it reached north, "the foul death of the English"; after that it was called "the first pestilence."]

[1346 A.D.]

bitterness. The ablest and most trustworthy counsellor whom David could have consulted was unquestionably the Stewart, who had held the regency till he resigned it on the king's arrival. But, failing heirs of David's body, of which none as yet existed, the Stewart was heir to the throne, and princes seldom love or greatly trust their successors when not of their own immediate family.

DAVID INVADES ENGLAND AND IS CAPTURED AT NEVILLE'S CROSS (1346 A.D.)

As Edward was absent in France, the time had seemed favourable for an attack upon the frontiers. Several attempts were made without decisive success on either side, which led to a truce of two years, ending on Martinmas, 1346. This cessation of arms was made between England and France, and Scotland was included. David and his subjects, however, became weary of the truce, which was broken off by a fierce incursion of the knight of Liddesdale into England. In 1346 David prepared for an invasion upon a much larger scale, and summoned the whole array of Scotland, whether Highland or Lowland, to assemble at Perth. David's army marked its progress by the usual course of ferocious devastation, the more censured in that age, because the patrimony of Saint Cuthbert experienced no favour or protection. The great northern barons of England, Percy and Neville, Musgrave, Scrope, and Hastings, assembled their forces in numbers sufficient to show that, though the conqueror of Crécy with his victorious army was absent in France, there were Englishmen enough left at home to protect the frontiers of his kingdom from violation.



King David advanced to the park called Beaurepaire, near Durham (by corruption Bear Park), and took up his quarters there, although the ground was so intersected by inclosures as to render it difficult to draw up the troops in order, and impossible for the divisions duly to support each other.

The knight of Liddesdale had advanced, on the morning of October 17th, 1346, with four hundred men-at-arms, to collect forage and provisions, when, at Neville's Cross, he unexpectedly found himself in presence of the whole English army. He was attacked, charged, routed, and suffered great loss. He and the remains of his division had but time to gallop into the Scottish camp and give the alarm, when the enemy were upon them.

The Scottish army was hastily drawn up in three divisions, as well as the broken and subdivided nature of the ground permitted. The right was commanded by the earl of Moray; the centre by the king in person; the left by Liddesdale, the Stewart of Scotland, and the earl of Dunbar. This arrangement was hardly accomplished ere the English archers, to the number of ten thousand, came within sight.

The numerous inclosures cramped and interrupted the Scottish system of defence, and at length the right wing, under the earl of Moray, began to fly. The English cavalry broke down on them, and completed the rout. Amid repeated charges, and the most dispiriting slaughter by the continuous discharge of the English arrows, David showed that he had the courage though not the talents of his father. He was twice severely wounded with arrows, but continued to encourage to the last the few of his peers and officers who were still fighting around him. At length, in a close *mêlée*, a Northumberland knight, named Copland, grappled with David and made him prisoner, but not before the king had struck out two of Copland's front teeth.

On the fall of the royal banner, the Stewart and the earl of March, who had not as yet sustained much loss, despairing of being able to aid the king or restore the battle, withdrew from the field in tolerable order, and carried their division and such as rallied under their standards back into Scotland. David II, it has been thought, considered this retreat as resembling a desertion, the more suspicious, as the next heir to the crown was at its head. The captive king was conveyed to London, and afterwards, in solemn procession to the Tower, attended by a guard of twenty thousand men, and all the city companies in complete pageantry. There remained slain on the fatal field of Neville's Cross the earls of Moray and Strathearn, David de la Hay the high constable of Scotland, Robert Keith the great marshal, the chamberlain, and the chancellor, with very many men of rank. Of the lower classes, at least fifteen thousand are computed to have fallen.

The nation of Scotland was but beginning to draw its breath after its unparalleled sufferings during the civil war, when it was, to all appearance, totally prostrated by the blow to which David had imprudently exposed his realm. The whole border counties of Scotland surrendered themselves without attempting an unavailing defence. The line of the frontiers was carried northward to the southern borders of Lothian, and was afterwards pushed still farther north. The king of England abused his victory by cruelty. He brought two of his noble captives, the earls of Menteith, and Duncan earl of Fife, to trial, for having turned to Bruce's party, after having been liegemen to Baliol. Both earls were convicted of high treason, and the earl of Menteith suffered the hideous punishment annexed to that crime by the English law. Yet while thus severely punishing those who had been traitors, as it was called, to Baliol, Edward had no purpose of restoring to his ally any delegated power in Scotland.

ROBERT THE STEWART AGAIN BECOMES REGENT (1346 A.D.)

Upon this, however, as well as other occasions of imminent peril, the Scottish people, on the very brink of ruin as an independent nation, found a remedy in their own dauntless courage. The nobility who had escaped from the field of Neville's Cross restored the Stewart of Scotland, heir of the crown, to the regency of the kingdom, in place of the imprisoned king. Yielding up the southern provinces, which he could not defend, the Stewart placed the country north of the Forth in as strong a posture as he could, and amid terror and disturbance maintained a show of government and good order. At this critical period William Lord Douglas returned from France, where he had been bred to arms, and, with the active valour of his uncle, the good Lord James, expelled the English invaders from his own domains of Douglasdale, and in process of time from Ettrick Forest and Teviotdale, provinces

of which the warlike population had been long followers of this chivalrous family.

The consequences of these successes would probably have been a furious invasion of Scotland, had it depended entirely upon the will of Edward III. But the consent of the English barons was necessary, and they were little disposed to aid in a renewal of those expensive and destructive hostilities which had been so often and so fruitlessly waged against Scotland. The king of England, therefore, reluctantly consented to a truce with the Stewart, which he renewed from time to time, as he began to conceive designs of at once filling his coffers with a large ransom for his royal prisoner, David, and to secure a right of succession to the Scottish throne by other means than open war. With this view, the royal captive was treated with more kindness than at first, and (to sharpen, perhaps, his appetite for restoration to freedom and to his kingdom) he was allowed to visit Scotland on making oath and finding hostages to return in a time limited.

Impatient as his predecessor, William the Lion, David seems to have been ready to submit his kingdom to the sovereignty of Edward, and yield up once more the question of supremacy, in order to obtain his personal freedom. He appears even to have taken some steps for that purpose. But when the pulse of the Scottish nobles was sounded on this subject, they made an unanimous declaration, that though they would joyfully impoverish themselves to purchase with money the freedom of their sovereign, they would never agree to surrender, for that or any other object, the independence of their country. David was, therefore, obliged to return to his captivity.

A treaty for the ransom of David was eventually agreed upon by commissioners at Newcastle, for 90,000 marks sterling, which sum was to be paid up by instalments of 10,000 marks yearly. All the nobility of the kingdom, and all the merchants, were to become bound for the regular payment of these large sums. The greater part of the Scottish nobles thought this an exorbitant demand for the liberty of a prince of moderate talents, without heirs of his body, and attached to idle pleasures. While the estates were doubting whether or not the treaty should be ratified, the arrival of a brave French knight, de Garencière (or Garancières), with a small but selected body of knights and esquires, and a large sum of 40,000 *moulons* of gold, to be distributed among the Scots nobles on condition of their breaking the truce and invading England, decided their resolution. They readily adopted, at whatever future risk, the course which was attended with receiving money instead of that which involved their own paying it. Indeed, the Northumbrian borderers themselves made the first aggression, by invading and spoiling the lands of the earl of March. The Douglas and the earl of March determined on reprisals.

These Scottish nobles conducted their inroad as men well acquainted with the stratagems of border warfare.[1] The earls of Angus and March, assisted by the French auxiliaries, made themselves masters of the important town of Berwick, but failed to obtain possession of the castle. At this important crisis, the French, who had done various feats of arms under Eugene de Garencière, took their leave and returned home, disgusted with the service in Scotland.[2] Their national valour induced them to face with readiness the dangers of the warfare; but their manners and habits made them impatient of the rough fare and fierce manners of their allies.

[1 Sir William Ramsay captured Sir Thomas Gray in an ambuscade at Nisbet.]

[2 Froissart gives at length their vivid impressions of the contrast of the rude north with the courtly luxuries to which they were accustomed.]

THE LAST OF THE BALIOLS SURRENDERS THE CROWN TO EDWARD III (1356 A.D.)

Edward III no sooner heard of the defeat at Nisbet and the surprise of Berwick, than he passed over from Calais, and appeared before the town with a great part of that veteran army which had been so often victorious in France, and large reinforcements, who emulated their valour. The Scots who had gained the town had had no time to store themselves with provisions, or make other preparations for defence. They capitulated, therefore, for permission to evacuate the town, of which Edward obtained possession by the terror of his appearance alone.

Berwick regained, it was now the object of Edward III to march into Scotland, and to put a final end to the interruptions which the Scottish wars so repeatedly offered to his operations in France. He determined, being now in possession of all means supposed adequate to the purpose, to make a final conquest of the kingdom, and forcibly unite it, as his grandfather had joined Wales, to the larger and richer portion of the island.

But as, like that grandfather, Edward III had not leisure to conquer kingdoms for other men, it was necessary for him to clear the way of the claims of Baliol, whom he had hitherto professed to regard as the legitimate king of Scotland. This was easily arranged, for Edward Baliol was, in the hands of Edward III, a far more flexible tool than his father had proved in those of Edward I. Being a mere phantom, whom Edward could summon upon the scene and dismiss at pleasure, he was probably very easily moulded to the purpose of the king of England, and of free consent and good-will underwent the ceremony of degradation to which his father, after failing in all attempts at resistance, had been compelled to submit, and which procured him the dishonourable nickname of Toom Tabard, or Empty Jacket. Edward Baliol appeared before Edward at Roxburgh attired in all the symbols of royalty, of which he formally divested himself, and laying his golden crown at the feet of the English king, ceded to him all right, title, and interest which he had or might claim in the sovereignty of Scotland. In guerdon of his pliancy, Baliol, when retiring into private life, was to be endowed by Edward III with a sum of 5,000 marks, and a stipend or annuity of 2,000 pounds sterling a year. With this splendid income Edward Baliol retired into privacy and obscurity, and is never again mentioned in history. The spirit of enterprise which dictated the invasion of Scotland in 1332 and the adventurous attack upon the Scottish encampment at Dupplin Muir, shows itself in no other part of his conduct. He died childless in the year 1363; and thus ended in his person the line of Baliol, whose pretensions had cost Scotland so dear.

EDWARD'S FUTILE INVASION (1356 A.D.)

The campaign which Edward designed should be decisive of the fate of Scotland now approached. The Scottish nobles, more wise in calamity than success, resolved to practise the lessons of defensive war which had been bequeathed to them by their deliverer, King Robert.

Edward no sooner entered Scotland than he found his troops in want of every species of supply, save what they bore along with them. Incensed at the difficulties and privations by which he was surrounded, Edward vented his wrath in reckless and indiscriminate destruction, burning every town and village which he approached, without sparing the edifices which were dedi-

cated to heaven and holy uses. The fine abbey church at Haddington, called the Lamp of Lothian, from the beauty of its architecture, was burned down, and the monastery, as well as the town itself, utterly destroyed. These ravages caused the period (February, 1356) to be long remembered by the title of the Burnt Candlemas.

Edward had expected to meet his victualling ships, which had been despatched to Berwick; but no sail appeared on the shipless seas. After waiting ten days among the ruins of Haddington, his difficulties increasing with every minute, Edward at length learned that a storm had dispersed his fleet, not one of which had been able to enter the firth of Forth. Retreat was now inevitable: the sufferings of the English soldiers rendered it disorderly, and it was attended with proportional loss. The Scots, from mountains, dingles, forests, and pathless wildernesses, approached the English army on every side, watching it as the carrion crows and ravens wait on a tainted flock, to destroy such as fall down through weakness. To avoid returning through the wasted province of Berwickshire, Edward involved himself in the defiles of the upper part of Teviotdale and Ettrick Forest, where he suffered much loss from the harassing attacks of Douglas, and on one occasion very narrowly escaped being made prisoner.

DAVID II RETURNS FROM CAPTIVITY (1357 A.D.)

The failure of this great enterprise, the fifth in which the attempt of invasion had been foiled, seems to have induced Edward to resort to other means than those of open and avowed hostility for the establishment of his power in Scotland, an object which he conceived to be still within his reach. The temper of his royal prisoner David Bruce was now, by his long confinement in England, become well known to him, and he doubted not that by some agreement with the selfish prince he might secure that interest in Scotland and its government of which the people were so jealous. A preliminary step to such an intrigue was the delivery of David from his long captivity, and the establishment of peace between the nations. By the final agreement at Berwick between the commissioners for each kingdom, October 3rd, 1357, David's ransom, augmented since the last treaty, was fixed at 100,000 marks, to be discharged by partial payments of 10,000 marks yearly. The nobles, churchmen, and burgesses of Scotland bound themselves to see the instalments regularly paid; and three nobles of the highest rank, who might, however, be exchanged for others of the same degree from time to time, together with twenty young men of quality, the son of the Stewart being included, were surrendered to England as hostages. Thus was David restored to freedom eleven years after having been made prisoner at the battle of Neville's Cross. The terms, on the whole, were rather more severe than those proposed three years before, when the treaty was broken off by the interest of France.

The first thing, after his return, which marked the tendency of David's political feelings and attachments was his predilection for visits to England, and long residences there, which became so frequent as to excite a feeling among his subjects that they did but waste their substance in needlessly ransoming a sovereign who preferred the land of his captivity to his own dominions. A trifling incident also occurred soon after his liberation, which manifested an arrogant, vain, and unfeeling temper. As the people, eager to see their long-absent king, pressed into his presence with more affection than reverence, David snatched a mace from an attendant, and laying about

him with his own royal hand, taught his liege subjects in future to put their loyal feelings under more ceremonial restraint.[g]

Meanwhile, under this change of measures Scotland gradually improved, and the people, unconscious of the hidden designs which threatened to bring her down to the level of a province of England, enjoyed the benefits and blessings of peace. The country presented a stirring and busy scene. Merchants from Perth, Aberdeen, Kirkcaldy, Edinburgh, and the various towns and royal burghs, commenced a lucrative trade with England, and through that country with Flanders, Zealand, France, and other parts of the continent; wool, hides, sheep and lamb skins, cargoes of fish, herds of cattle, horses, dogs of the chase, and falcons, were exported.

Frequent and numerous parties of rich merchants, with caravans laden with their goods, and attended by companies of horsemen and squires, for the purposes of defence and security, travelled from all parts of Scotland into England and the continent. Edward furnished them with passports, or safe-conducts; and the preservation of these instruments, amongst the Scottish rolls in the Tower, furnishes us with an authentic and curious picture of the commerce of the times. On one memorable occasion, in the space of a single month, a party of sixty-five merchants obtained safe-conducts to travel through England, for the purposes of trade; and their warlike suite amounted to no less than two hundred and thirty horsemen.

Besides this, the Scottish youth, and many scholars of more advanced years, crowded to the colleges of England; numerous parties of pilgrims travelled to the various shrines of saints and martyrs, and were liberally welcomed and protected; whilst, in those Scottish districts which were still in the hands of the English, Edward, by preserving to the inhabitants their ancient customs and privileges, endeavoured to overcome the national antipathy and conciliate the affections of the people. Commissions were granted to his various officers in Scotland, empowering them to receive the homage and adherence of the Scots who had hitherto refused to acknowledge his authority; passports, and all other means of indulgence and protection, were withdrawn from such as resisted or became objects of suspicion; and every means was taken to strengthen the few castles which he possessed.[h]

The weakness of David, who had shown himself willing, would his subjects have permitted him, to sacrifice to Edward the independence of Scotland, by acknowledging him as lord paramount, had encouraged the king of England to propose that, in place of the Stewart of Scotland, the grandson of Robert Bruce by his daughter Marjory, Lionel duke of Clarence, the third son of Edward III himself, should be called to succeed to the crown of Scotland. This project seems to have been kept closely concealed from the Scottish nation at large until the month of March, 1363, when David Bruce ventured to bring it himself before the estates of the Scottish parliament, convoked to meet at Scone. The king of Scotland had lately become a widower, by the death of Queen Joanna, during one of her visits to England.

David Bruce proposed to the estates of Scotland, "that, in the event of his dying without heirs, they should settle the crown on one of the sons of the king of England. He particularly recommended the duke Lionel of Clarence as a worthy object of their choice, hinted that this would insure a constant peace between the two nations of Britain, and become the means to induce the king of England to resign, formally and forever, all pretensions to the feudal supremacy, which had been the cause of such fatal struggles."

The estates of Scotland listened with sorrow and indignation to such a proposition, coming as it did from the lips of their sovereign, the son of the

heroic Robert Bruce. Instantly and unanimously they replied, "that they would never permit an Englishman to rule over them: that, by solemn acts of settlement sworn to in parliament, the Stewart of Scotland was called to the crown in default of the present king or issue of his body; that he was a brave man, and worthy of the succession: from which, therefore, they refused to exclude him, by preferring the son of an alien enemy."

King David received, doubtless, this blunt refusal, which necessarily inferred a severe personal reproach, with shame and mortification, but made no reply; and the parliament, passing to other matters, appointed commissioners to labour at the great work of converting the present precarious truce between England and Scotland into a steady and permanent peace. But the proposal of altering the destination of the crown, although apparently passed from or withdrawn, remained tenaciously rooted in the minds of those whose interests had been assailed by it. The Stewart and his sons, with many of his kindred, the earls of March, Douglas, and other southern barons, assumed arms, and entered into bonds or leagues to prevent, they said, the alteration of the order of succession as fixed in the days of Bruce. The king armed in his turn, not, as he alleged, to enforce an alteration of the succession, but to restore good order, and compel the associated lords to lay down their arms, in which he was successful. The Stewart and his associates submitted themselves, awed by the unexpected spirit displayed by the king, and the numerous party which continued to adhere to him. Stewart himself, together with Douglas, March, and others associated in the league, were contented to renounce the obligation in open parliament, convened at Inchmurdoch, May 14th, 1363. The Stewart, upon the same occasion, swore on the gospels true liegedom and fealty to David, under the penalty of forfeiting not only his own life and lands, but his and his family's title of succession to the throne. In recompense of this prompt return to the duty of a subject, as well as to soothe the apprehensions for national independence which the proposal of the king had excited, the right of succession to the throne, as solemnly established in the Stewart and his sons, was fully recognised, and the earldom of Carrick, once a title of Robert Bruce, was conferred on his eldest son, afterwards Robert III.

THE KING'S RANSOM, AND EDWARD'S EFFORTS AT A PEACEFUL CONQUEST OF SCOTLAND

The imprudent David had hardly ratified the proceedings of the parliament of Scone ere, forgetful of the danger he had lately incurred, he repaired to London, and renewed with Edward III those intrigues which had for their object the alteration of the succession. A new plan was now drawn up for this purpose, at a conference held between the two kings and certain selected counsellors, November 23rd, 1363. By this the king of England, Edward III, was himself to be declared heir of King David, in case the former should die without male issue. Twenty-seven conditions followed, the object of most of which seems to have been to reconcile the Scottish people to the sway of an English monarch, by imparting to them a share in the advantages of English trade, by ratifying to north Britain its laws and independence as a separate kingdom, and, above all, by discharging the ransom, which continued a heavy burden upon Scotland, of which only a tenth part had been yet paid. The national pride was to be flattered by the restoration of the fatal stone of inauguration, on which it was proposed that the king of England himself should be crowned at Scone, after the Scottish manner. All claim of suprem-

acy was to be renounced, and the independence of Scotland, in church and state, was carefully provided for, together with an obligation on Edward, when he should succeed to the throne, binding him to use Scottish counsellors in all the national concerns of the kingdom, and to employ native Scotsmen in all offices of trust.

But the same schedule of articles contains a clause for giving the English king the command of the Scottish national and feudal levies; a condition which alone must have had the consequence of placing the country at Edward's unlimited disposal. The minutes of this conference open with a provision of strict secrecy, and a declaration that what follows is not to be considered as anything finally resolved upon or determined, but merely as the heads of a plan to be hereafter examined more maturely, and adopted, altered, or altogether thrown aside at pleasure. By the last article the king of Scotland undertook to sound the inclinations of his people respecting this scheme, and report the result to the English king within fifteen days after Easter. It is probable that David, on his return to Scotland, found the scheme totally impracticable.

A circumstance of personal imprudence now added to the difficulties by which King David was surrounded. With a violence unbecoming his high rank and mature age he fell in love with a beautiful young woman, called Margaret Logie, daughter of Sir John Logie, executed for accession to that plot against Robert Bruce which was prosecuted and punished in the times of the Black Parliament. The young lady was eminently beautiful; and the king, finding he could not satisfy his passion otherwise, gave her his hand in marriage, 1364. This unequal alliance scandalised his haughty nobles, and seems to have caused an open rupture betwixt David and his kinsman the Stewart, whose views to the crown were placed in danger of being disappointed, if the fair lady should bear a son to her royal husband. It was probably on account of some quarrel arising out of this subject of discord that King David seems to have thrown the Stewart with his son, the lord of Badenoch, into prison, where both were long detained.

The accomplishment of a general and enduring peace betwixt the two kingdoms was now the occupation of commissioners. The payment of the ransom of David was the principal obstacle. The first instalments had been discharged with tolerable regularity. For this effect the Scottish parliament had made great sacrifices. The whole wool of the kingdom, apparently its most productive subject of export, was directed to be delivered up to the king at a low rate [four marks a sack], and the surplus produced over prime cost in disposing of the commodity to the foreign merchants in Flanders was to be applied in discharge of the ransom. A property tax upon men of every degree was also imposed and levied. From these funds the sum of 20,000 marks had been raised and paid to England. But since these payments the destined sources had fallen short. The Scots had applied to the pope, who having already granted to the king a tenth of the ecclesiastical benefices for the term of three years, refused to authorise any further tax upon the clergy. They solicited France, who, as her own king was unransomed and in captivity in England, had a fair apology for declining further assistance, unless under condition that the Scots would resume the war with England, in which case they promised a contribution of 50,000 marks towards the ransom of King David.

Scotland being thus straitened and without resources, the stipulated instalments of the ransom necessarily fell into arrear, and heavy penalties were, according to the terms of the treaty, incurred for default of payment. Ed-

ward acted the part of a lenient creditor. He was less intent on payment of the ransom than to place the Scottish nation in so insolvent a condition that the estates might be glad, in one way or other, to compromise that debt by a sacrifice of their independence. The penalties and arrears were now computed to amount to 100,000 pounds, to be paid by instalments of 6,000 marks yearly. The truce was prolonged for about three years. These payments, though most severe on the nation of Scotland, seem to have been made good with regularity by means of the taxes which the Scottish parliament had imposed for defraying them: so that in 1369 the truce between the nations was continued for fourteen years, and the English conceded that the balance of the ransom, amounting still to 56,000 marks, should be cleared by annual payments of 4,000 marks. In this manner the ransom of David was completely discharged, and a receipt in full was granted by Richard II in the seventh year of his reign. These heavy but necessary exactions were not made without internal struggles and insurrections.

DAVID DIVORCES HIS WIFE; HIS DEATH (1371 A.D.)

Family discord broke out in the royal family. Margaret Logie, the young and beautiful queen, was expensive, like persons who are suddenly removed from narrow to opulent circumstances. David's passion was satiated, and he was desirous of dissolving the unequal marriage which he had so imprudently formed. The bishops of Scotland pronounced a sentence of divorce, but upon what grounds we are left ignorant by historians. Margaret Logie appealed to the pope from the sentence of the Scottish church, and went to Avignon to prosecute the cause by means of such wealth as she had amassed during her continuance in power, which is said to have been considerable. Her appeal was heard with favour by the pope in 1369; but she did not live to bring it to an issue, as she died abroad. After the divorce of this lady by the Scottish prelates the Stewart and his son were released from prison and restored to the king's favour, which plainly showed by what influence they had incurred disgrace and captivity.

Little more remains to be said of David II. He became affected with a mortal illness, and died in the castle of Edinburgh, February 22nd, 1371, at the early age of forty-seven, and in the forty-fifth year of his reign. He had courage, affability, and the external graces which become a prince. But his life was an uniform contrast to the patriotic devotion of his father. He exacted and received the most painful sacrifices at the hands of his subjects, and never curbed himself in a single caprice, or denied himself a single indulgence, in requital of their loyalty and affection. In the latter years of his life he acted as the dishonourable tool of England, and was sufficiently willing to have exchanged, for paltry and personal advantages, the independence of Scotland, bought by his heroic father at the expense of so many sufferings, which terminated in ruined health and premature death.

PROGRESS OF THE COUNTRY AT THIS PERIOD

The reign of David II was as melancholy a contrast to that of his father as that of Robert I had been brilliant when contrasted with his predecessors. Yet we recognise in it a nearer approach to civil polity, and a more absolute commixture of the different tribes by which Scotland was peopled into one general nation, obedient to a single government. Even the chiefs of the Isles and Highlands were so much subdued as to own the allegiance of the Scottish

king, to hold seats in his parliaments, and resign, though reluctantly, much of that rude and tumultuous independence which they had formerly made their boast. Still the separation of the Highlands from the Lowlands was that betwixt two separate races. A few great families can trace their descent from the period of Robert Bruce; but a far greater number are first distinguished in the reign of his son, where the lists of the battle of Durham contain the names of the principal nobility and gentry in modern Scotland, and are the frequent resource of the genealogists. The spirit of commerce advanced in the time of David II against all the disadvantages of foreign and domestic warfare.

In the parliaments of 1368 and 1369 a practice was introduced, for the first time apparently, of empowering committees of parliament to prepare and arrange, in previous and secret meetings, the affairs of delicacy and importance which were afterwards to come before the body at large. As this led to investing a small cabal of the representatives with the exclusive power of garbling and selecting the subjects for parliamentary debate, it necessarily tended to limit the free discussion so essential to the constitution of that body, and finally assumed the form of that very obnoxious institution called Lords of the Articles, who, claiming the preliminary right of examining and rejecting at their pleasure such measures as were to be brought before parliament, became a severe restraint on national freedom.

Amidst pestilence and famine, which made repeated ravages in Scotland during this unhappy reign, the Scottish national spirit never showed itself more energetically determined on resisting the English domination to the last. Particular chiefs and nobles were no doubt seduced from their allegiance, but there was no general or undisturbed pause of submission and apathy. The nation was strong in its very weakness; for as the Scots became unequal to the task of assembling national armies, they were saved from the consequences of such general actions as Dunbar, Halidon, and Berwick, and obliged to limit themselves to the defensive species of war, best suited to the character of the country, and that which its inhabitants were so well qualified to wage.

The Scottish parliament seems never to have failed in perceiving the evils which afflicted the state, or in making sound and sagacious regulations to repress them; but unhappily the executive power [1] seldom or never possessed the authority necessary to enforce the laws; and thus the nation continued in the condition of a froward patient, who cannot be cured because there is no prevailing upon him to take the prescriptions ordered by the physicians.[g]

[1] Nevertheless, as Hume Brown[d] emphasises, parliament considerably encroached on the king's prerogative, regulating coinage treaties, and even the king's privy purse.]



CHAPTER VII

THE ACCESSION OF THE STUARTS

[1371–1424 A.D.]

A permanent English conquest of Scotland has always proved impossible, because the Scots as a people have ever shown themselves, even when vanquished in the field, worthy of freedom. In this sense their long history has demonstrated that they belong to the elect among the nations, the stream of whose national life is fed from the deep fount of strong character and ardent sentiment.—James Mackinnon.[b]

The death of David II had threatened for a moment to involve the kingdom in a civil war. The earl of Douglas, who was at that time at Linlithgow, suddenly proclaimed his own title to the throne, and announced his intention of opposing the claim of the acknowledged heir, the Stewart of Scotland. This powerful and turbulent baron pretended to unite in his own person the claims of Comyn and Baliol, and some offence which had been given him by the party of the Stewart seems to have driven him into this hasty demonstration. But Sir Robert Erskine, who had the command of the castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, and Dumbarton, marched against him without delay, and was joined on his way by the earls of March and Moray; and their united force was too great to allow the pretender any hope of success from an appeal to arms. Douglas met his opponents in a peaceful conference, and he declared himself satisfied by their arguments of the emptiness of his own title and of the justice of that of the Stewart. In reward for his prompt submission the Stewart's daughter, Isabella, was promised in marriage to Douglas's son, with an annual pension. Douglas himself was appointed king's justiciar on the south of the Forth and warden of the east marches.

A few well-applied gifts to those who had come forward so zealously to support the Stewart's title to the throne cleared away all further opposition, and he was crowned in the abbey of Scone, in great pomp and splendour,

on March 26th, 1371, and proclaimed as King Robert II. After the usual oaths of homage had been taken, the new king stood up and declared his eldest son, John, earl of Carrick and Stewart of Scotland, heir to the throne in the event of his own death, and this nomination was approved by the whole assembled multitude, clergy and laity.

Thus did the crown of Scotland pass into a new race, for Robert derived royal blood only through his mother, the daughter of Robert Bruce. He was descended in the direct line from a branch of the Anglo-Norman family of the Fitz-Alans, who had left England to settle in Scotland in the twelfth century. Walter Fitz-Alan held the high office of Stewart of the king's household in the reign of David I, and the dignity having been made hereditary in the family, the title was at length converted into a surname, and thus originated the family of Stewart, or, as the name of the royal race is more usually spelled, Stuart.

The power of this house had been strengthened by numerous and powerful alliances. Robert Stuart who now ascended the throne had been twice married. By his first wife he had four sons, John, earl of Carrick; Walter, earl of Fife; Robert, earl of Menteith, and Alexander, earl of Buchan; and six daughters, all married into the most powerful families in Scotland. By his second wife he had two sons, David, earl of Strathearn, and Walter, earl of Athol, and four daughters, the eldest of whom was subsequently married to James, earl of Douglas, and the other three were wedded into houses little less powerful. He had also eight natural sons, who also ranked among the nobility of the land, and lent their support to his throne.

Robert II thus succeeded to a kingdom involved in great embarrassments, at an age (fifty-five) when he was already approaching the decline of life, and when the energy of his youth had given place to a love of peace and inactivity. This disadvantage, however, was balanced by his long experience in Scottish state affairs, and by the support of a numerous family; and his gentle and affable manners rendered him generally popular among his subjects, though he had not always the strength or influence to repress their turbulence. Fortunately, however, neither England nor Scotland was at this moment in a condition to wish for war. The former was gradually losing the possessions in France which had been secured by Edward's victories during the earlier part of his reign; and the heavy taxes which the wars in which he was already engaged required, joined with his own feeble health, made it necessary to avoid any measures that would call for new exertions. In addition to the other disadvantages of her position Scotland was suffering from a famine of such a severe character that its population was supported entirely on grain imported from England and Ireland.

Still it was difficult to keep the turbulent borders on either side in peace, and events occurred, in spite of all the precautions of the respective governments, which ended in a war between the two kingdoms, and soon open acts of the governments themselves showed but too clearly the feeling of national hostility which lurked beneath their peaceful professions. October 28th, 1371, a new treaty of amity was entered into between Scotland and France, in which the two powers engaged to support each other against their common enemy, England. About the same time great offence was given to the Scots by the omission of the title of king in the usual receipt for the payment of the ransom-money, which was looked upon as a proof that Edward still harboured designs against the national independence of Scotland.

In spite of these occurrences, the two countries remained at peace during several years, which were employed by King Robert in strengthening his

family in the possession of the throne, in regulating the expenses of the royal household, and in introducing substantial reforms into the administration of justice. These objects constituted the main business of two parliaments held in March, 1371, and April, 1373. Little else occurred to arrest the pen of the historian until the death of Edward III of England, which occurred on June 1st, 1377. This event tended to increase the chances of peace between the two kingdoms, and there can be little doubt that the wishes of the two governments were directed towards a friendly alliance. But in Scotland, at least, the king had at this time but a precarious power over his subjects.

THE TURBULENT NOBILITY AND THE BORDER FEUDS

During the troubles which had torn the kingdom to pieces since the death of Robert Bruce, the nobles had been increasing in power and turbulence, and many of them had individually the force and the will to involve their country in hostilities whenever it suited their interests or gratified their revenge. The latter feeling gave rise, soon after the accession of Richard II to the English throne, to an outrage of a very atrocious character. The castle of Roxburgh was held by an English garrison, and the town was much frequented at this time by Englishmen. There was held at Roxburgh a rather celebrated fair on the feast of St. Lawrence, August 10th. At this fair, in 1376, one of the retainers of the earl of March was slain by some Englishmen in one of the brawls so frequent on such occasions. The earl, who was one of the most powerful and turbulent of the Scottish nobles, demanded satisfaction from the garrison, with a threat that if it was not given, he, individually, would no longer respect the truce. The threat and demand were slighted, and a whole year passed by without any further notice being taken of the matter. At length the fair of St. Lawrence came round again, and English merchants and traders crowded into the town, and took up their lodgings without suspicion of treachery. But, early in the morning of the fair, the earl of March attacked the town with a strong armed force, and set fire to it. The English were dragged from their houses and booths and murdered without respect of age or sex, or burned in their dwellings, and, after collecting a rich booty, the earl marched off with his men as though he had performed a legitimate act of war.

The English borderers, provoked at the atrocity of this attack, flew to arms and ravaged the lands of Sir John Gordon, a baron of the earl of March's party, who had been very prominent in the massacre at Roxburgh. Gordon retaliated by collecting his vassals, and making a raid into England, from whence he returned with a large booty in cattle and prisoners. He was intercepted in his retreat by an English borderer, Sir John Lilburne, with a superior force, and an obstinate engagement took place in a mountain-pass, which ended in the defeat of the English. Sir John Gordon was himself seriously wounded, but he secured his booty, and carried off Sir John Lilburne as his prisoner. Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, the warden of the English marches, incensed at this breach of the truce, raised an army of seven thousand men, and entered the possessions of the earl of March with the resolution of taking exemplary vengeance on the turbulent Scot.

But while he lay encamped near Duns, in Berwickshire, a trick was played upon his army which threw ridicule upon the expedition. In the dead of night the English camp was surrounded by a tumultuous rabble of Scots, armed with rattles used by the peasantry to drive wild beasts away from their flocks, and with these and a horrible mixture of discordant yells and

shouts, they threw the English into the utmost terror and confusion. The English force consisted chiefly of knights and men-at-arms, who had slept on their arms, leaving their horses picketed round the outside of the camp, in the care of their valets and camp-boys. The men stood to their arms and prepared to resist an attack, but the horses, terrified at the noise, broke loose and ran wild over the plain, whence most of them were carried off by the Scots. When daybreak at last appeared no enemy was visible, and the English soon discovered the stratagem by which they had been alarmed, and the loss of their horses. Angry and mortified, they were obliged to return into England on foot, though they first pillaged the lands of the earl of March, and carried away a considerable booty.

The same hostilities were carried on by the Scots on the western borders, and a piratical fleet of Scottish, French, and Spanish ships, under a Scottish adventurer named Mercer, infested the seas. The Scottish government was too feeble to restrain these outrages, and that of England was at this moment wanting in the energy to resist them. It was left to an English merchant named Philpot to fit out a fleet at his own expense, with which he encountered and destroyed or captured the whole of Mercer's armament. Among these were fifteen Spanish vessels and a considerable number of rich prizes.

The hostilities continued unchecked, and at length a party of adventurers, under Alexander Ramsay, surprised and captured the castle of Berwick. The earl of Northumberland, with a force of ten thousand men, laid siege to the castle, which was taken after an obstinate defence, in which Ramsay and his handful of borderers for some length of time held the whole English army at bay. This event occurred in the year 1378. When the castle of Berwick was reduced, the earl of Northumberland marched with his army into Scotland to ravage the southern districts, where the lands of the hostile borderers lay. As they advanced, Sir Archibald Douglas, lord of Galloway, with a considerable force, though quite unequal to that of the English earl, encountered Sir Thomas Musgrave with an advanced party of English at Melrose, and after a short but obstinate engagement defeated them, taking Musgrave and his son, with many knights and other prisoners. Douglas then fell back upon Edinburgh, and the Percy, when he had done all the mischief he could, returned to England.

The following year presented a repetition of the same scenes of slaughter and devastation, until at length, in 1380, John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, whose influence at this time ruled England, marched to Scotland at the head of a powerful army, with the declared object of establishing peace and good order between the two countries. A cessation of hostilities having been agreed to, the duke disbanded his army and soon afterwards a conference was held between him and the earl of Carrick, the next heir to the Scottish throne, which ended in the renewal of the truce for three years.

On the expiration of the truce in 1383, the Scots recommenced hostilities, and Sir Archibald Douglas captured the castle of Lochmaberry, which had remained in the hands of the English. On the other hand, the duke of Lancaster, with a numerous army, marched into Scotland, and a fleet of victualling ships attended on his progress. But they found that the Scots had completely cleared the country of everything movable, and the English soldiers in a wasted country, with an unusually severe season (it was the month of March), suffered greatly. The system of warfare so strongly recommended by Robert Bruce was thus successful under his son-in-law; the English army was obliged by its necessities to retreat. The borders, however, continued to be the scene of hostilities.

JOHN DE VIENNE AND THE FRENCH ALLIES IN SCOTLAND

While affairs were in this state in Scotland, a new element of hostility was in preparation abroad to plunge the Scots into a war with England. The government of France, after some reflection, determined to put in force the late treaty with the Scots, by sending an army into Scotland to invade England from the north. John de Vienne, admiral of France, and one of the most experienced captains of the age, was chosen to command this expedition, and he carried over into Scotland a thousand knights, esquires, and men-at-arms, the flower of the French army, with about the same number of cross-bow men and common soldiers. John de Vienne and his small but brilliant army came to anchor in the ports of Leith and Dunbar in the May of 1385. They were received with great joy by the Scottish nobles, who shared in a liberal distribution of French gold and of foreign armour, for the French commander had brought with him fourteen hundred suits of the latter and 50,000 francs of gold. On their arrival at Edinburgh the king was absent



KILCHURN CASTLE, ARGYLLSHIRE

in a distant part of the country, and they were received by the earls of Moray and Douglas. It was quite impossible to find room for them all in the capital, so that it was found necessary to seek lodgings in the villages around. Comforts were rare in Scotland at this time, and when the French knights, fresh from the luxurious hotels of Paris, found themselves billeted amid poverty and privations, it is not to be surprised if there was much murmuring and discontent. Nor were the complaints all on their side, for the people were prejudiced against the foreign language and the loose manners of their guests, who appropriated to themselves whatever they liked, and assumed an air of haughty superiority which was particularly disagreeable to the Scots. The lesser barons and the people soon quarrelled with these visitors, and did everything they could to give them annoyance.

The hostility increased to such a degree that their foraging parties were frequently cut off by the peasantry, so that more than a hundred men were slain in the space of a month. At length, after much reluctance on the part of the king, an army of thirty thousand horsemen was soon assembled in the neighbourhood of the capital.

It seems evident that King Robert was himself averse to the war, and his infirmities hindered him from being an eye-witness of its ravages. While he remained at Edinburgh, his sons, with the earls of Douglas, Moray, Mar,

and Sutherland, marched at the head of the army. The country was everywhere ravaged with fire and sword, and an accumulating mass of plunder and prisoners accompanied the march of the army as it proceeded by Alnwick to the gates of Newcastle. Here intelligence reached the Scottish leaders that the barons of England had assembled their forces and were marching rapidly against them. It had always been the policy of the Scots to avoid great battles, and they now prepared to retreat with their booty. The proud admiral of France was shocked at the Scottish mode of making war, and he urged strongly and vainly the earls of Douglas and Moray to remain where they were, and give battle to their opponents.

The English army pursued its devastating course through a country in which the inhabitants had left nothing to destroy except bare walls and green crops, and the churches and monasteries. Melrose and Dryburgh were delivered to the flames. Edinburgh itself was plundered and burned. The monastery of Holyrood was spared at the intercession of the duke of Lancaster, who had been hospitably lodged in it. Many other towns and villages were burned by the English army, which now began to run short of provisions. The duke of Lancaster recommended the bold but somewhat perilous measure of passing the Forth and leading the army into the northern provinces which had not been stripped by the Scots, but the king was so much alarmed at this proposal that he accused his uncle of treasonable motives in suggesting it. It only now remained for the English army to retreat, and as usual they experienced the inevitable consequence of the destruction which had attended their progress. Multitudes of the soldiers died on their way home from the hardships and privations they endured in a country utterly stripped and wasted.

Meanwhile the army under Douglas and the admiral had not been idle. Instead of following the English army, they turned off into the western marches, and there, joined by the forces of Sir Archibald Douglas, they overran and ravaged Cumberland with dreadful ferocity. After having laid waste the lands of the principal border barons, they made an attack upon Carlisle, but were beaten off with loss. The jealousies between the Scots and their foreign allies now broke out anew, and with an increase of bitterness. Most of the French knights were anxious to depart, for they were by this time reduced to a wretched condition by sickness and privation, and they were nearly all without horses, so that it would have been dangerous to provoke their hosts too far. The admiral, accordingly, entered into an agreement, by which he bound himself to discharge all claims of damage and reparation which were made against his soldiers, and not to leave the country himself till they were fully satisfied. The French knights were thus allowed to depart, and Froissart[c] quaintly informs us that "divers knights and squires had passage and returned into Flanders, as wind and weather drove them, with neither horse nor harness, right poor and feeble, cursing the day that ever they came upon such an adventure, and fervently desiring that the kings of France and England would conclude a peace for a year or two, were it only to have the satisfaction of uniting their armies and utterly destroying the realm of Scotland." John de Vienne himself discharged his responsibilities as quickly as possible, and returned to France. Thus ended an expedition on the great effects of which the French reckoned so much, and were grievously disappointed.

Hostilities continued to be carried on with great animosity. The government of Richard II became weaker and weaker, and no combined measures were taken to suppress the inroads of the Scots, who began systematically

to ravage the English counties on the border. The booty that was thus successively carried off from the English territory was immense.

In the resolution of the Scots to carry on the war, the wishes of King Robert had again been overruled by his nobles. It was decided at a council held in Edinburgh that the whole military force of the kingdom should be mustered at Jedburgh, in order to invade England on an extensive scale. The king's eldest son, the earl of Carrick, was feeble of body, and apparently not very strong of mind, and his next brother, the earl of Fife, was appointed to command in this important expedition. On the day appointed for the muster, the Scottish army assembled at Yetholm, a small town at the foot of the Cheviot hills, about twelve miles from Jedburgh. It consisted of twelve hundred men-at-arms and forty thousand infantry, including a small body of archers, forming together such a force as had not been gathered together in Scotland for a long time. The earl of Fife determined to separate his force, and while one division, commanded by himself, marched through Liddesdale, the smaller division, commanded by the earl of Douglas, was directed to invade the eastern marches.

Another expedition at this moment occupied another of the Douglases, Sir Archibald, popularly known as the Black Douglas, the natural son of Sir Archibald of Galloway, a man of great celebrity among the Scots for his strength and valour in war, as well as for his gentleness and courtesy in time of peace. He had married one of the king's daughters, Egidia, who was as much celebrated for her beauty, as her husband was renowned for his warlike qualities. The Black Douglas had been provoked by the piracies of the Irish shipping on the coast of Galloway, and with five hundred lances he made a retaliatory descent on the Irish coast, at Carlingford. On their return from this successful expedition, Douglas took horse and rode in all haste to join the army which had crossed the English border.

Meanwhile the earl of Douglas, passing the Tyne, had thrown himself into the heart of the bishopric of Durham before any one was aware of his approach. There the Scots began immediately their usual course of devastation, and burned and slew without opposition over the whole country between Durham and Newcastle, and then led their army before the latter town. The English barons on the border had been completely surprised by this sudden invasion, and in the uncertainty in which the capture of one of their spies had left them they imagined that the small army under Douglas was only the van of the Scottish forces, which they supposed were following after, and they were therefore more cautious in their movements. On the first intimation of danger the earl of Northumberland began to collect a force at Alnwick, and sent his two sons, Henry [called Hotspur] and Ralph Percy, to Newcastle, where they had assembled the principal gentry of Yorkshire. Froissart,[c] who had received his information from men of both sides who were present, gives a detailed and interesting account of the events which followed, and which forms one of the most chivalrous episodes of the wars of this turbulent age.[d]

FROISSART'S ACCOUNT OF OTTERBURN OR CHEVY CHACE (1388 A.D.)

The Scots lords, having completed the object of their expedition into Durham, lay before Newcastle three days, where there was an almost continual skirmish. The sons of the earl of Northumberland, from their great courage, were always the first at the barriers, where many valiant deeds were done with lances hand to hand. The earl of Douglas had a long conflict with

Sir Henry Percy, and in it, by gallantry of arms, won his pennon, to the great vexation of Sir Henry and the other English. The earl of Douglas said, "I will carry this token of your prowess with me to Scotland, and place it on the tower of my castle at Dalkeith, that it may be seen from far." "By God, Earl of Douglas," replied Sir Henry, "you shall not even bear it out of Northumberland; be assured you shall never have this pennon to brag of." "You must come then," answered Earl Douglas, "this night and seek for it. I will fix your pennon before my tent, and shall see if you will venture to take it away."

As it was now late the skirmish ended, and each party retired to their quarters, to disarm and comfort themselves. The Scots kept up a very strict watch, concluding, from the words of Sir Henry Percy, they should have their quarters beaten up this night: they were disappointed, for Sir Henry was advised to defer it.

On the morrow the Scots dislodged from before Newcastle; and, taking the road to their own country, they came to a town and castle called Ponclau [Pontland]. After they had burned the town and castle, they marched away for Otterburn, which was eight English leagues from Newcastle, and there encamped themselves. [While they delayed before this castle, the English learned that the Scots were not a vanguard, but were no more than three thousand all told.]

Sir Henry Percy, on hearing this, was greatly rejoiced, and cried out, "To horse! to horse! for by the faith I owe my God, and to my lord and father, I will seek to recover my pennon, and to beat up their quarters this night." Such knights and squires in Newcastle as learned this were willing to be of the party, and made themselves ready. He was accompanied by six hundred spears, of knights and squires, and upwards of eight thousand infantry, which he said would be more than enough to fight the Scots, who were but three hundred lances and two thousand others.

As the Scots were supping—some indeed were gone to sleep, for they had laboured hard during the day at the attack of the castle, and intended renewing it in the cool of the morning—the English arrived, and mistook, at their entrance, the huts of the servants for those of their masters. They forced their way into the camp, which was, however, tolerably strong, shouting out, "Percy! Percy!" In such cases you may suppose an alarm is soon given, and it was fortunate for the Scots the English had made their first attack on their servants' quarters, which checked them some little. The Scots, expecting the English, had prepared accordingly; for while the lords were arming themselves, they ordered a body of their infantry to join their servants and keep up the skirmish. As their men were armed, they formed themselves under the pennons of the three principal barons, who each had his particular appointment. In the mean time the night advanced, but it was sufficiently light; for the moon shone, and it was the month of August, when the weather is temperate and serene.

When the Scots were quite ready, and properly arrayed, they left their camp in silence, but did not march to meet the English. They skirted the side of a mountain which was hard by; for during the preceding day they had well examined the country around, and said among themselves, "Should the English come to beat up our quarters, we will do so and so," and thus settled their plans beforehand, which was the saving of them; for it is of the greatest advantage to men-at-arms, when attacked in the night, to have previously arranged their mode of defence, and well to have weighed the chance of victory or defeat. The English had soon overpowered the servants; but

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as they advanced into the camp they found fresh bodies ready to oppose them and to continue the fight. The Scots, in the mean time, marched along the mountain side, and fell on the enemy's flank quite unexpectedly, shouting their cries. This was a great surprise to the English, who, however, formed themselves in better order, and reinforced that part of their army. The cries of Percy and Douglas resounded on each side.

I was made acquainted with all the particulars of this battle by knights and squires who had been actors in it on each side. In my youth I, the author of this history, travelled all through Scotland, and was full fifteen days resident with William earl of Douglas, father of Earl James, of whom we are now speaking, at his castle of Dalkeith, five miles distant from Edinburgh. Earl James was then very young, but a promising youth. I had my information, therefore, from both parties, who agree that it was the hardest and most obstinate battle that was ever fought.

The Death of Douglas: Prowess of Scots and English

The Scots behaved most valiantly, for the English were three to one. I do not mean to say the English did not acquit themselves well; for they would sooner be slain or made prisoners in battle than reproached with flight. The two banners of Douglas and Percy met, and the men-at-arms under each exerted themselves by every means to gain the victory; but the English, at this attack, were so much the stronger that the Scots were driven back. The earl of Douglas, who was of a high spirit, seeing his men repulsed, seized a battle-axe with both his hands, like a gallant knight, and, to rally his men, dashed into the midst of his enemies, and gave such blows on all around him that no one could withstand them, but all made way for him on every side; for there were none so well armed with helmets or plates but that they suffered from his battle-axe. Thus he advanced, like another Hector, thinking to recover and conquer the field, from his own prowess, until he was met by three spears that were pointed at him; one struck him on the shoulder, another on the stomach, near the belly, and the third entered his thigh. He could never disengage himself from these spears, but was borne to the ground fighting desperately. From that moment he never rose again. Some of his knights and squires had followed him, but not all; for, though the moon shone, it was rather dark. The three English lances knew they had struck down some person of considerable rank, but never thought it was Earl Douglas: had they known it, they would have been so rejoiced that their courage would have been redoubled, and the fortune of the day had consequently been determined to their side. The Scots were ignorant also of their loss until the battle was over, otherwise they would certainly, from despair, have been discomfited. I will relate what befell the earl afterward. As soon as he fell, his head was cleaved with a battle-axe, the spear thrust through his thigh, and the main body of the English marched over him without paying any attention, not supposing him to be their principal enemy. In another part of the field the earls of March and Dunbar combated valiantly; and the English gave the Scots full employment who had followed the earl of Douglas, and had engaged with the two Percies. The earl of Moray behaved so gallantly in pursuing the English that they knew not how to resist him.

Of all the battles that have been described in this history, great and small, this of which I am now speaking was the best fought and the most severe; for there was not a man, knight or squire, who did not acquit himself gallantly, hand to hand with this enemy. It resembled something that of Coche-

rel, which was as long and as hardily disputed. The sons of the earl of Northumberland, Sir Henry and Sir Ralph Percy, who were the leaders of this expedition, behaved themselves like good knights in the combat. Almost a similar accident befell Sir Ralph as that which happened to the earl of Douglas; for, having advanced too far, he was surrounded by the enemy and severely wounded, and, being out of breath, surrendered himself to a Scots knight, called Sir John Maxwell, who was under the command, and of the household, of the earl of Moray.

When made prisoner, the knight asked him who he was, for it was dark, and he knew him not. Sir Ralph was so weakened by loss of blood, which was flowing from his wound, that he could scarcely avow himself to be Sir Ralph Percy. "Well," replied the knight, "Sir Ralph, rescued or not, you are my prisoner: my name is Maxwell." "I agree to it," said Sir Ralph, "but pay some attention to me; for I am so desperately wounded that my drawers and greaves are full of blood." Upon this the Scots knight was very attentive to him; when suddenly hearing the cry of Moray hard by, and perceiving the earl's banner advancing to him, Sir John addressed himself to the earl of Moray, and said: "My lord, I present you with Sir Ralph Percy as a prisoner; but let good care be taken of him, for he is very badly wounded." The earl was much pleased at this, and replied, "Maxwell, thou hast well earned thy spurs this day." He then ordered his men to take every care of Sir Ralph, who bound up and stanched his wounds. The battle still continued to rage, and no one could say at that moment which side would be the conqueror, for there were very many captures and rescues that never came to my knowledge.

The young earl of Douglas had this night performed wonders in arms. When he was struck down there was a great crowd around him; and he could not raise himself, for the blow on his head was mortal. His men had followed him as closely as they were able; and there came to him his cousins, Sir James Lindsay, Sir John and Sir Walter Sinclair, with other knights and squires. They found by his side a gallant knight that had constantly attended him, who was his chaplain, and had at this time exchanged his profession for that of a valiant man-at-arms. The whole night he had followed the earl with his battle-axe in hand, and had by his exertions more than once repulsed the English.

Sir John Sinclair asked the earl, "Cousin, how fares it with you?" "But so so," replied he. "Thanks to God, there are but few of my ancestors who have died in chambers or in their beds. I bid you, therefore, revenge my death, for I have but little hope of living, as my heart becomes every minute more faint. Do you Walter and Sir John Sinclair raise up my banner, for certainly it is on the ground, from the death of David Campbell, that valiant squire, who bore it, and who refused knighthood from my hands this day, though he was equal to the most eminent knights for courage or loyalty; and continue to shout 'Douglas!' but do not tell friend or foe whether I am in your company or not; for, should the enemy know the truth, they will be greatly rejoiced." The two brothers Sinclair and Sir John Lindsay obeyed his orders. The banner was raised and "Douglas!" shouted.

Their men, who had remained behind, hearing the shouts of "Douglas!" so often repeated ascended a small eminence, and pushed their lances with such courage that the English were repulsed, and many killed or struck to the ground. The Scots, by thus valiantly driving the enemy beyond the spot where the earl of Douglas lay dead, for he had expired on giving his last orders, arrived at his banner, which was borne by Sir John Sinclair. Numbers

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were continually increasing, from the repeated shouts of "Douglas!" and the greater part of the Scots knights and squires were now there. The earls of Moray and March, with their banners and men, came thither also. When they were all thus collected, perceiving the English retreat, they renewed the battle with greater vigour than before.

To say the truth, the English had harder work than the Scots, for they had come by a forced march that evening from Newcastle on Tyne, which was eight English leagues distant, to meet the Scots, by which means the greater part were exceedingly fatigued before the combat began. The Scots, on the contrary, had reposed themselves, which was to them of the utmost advantage, as was apparent from the event of the battle. In this last attack, they so completely repulsed the English that the latter could never rally again, and the former drove them far beyond where the earl of Douglas lay on the ground. Sir Henry Percy, during this attack, had the misfortune to fall into the hands of the lord Montgomery, a very valiant knight of Scotland. They had long fought hand to hand with much valour, and without hindrance from any one; for there was neither knight nor squire of either party who did not find there his equal to fight with, and all were fully engaged. In the end Sir Henry was made prisoner by the lord Montgomery.

I was told by those who were of the victorious party, that at this battle, which was fought in the year of grace 1388, between Newcastle and Otterburn, on the 19th day of August, there were taken or left dead on the field, on the side of the English, one thousand and forty men of all descriptions; in the pursuit eight hundred and forty, and more than one thousand wounded. Of the Scots there were only about one hundred slain and two hundred made prisoners. As the English were flying, they at times rallied, and returned to combat those who were pursuing them whenever they thought they had a favourable opportunity, and it was thus their loss was so considerable in the pursuit. You may judge, from the number of killed and prisoners on each side, if this battle was not hardily fought.

It was told me, and I believe it, that the Scots gained 200,000 francs from the ransoms, and that never since the battle of Bannockburn, when the Bruce, Sir William Douglas, Sir Robert de Versy, and Sir Simon Fraser pursued the English for three days, have they had so complete nor so gainful a victory.[c]

LAST YEARS OF ROBERT II (1388–1390 A.D.)

Such was the more romantic than important battle of Otterburn, which cost the Scots one of their bravest chieftains, and was perpetuated in a lasting feud between the houses of Percy and Douglas. For ages afterwards this engagement continued to be celebrated by the borders on both sides as that in which the valour of each had been put to its greatest trial, and had passed through the trial with the least blot. It has been here described in the words of Froissart,[c] and even the minutest incidents of this eventful field, as told by the contemporary historian, afford us too vivid a picture of the manners and sentiments of the times to be passed over in neglect. There are several versions, Scotch and English, of the ancient ballad on the battle of Otterburn, but the oldest is certainly the English ballad printed by Bishop Percy[e] from a manuscript in the Cottonian library.

Froissart's account is, no doubt, in general correct, though on some parts he was certainly wrongly informed, and he appears to have been a little prejudiced by the circumstance that his informants were, as he confesses, either Scots or Frenchmen. As he informs us that about a third part of the

whole Scottish army had marched under Douglas into the county of Durham, Froissart's account of the disparity of numbers must be exaggerated, and it is not easy to understand from his account the still greater disparity of the numbers of killed and wounded. He was mistaken even in the date of the battle, which was fought on Wednesday, August 5th, 1388.

We cannot tell why, in this matter, Tytler[f] should prefer the authority of Froissart to that of the Scottish historians. Andrew de Wyntoun[g] makes the number of the Scots at Otterburn much greater. The English ballad, naturally enough, makes them more numerous than the English, which seems improbable. The death of Douglas was lamented in Scotland, and became the subject of various traditions. According to one of these, he was killed treacherously by one of his own grooms. According to another story, a prophecy in Douglas' family foretold that he should gain a victory by his death.

The Scots were long proud of this victory, though it added nothing to their national glory, like the battle of Stirling and Bannockburn; for it was but the result of a border foray, in a war undertaken against the will of their king, to gratify the restless feelings of the feudal barons.

King Robert remained still adverse to war, and as years and infirmities gained upon him, and the turbulence of his subjects increased, he now agreed to yield up, at least, the power of a king, and in a parliament held at Edinburgh, in 1389, the earl of Fife, Robert's third son, an ambitious and intriguing man, was chosen regent of the kingdom. The earl of Carrick, who was the next heir to the crown, was passed over on account of his alleged incapacity, for he had been lamed by the kick of a horse, and it was pretended that he was no longer fitted for the active management of affairs. Perhaps this pretence was but a cover for the intrigues of his younger brother. The first acts of the new regent gave no great promise of future statesmanship, for he lowered the dignity of the ruler of Scotland to embark in a petty quarrel with the English borderers. Soon afterwards a truce of three years was concluded between England and France, and Scotland was prevailed upon to be a party to the cessation of hostilities.

The earl of Fife was not destined to enjoy long the honours of the regency. Soon after the truce just mentioned, King Robert retired to his castle of Dundonald, in Ayrshire, to enjoy the repose to which he was becoming daily more attached, and his love of which had now been increased by sickness. He died there on May 13th, 1390, at the age of seventy-four, and his remains were deposited in the abbey of Scone.[d]

THE EARL OF CARRICK BECOMES ROBERT III (1390–1406 A.D.)

The character of John, earl of Carrick, eldest son and successor of Robert II, has been already noticed. He was lame in body and feeble in mind, well-meaning, pious, benevolent, and just; but totally disqualified, from want of personal activity and mental energy, to hold the reins of government of a fierce and unmanageable people. The new king was invested with his sovereignty at Scone in the usual manner, excepting that, instead of his own name, John, he assumed the title of Robert III, to comply with a superstition of his people, who were impressed with a belief that the former name had distinguished monarchs of England, France, and Scotland, all of whom had been unfortunate. The Scots had also a partiality for the name of Robert, in affectionate and grateful remembrance of Robert Bruce.

The new monarch had been wedded for nigh thirty-three years to Annabella Drummond, daughter of Sir John Drummond of Stobhall, a Scottish

lady whose wisdom and virtues corresponded with her ancient family and exalted station. By this union he had one son, Prince David, a youth of eighteen years, whose calamitous history and untimely death were doomed to darken his father's reign. Five years after Robert III had occupied the throne the queen bore a second son, named James, his father's successor, and the first of that name, afterwards so often repeated in the royal line, who swayed the Scottish sceptre. The new monarch's first attention was to confirm the truce with England, and renew the league with France, so that for eight years the kingdom was freed from the misery of external war, though the indolence of a feeble sovereign left it a prey to domestic feud and the lawless oppression of contending chiefs and nobles. To use a scriptural expression, every one did what seemed right in his own eyes, as if there had been no king in Scotland. The mode by which the government endeavoured to stanch these disorders and indirectly to get rid of the perpetrators of outrages which they dared not punish by course of justice, was equally wild and savage.

RIVALRY OF THE DUKES OF ROTHESAY AND ALBANY

The weak-minded king seems to have carried on his government, such as it was, by the assistance of his brother, the earl of Fife, who had been regent in the later years of his father's reign. But his heir-apparent, David, being a youth of good abilities, handsome person, young, active, and chivalrous, was too prominent and popular to be altogether laid out of view. He was raised by his father, after a solemn council, to the title of duke of Rothesay. At the same time, to maintain some equality, if not an ascendency, over his nephew, Prince David's ambitious uncle Robert contrived to be promoted from being earl of Fife to duke of Albany. Under their new titles[1] both the princes negotiated on the English frontiers, but to little purpose; for though a foundation of a solid peace would have been acceptable to Richard II, who was then bent on his expedition to Ireland, yet the revolution of 1399 was now at hand which hurled that sovereign from his throne, and placed there in his stead Henry IV, thus commencing the long series of injuries and wars betwixt York and Lancaster.

Leaving foreign affairs for a short time, we can see that the young heir of the kingdom was for some time trusted by his father in affairs of magnitude. Nay, it is certain that he was at one time declared regent of the kingdom. But Rothesay's youth and precipitate ardour could not compete with the deep craft of Albany, who seems to have possessed the king's ear, by the habitual command which he exercised over him for so many years. It was easy for him to exaggerate every excess of youth of which Rothesay might be guilty, and to stir up against the young prince the suspicions which often lodge in the bosom of an aged and incapable sovereign against a young and active successor.

Albany publicly announced that the hand of the duke of Rothesay should, like a commodity exposed to open auction, be assigned to the daughter of that peer of Scotland who might agree to pay the largest dowry with his bride. Even this base traffic on such a subject Albany contrived to render yet more vile by the dishonest manner in which it was conducted. George earl of March, proved the highest offerer on this extraordinary occasion, and having paid down a part of the proposed portion, his daughter was affianced to the

[1] Bain thinks that the titles may have been granted to put them on an equality with the English commissioners, the dukes of York, Albemarle, etc.]

duke of Rothesay. The earl of Douglas, envying the aggrandisement which the house of March must have derived from such a union, interfered, and prevailed upon Albany, who was perhaps not unwilling to mix up the nuptials of his nephew with yet more disgraceful circumstances, to break off the treaty entered into with March, and substitute an alliance with the daughter of Douglas himself. No other apology was offered to March for this breach of contract than that the marriage treaty had not been confirmed by the estates of the kingdom; and, to sum up the injustice with which he was treated, the government refused or delayed to refund the sum of money which had been advanced by him as part of his daughter's marriage-portion. As the power of the earl of March lay on the frontiers of both kingdoms, the bonds of allegiance had never sat heavily on that great family, and a less injury than that which the present earl had received might have sufficed to have urged him into rebellion. Accordingly, he instantly entered into a secret negotiation with Henry IV, and soon afterwards took refuge in England.

WAR WITH HENRY IV OF ENGLAND (1400 A.D.)

Very nearly at the precise period when Henry IV made himself master of the crown of England, the existing truce between Scotland and that country expired; and the Scottish borderers, instigated by their restless temper, made fierce incursions on the opposite frontier.

In 1400, Henry therefore summoned the whole military force of England to meet him at York, and published an arrogant manifesto, in which he vindicated the antiquated claim of supremacy, which had been so long in abeyance, and, assuming the tone of lord paramount, commanded the Scottish king, with his prelates and nobles, to meet him at Edinburgh and render homage. Of course no one attended upon that summons excepting the new proselyte March, who met Henry at Newcastle, and was received to the English fealty. But if Henry's boast of subjecting Scotland was a bravado inconsistent with his usual wisdom, his warfare, on the contrary, was marked by a degree of forbearance and moderation too seldom the characteristic of an English invader. Penetrating as far as Edinburgh, he extended his especial protection to the canons of Holyrood, from whom his father, John of Gaunt, had experienced shelter, and in general spared religious houses.

The castle of Edinburgh was gallantly held out by the duke of Rothesay, aided by the skill and experience of his father-in-law the earl of Douglas. Albany commanded a large army, which, according to the ancient Scottish policy, hovered at some distance from the English host. The Scots had wisely resolved upon the defensive system of war. Henry found nothing was to be won by residing in a wasted country to beleaguer an impregnable rock. He raised the siege and retired into England, where the rebellion of Owen Glendower soon after broke out. A truce of twelve months and upwards took place betwixt the kingdoms.

THE DEATH OF ROTHESAY (1401 A.D.)

In this interval a shocking example, in Scotland, proved how ambition can induce men to overleap all boundaries. We have seen the duke of Rothesay stoutly defending the castle of Edinburgh in 1400. But when the war was ended he seems to have fallen into the king his father's displeasure. Deceived by malicious reports of his son's wildness and indocility, the simple old king was induced to grant a commission to Albany to arrest his son, and detain

him for some time in captivity, to tame the stubborn spirit of profligacy by which he had been taught to believe him possessed. But the unnatural kinsman was determined on taking the life of his nephew, the heir of his too confiding brother. The duke of Rothesay was trepanned into Fife, made prisoner, and conducted to Falkland Castle, where he was immured in a dungeon, and starved to death. Old historians affirm that the compassion of two females protracted his life and his miseries, one by supplying him from time to time with thin cakes of barley, another after the manner of the Roman charity. It is not likely that, where so stern a purpose was adopted, any access would be permitted to such means of relief.

The death of the prince was imputed to a dysentery. Inquiry was made into the circumstances by a parliament, which was convened under the management of the authors of the murder. Albany and Douglas acknowledged having arrested the prince, vindicating themselves by the royal mandate for that act of violence, but imputed his death to disease. Yet they showed a consciousness of guilt, by taking out a pardon in terms as broad and comprehensive as might shroud them from any subsequent charge for the murder which they denied, as well as for the arrest which they avowed.[1]

DOUGLAS LOSES TO HOTSPUR AT HOMILDON (1402 A.D.)

The truce with England was ended in 1402, and Douglas hastened to border warfare. But fortune seemed to have abandoned him. From this time, notwithstanding his valour and military skill, he lost so many of his followers in each action which he fought as to merit the name of "Tyneman" (*i.e.*, loseman).

Douglas obtained a considerable force under command of Albany's son, Murdoch earl of Fife, with the earls of Angus, Moray, and Orkney. His own battalions augmented the force to ten thousand men, and spread plunder and devastation as far as the gates of Newcastle. But Sir Henry Percy (the celebrated Hotspur) had assembled a numerous array, and together with his father, the earl of Northumberland, and their ally March, engaged the Scots at Homildon, a hill within a mile of Wooler, on which Douglas had posted his army. Hotspur was about to rush with his characteristic impetuosity on the Scottish ranks, when the earl of March, laying hand on his bridle, advised him first to try the effects of the archery. The bowmen of England did their duty with their usual fatal certainty and celerity, and the Scottish army, drawn up on the acclivity, presented a fatal mark to their shafts. Douglas showed an inclination to ascend the hill; but encountering a little precipice in the descent which had not been before perceived, the Scottish ranks became confused and broken, their disarray enabling the archers, who had fallen a little back, to continue their fatal volley, which now descended as upon an irregular mob. The rout became general. Very many Scots were slain. Douglas was made captive: five wounds and the loss of an eye showed he had done his duty as a soldier, though not as a general. Murdoch earl of Fife, son of the regent Albany, with the earls of Moray and Angus, and about twenty chiefs and men of eminence, became also prisoners.

Great was the joy of Hotspur over this victory, and great the pleasure of Henry IV when the news reached him. Yet fate had so decreed that the

[1 Hume Brown[i] thinks the circumstances of Rothesay's death suspicious in those days, but finds no evidence against Albany or Douglas. Wyntoun[g] does not hint at murder, and Bower[j] does little more than report a rumor.]

victory of Homildon became the remote cause that the monarch's throne was endangered, and that Percy lost his life in a rebellious conspiracy at Shrewsbury in 1403.

CAPTURE OF JAMES; DEATH OF ROBERT III; REGENCY OF ALBANY (1406 A.D.)

Some proposals made for peace only produced a feverish truce of brief duration. Meantime Prince James, the only surviving son of the poor, infirm old king, being now in his eleventh year, required better education than Scotland could afford, and protection more efficient than that of his debilitated father. The youthful prince was, therefore, committed to the care of Wardlaw, bishop of Saint Andrews, and was by his advice to be sent to France. He was embarked accordingly, Henry Sinclair, earl of Orkney, being appointed as his governor. The vessel in which he was embarked had not gained Flamborough Head when she was taken by an English corsair [probably in February or March, 1406]. As the truce at the time actually subsisted, this capture of the prince was in every respect contrary to the law of nations. But knowing the importance of possessing the royal hostage, Henry resolved to detain him at all events. "In fact," he said, "the Scots ought to have given me the education of this boy, for I am an excellent French scholar." Apparently this new disaster was an incurable wound to the old king. His death, April 4th, 1406, made no change in public affairs, and was totally unfelt in the administration, which continued in the hands of Albany, whose rule was not unpopular. This was in a great measure effected by liberality, or rather by profusion, in which he indulged with less hesitation, as his gifts were at the expense of the royal revenues and authority. The clergy, who were edified by his bounties to the church, recorded his devotion in their chronicles. He connived at the excesses of power frequent among the nobility; solaced them with frequent and extravagant entertainments, and indulged all their most unreasonable wishes respecting lands and jurisdictions at the expense of the crown. An air of affability and familiarity, added to a noble presence and a splendid attendance, procured the shouts of the populace. Although timid, the regent was conscious of his own defect, and careful in concealing it. He was intelligent in public business; and when the interest of the country was identified with his own, he could pursue with expedition and eagerness the best paths for attaining it.

When Robert the Third, therefore, died, the right of his brother the duke of Albany to the regency during the captivity of James was universally acknowledged. His government commenced with a show of prosperity. He renewed the league offensive and defensive with the kingdom of France, and entered into negotiation with England. In the communings which ensued he made no application for the liberation of his nephew, the present sovereign, nor was his name even mentioned in the transaction. But the earl of Douglas, whose military services were valuable to the defence of the frontier, was restored to freedom, having been taken at the battle of Shrewsbury, where he had fought on the side of Sir Henry Percy with his usual distinguished valour, beating down the king of England with his own hand, but being in the course of the conflict himself made prisoner, according to his habitual bad luck. George, earl of March, had rendered Henry IV effectual assistance during that insurrection, being the first who apprised that monarch of the conspiracy against him. But he was now weary of his exile, and, disappointed of his revenge, returned to his allegiance to Scotland, upon restoration of

his estates. These were great points gained in reference to defence upon the border.

The truce with England not having been renewed, hostilities were recommenced by an exploit of the warlike inhabitants of Teviotdale, who, vexed by the English garrison which had retained the important castle of Jedburgh, stormed and took that strong fortress. It was resolved in parliament that it should be destroyed; but as the walls were extensive and very strongly built, and the use of gunpowder in mining was not yet understood, it was proposed that a tax of two pennies should be imposed on each hearth in Scotland to maintain the labourers employed in the task. The regent declared that in his administration no burden should be imposed on the poor, and caused the expense to be defrayed out of the royal revenue. The truce with England was afterwards renewed. In the ratification of it, Albany styled himself regent by the grace of God, and used the phrase "our subjects of Scotland," not satisfied, it would seem, with delegated authority.

THE LORD OF THE ISLES DEFEATED AT HARLAW (1411 A.D.)

In the mean time a contest of the most serious nature arose between the Celtic and the Lowland or Saxon population of Scotland. The lords of the Isles, during the utter confusion which extended through Scotland during the regency, had found it easy to reassume that independence of which they had been deprived during the vigorous reign of Robert Bruce. They possessed a fleet with which they harassed the mainland at pleasure; and Donald, who now held that insular lordship, ranked himself among the allies of England, and made peace and war as an independent sovereign. The regent had taken no steps to reduce this kinglet to obedience, and would probably have shunned engaging in a task so arduous, had not Donald insisted upon pretensions to the earldom of Ross, occupying a great extent in the northwest of Scotland, including the large isle of Skye, and lying adjacent to and connected with his own insular dominions.

The lord of the Isles determined to assert his right by arms. He led an army of ten thousand Hebrideans and Highlanders, headed by their chieftains, into Ross.

The consequence of Donald's succeeding in his pretensions must have been the loss to the regent of the earldom which he had destined to one of his own family, and most serious evils to the kingdom of Scotland, since it would have been a conquest by the savage over the civilised inhabitants, and must in the sequel have tended to the restoration of barbarism with all its evils.

Alexander Stuart, earl of Mar, hastily assembled the chivalry of the Lowlands to stop the desolating march of Donald and his army.

The whole Lowland gentry of Kincardine and Aberdeenshire rose in arms with the earl of Mar. The town of Aberdeen sent out a gallant body of citizens under Sir Robert Davidson, their provost; Ogilvie, the sheriff of Angus, brought up his own martial name and the principal gentlemen of that county. Yet when both armies met at Harlaw, near the head of the Garioch, July 24th, 1411, the army of Mar was considerably inferior to that of Donald of the Isles, under whose banner the love of arms and hope of plunder had assembled the Macintoshes and other more northern clans. Being the flower of the respective races, the Gaelic and Saxon armies joined battle with the most inveterate rage and fury. About a thousand Highlanders fell, together with two high chiefs of Macintosh and McLean. Mar's loss did not exceed half

the number, but comprehended many gentlemen, as, indeed, his forces chiefly consisted of such. The provost of Aberdeen was killed, with so many citizens as to occasion a municipal regulation that the chief magistrate of that town, acting in that capacity, should go only a certain brief space from the precincts of the liberties.

The battle of Harlaw might in some degree be considered as doubtful; but all the consequences of victory remained with the Lowlanders. The insular lord retreated after the action, unable to bring his discouraged troops to a second battle. The regent Albany acted on the occasion with a spirit and promptitude which his government seldom evinced. He placed himself at the head of a new army, and occupied the disputed territory of Ross, where he took and garrisoned the castle of Dingwall. In the next summer he assembled a fleet, threatened Donald of the Isles with an invasion of his territories, and compelled him to submit himself to the allegiance of Scotland, and give hostages for his obedience in future.

The battle of Harlaw and its consequences were of the highest importance, since they might be said to decide the superiority of the more civilised regions of Scotland over those inhabited by the Celtic tribes, who remained almost as savage as their forefathers the Dalriads. The Highlands and Isles continued, indeed, to give frequent disturbance by their total want of subordination and perpetual incursions upon their neighbours; but they did not again venture to combine their forces for a simultaneous attack upon the Lowlands, with the hope of conquest and purpose of settlement.

Another mark of the advance of civilisation was the erection of the university of Saint Andrews, February, 1414, which was founded and endowed under the auspices of Henry Wardlaw, archbishop of Saint Andrews, cardinal, and the pope's legate for Scotland.

In his intercourse with England the regent Albany was very singularly situated. His most important negotiations with that power respected the fate of two prisoners—the one James, his nephew and prince, who had fallen, as already mentioned, into the hands of Henry IV by a gross breach of the law of nations, the other being the regent's own son Murdoch, earl of Fife, taken in the battle of Homildon. Respecting these captives the views of Albany were extremely different. He was bound to make some show of a desire to have his sovereign, James, set at liberty, since not only the laws of common allegiance and family affection enjoined him to make an apparent exertion in his nephew's behalf, but the feudal constitutions, which imposed on the vassal the charge of ransoming his lord and superior when captive, rendered this in every point of view an inviolable obligation. At the same time his policy dictated to him to protract as long as possible the absence of the king of Scotland, with whose return his own power as regent must necessarily terminate. For the liberation of his son Murdoch, on the contrary, the regent naturally was induced to interfere with all the ardour and sincerity of paternal feeling.

The death of Henry IV and the accession of Henry V did not greatly alter the situation of the two countries, but was so far of advantage to Albany that he obtained the liberation of his son Murdoch earl of Fife, in exchange for the young earl of Northumberland, the son of the celebrated Hotspur. This youth had been sent into Scotland by his grandfather for safety, when about to display his banner against Henry IV of England.

In 1417, while Henry V was engaged in France, the regent Albany, supposing that the greater part of the English forces were over seas, gathered a large force, and besieged at once both Roxburgh Castle and the town of Ber-

wick. A much superior army of English advanced under the dukes of Exeter and Bedford, and compelled the regent of Scotland to raise both the sieges, with much loss of reputation, as the Scots bestowed on his ill-advised enterprise the name of the "Fool's Raid."

In a parliament in 1419 the Scottish estates agreed to send the dauphin of France, now hard pressed by the victorious Henry, a considerable body of auxiliary troops, under the command of the regent's second son, John Stuart earl of Buchan. This was the last act of Albany's administration which merits historical notice. After having governed Scotland as prime minister



DOUNE CASTLE
Famous as Residence of Murdoch

of Robert I and Robert II, and as regent for James I for fifty years, he died at the age of eighty and upwards in 1420. The duke of Albany as a statesman was an unprincipled politician, and as a soldier of suspected courage. As a ruler he had his merits. He was wise and prudent in his government, regular in the administration of justice, and merciful in the infliction of punishment. If Scotland made no great figure under his administration, he contrived to secure her against any considerable loss.

THE REGENCY OF MURDOCH (1420 A.D.), AND THE LIBERATION OF JAMES I (1424 A.D.)

Murdoch earl of Fife succeeded to his father in his title as duke of Albany, and his high office as regent of Scotland.

The evils which attended the feeble and remiss government of this second duke of Albany were aggravated by a contagious disease, resembling a fever and dysentery, which wasted the land universally and cut off many victims.

Murdoch duke of Albany became in the space of three years weary of exercising an administration which was popular with no man, over a disorderly country, wasted by pestilence, and divided by the feuds of the nobility. He

determined to rid himself of the responsibility of the regency. In 1423 his decision is said by tradition to have been precipitated by an act of insolent insubordination on the part of Walter, his eldest son. The regent Murdoch had a falcon which he highly valued, and which his son Walter had often asked of him in vain. Exasperated at repeated refusal, the insolent young man snatched the bird as it sate on his father's wrist, and killed it by twisting round its neck. Deeply hurt at this brutal act of disrespect, Murdoch dropped the ominous words, "Since you will render me no honour or obedience, I will bring home one who well knows how to make all of us obey him." From this time he threw into the long-protracted negotiation for the freedom of James a sincerity which speedily brought it to a conclusion.

Henry V being now dead, John duke of Bedford, protector of England, was willing to use a liberal policy towards Scotland; to restore their lawful king, so long unjustly detained; having formed, if possible, such an alliance betwixt him and some English lady of rank as might maintain in the young monarch's mind the feelings of predilection towards England which were the natural consequence of a long residence in that country and familiarity with its laws and manners. He thus hoped at once to release James, to make a friend of him, and to secure England against further interference on the part of Scotland in the wars with France, where the army of auxiliaries, under the earl of Buchan, had produced a marked effect upon the last campaigns.[k]

Buchan and Douglas the Tyneman were both killed at Verneuil in 1424 in a battle with the duke of Bedford. Buchan had previously, in a battle at Baugé, killed the duke of Clarence, Henry V's brother, with his own hand.[a]

The corps of Scots, long maintained as the French king's bodyguard, is said to have been originally composed of the relics of the field of Verneuil. And thus concluded the wars of the Scots in France, fortunate that the nation was cured, though by a most bitter remedy, of the fatal rage of selling their swords and their blood as mercenaries in foreign service; a practice which drains a people of the best and bravest, who ought to reserve their courage for its defence, and converts them into common gladiators, whose purchased valour is without fame to themselves or advantage to their country. Individuals frequently continued to join the French standard, in quest of fame or preferment; but, after the battle of Verneuil, no considerable army or body of troops from Scotland was sent over to France.[k]

FIRST RELIGIOUS PERSECUTIONS

It was in the midst of this period that the doctrines of Wycliffe for the first time appeared in Scotland, and the flames of war had scarcely ceased when the more dreadful flames of religious persecution and martyrdom were kindled in the country. John Resby, an English priest of the school of this great reformer, had passed into Scotland either in consequence of the persecutions of Wycliffe's followers, which arose after his death, or from a desire to propagate the doctrine. After having for some time remained unnoticed, the boldness and the novelty of his opinions at length wakened the jealousy of the church; and it was found that he preached what were at that time esteemed the most dangerous heresies. He was immediately seized by Laurence of Lindores, an eminent doctor in theology, and compelled to appear before a council of the clergy, where this inquisitor presided. Here he was accused of maintaining no fewer than forty heresies, amongst which the principal were, a denial of the authority of the pope, as the successor of St. Peter, a contemptuous opinion of the utility of penances and auricular confession,

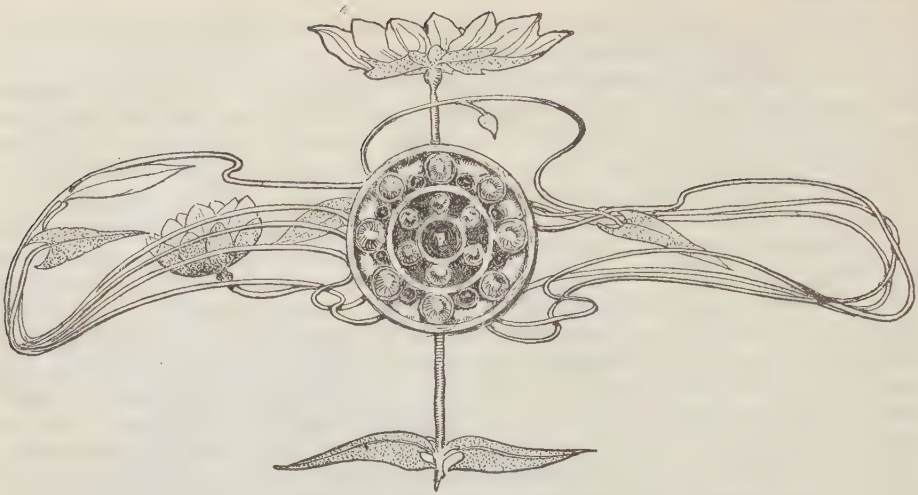
and an assertion that a holy life was absolutely necessary in any one who dared to call himself the vicar of Christ.

Although Resby was esteemed an admirable preacher by the common people, his eloquence, as may easily be supposed, was thrown away upon the ecclesiastical judges before whom he defended himself. Laurence of Lindores was equally triumphant in his confutation of the written conclusions, and in his answers to the spoken arguments by which their author attempted to support them; and the brave and pious disciple was condemned to the flames, and delivered over to the secular arm. The sentence was carried into immediate execution, and he was burned at Perth in the year 1405, his books and writings being consumed in the same fire with their master. It is probable that the church was stimulated to this unwonted severity by Albany the governor, whose bitter hatred to all Lollards and heretics, and zeal for the purity of the Catholic faith, are particularly recorded by Wyntoun.[g] And here, in the first example of martyrdom for religious opinions which is recorded in our history, the inevitable effects of persecution and proscription were clearly discernible in the increased zeal and affection which were evinced for the opinions which had been canonised by the blood of the preacher. The conclusions and little pamphlets of this early reformer were piously concealed and preserved by his disciples: and any who had imbibed his opinions evinced a resolution and courage in maintaining them, which resisted every attempt to restore them to the bosom of the church. They did not dare, indeed, to disseminate them openly, but they met, and read, and debated in secret.

AGRICULTURE AND COMMERCE

During the whole course of this reign the agriculture of Scotland appears to have been in a very lamentable condition; a circumstance arising, no doubt, out of the constant interruption of the regular seasons of rural labour, the ravages committed by foreign invasion, and the havoc which necessarily attended the passage even of a Scottish army from one part of the country to another. The proof of this is to be found in the frequent licenses which are granted by the English king, allowing the nobles and the merchants of Scotland to import grain into that country, and in the circumstance that the grain for the victualling of the Scottish castles, then in the hands of the English, was not unfrequently brought from Ireland. The commercial spirit of the country during this reign was undoubtedly on the increase: and the trade which it carried on with Flanders appears to have been conducted with much enterprise and activity. Mercer, a Scottish merchant, during his residence in France, was, from his great wealth, admitted to the favour and confidence of Charles VI; and on one occasion the cargo of a Scottish merchantman, which had been captured by the English, was valued as high as seven thousand marks, an immense sum for those remote times. The staple source of export wealth continued to consist in wool, hides, skins, and wool-fells; and we have the evidence of Froissart,[e] who had himself travelled in the country, that its home manufactures were in a very low condition.[f]

We return to consider the condition of Scotland, now more hopeful than it had been for a length of time, since she was about to exchange the rule of a slothful, timid, and inefficient regent for that of a king in the flower of his age, and possessed of a natural disposition and cultivated talents equally capable to grace and to guard the throne.[k]



CHAPTER VIII

ROYALTY VS. NOBILITY

JAMES I TO JAMES III

[1424–1487 A.D.]

It is said, that when James I first entered the kingdom, the dreadful description given by one of his nobles of the unbridled licentiousness and contempt of the laws which everywhere prevailed, threw him for a moment off his guard. "Let God but grant me life," cried he, according to Fordun,[b] "and there shall not be a spot in my dominions where the key shall not keep the castle, and the furze-bush the cow, though I myself should lead the life of a dog to accomplish it."—P. F. Tytler.[c]

The terms on which the treaty for the freedom of James I had been at last fixed, and were, on the whole, liberal rather than otherwise. The English demanded, and the Scots agreed to pay, 40,000*l.* sterling, not as "ransom" —as the use of that obnoxious phrase could not apply to the case of an innocent boy taken without defence in time of truce—but to defray what was delicately termed the expenses of Prince James' support and education. Six years were allowed for the discharge of the sum by half-yearly payments. It was a part of the contract that the Scottish king should marry an English lady of rank; and his choice fell upon Joan Beaufort, niece of Richard II, by the mother's side, and by her father, John, duke of Somerset, the granddaughter of the duke of Lancaster, called John of Gaunt. To this young lady, so nearly connected with the English royal family, the Scottish captive had been attached for some time, and had celebrated her charms in poetry of no mean order, although defaced by the rudeness of the obsolete language.[d] Thus in his famous poem, *The King's Quair* (*i.e.*, Quire), he speaks of his eighteen years' captivity, and then of his vision of the woman he later married:

"The bird, the beste, the fisch eke in the see,
They lyve in fredome everich in his kynd;
And I a man, and lakkith libertee.
Quhat schall I seyne, quhat resoun may I fynd,
That fortune suld do so? Thus in my mynd
My folk I would argewe; but al for noght;
Was none that might, that on my peynes rought."

* * * * * *

"And therewith kest I doun myn eye ageyne
Quhare as I saw walkyng under the Toure
Full secretely, new cumyn hir to pleyne,
The fairest or the freschest zoung floure
That ever I sawe methoght before that houre·
For quhich sodain abate, anon astert
The blude of all my body to my hert.

"And though I stood abaisit tha a lyte,
No wonder was; for-quhy my wittis all
Were so overcome with plesance and delyte,
Onely through latting of myn eyen fall,
That sudaynly my hert became hir thrall
For ever of free wyll; for of menace
There was no takyn in hir suete face." [a]

On his release James and Joan were married in London; and a discharge for ten thousand pounds, the fourth part of the stipulated ransom, was presented to the Scottish king as the dowry or portion of his bride. The royal pair were then sent down to Scotland with all respect and dignity, and Murdoch, the late regent, had the honour to induct his royal cousin into the throne of his forefathers.

The natural talents of James I, both mental and corporeal, were of the highest quality; and if Henry IV had taken an unjust and cruel advantage of the accident which threw the prince into his hands, by detaining him as a prisoner, he had made the only possible amends by causing the most sedulous attention to be paid to his education. In person, the king of Scotland was of low stature, but so strongly and compactly built as to excel in the games of chivalry and all the active accomplishments of the time. He was no less distinguished by mental gifts, highly cultivated by the best teachers that England could produce. He was, according to the learning of the day, an accomplished scholar, an excellent poet, a musician of skill, intimately acquainted with the science as practised in Wales, Ireland, and Scotland, which are described as being then the principal seats of national music, with a decided taste for the fine arts of architecture, painting, and horticulture. Nothing, therefore, could be more favourable than his personal character. As a prince, his education in England had taught him political views which he could hardly have learned in his own rude and ignorant realm. His ardent thirst for knowledge made the acquisition of every species of art fit to be learned by persons of his condition not only tolerable, however laborious, but a source of actual pleasure.[d]

JAMES I ATTACKS THE POWER OF THE LORDS

The civil transactions in Scotland are better known since the beginning of the reign of James I, and a complete series of her laws supplies the defects of her historians. During his long residence in England he had an opportunity of observing the feudal system in a more advanced state, and refined from many of the imperfections which still adhered to it in his own kingdom. He saw there nobles great, but not independent; a king powerful, though far

from absolute; he saw a regular administration of government, wise laws enacted, and a nation flourishing and happy, because all ranks of men were accustomed to obey them. Full of these ideas, he returned into his native country, which presented to him a very different scene. The royal authority, never great, was now contemptible, by having been so long delegated to regents. The ancient patrimony and revenues of the crown were almost totally alienated. During his long absence the name of king was little known, and less regarded. The license of many years had rendered the nobles independent. Universal anarchy prevailed. The weak were exposed to the rapine and oppression of the strong. In every corner some barbarous chieftain ruled at pleasure, and neither feared the king nor pitied the people.

James was too wise a prince to employ open force immediately to correct such inveterate evils. Neither the men nor the times would have borne it. He applied the gentler and less offensive remedy of laws and statutes. In a parliament held immediately after his return, he gained the confidence of his people by many wise laws, tending visibly to re-establish order, tranquillity, and justice in the kingdom. But at the same time that he endeavoured to secure these blessings to his subjects, he discovered his intention to recover those possessions of which the crown had been unjustly bereaved; and for that purpose obtained an act by which he was empowered to summon such as had obtained crown lands during the three last reigns to produce the rights by which they held them. As this statute threatened the property of the nobles, another which passed in a subsequent parliament aimed a dreadful blow at their power. By it the leagues and combinations which we have already described, and which rendered the nobles so formidable to the crown, were declared unlawful.

Encouraged by this success in the beginning of his enterprise, James' next step was still bolder and more decisive. During the sitting of parliament he seized at once his cousin Murdoch, duke of Albany, and his sons, the earls of Douglas, Lennox, Angus, March, and above twenty other peers and barons of prime rank.[1] To all of them, however, he was immediately reconciled, except to Albany and his sons, and Lennox. These were tried by their peers and condemned, for what crime is now unknown. Their execution struck the whole order with terror, and their forfeiture added considerable possessions to the crown. He seized, likewise, the earldoms of Buchan and Strathearn upon different pretexts, and that of Mar fell to him by inheritance. The patience and inactivity of the nobles, while the king was proceeding so rapidly towards aggrandising the crown, are amazing. The only obstruction he met with was from a slight insurrection headed by James Stewart, the duke of Albany's youngest son, and that was easily suppressed.

The splendour and presence of a king, to which the great men had been long unaccustomed, inspired reverence.[i]

Among various laws were enactments for the equal administration of justice, for obliging the nobility to ride with retinues no larger than they could maintain, for discontinuing the oppressive exaction of free quarters, for requiring that the Scottish youth should be trained to archery [and forbidding football that they might devote more time to archery]. Perhaps, like many reformers, this excellent prince, for such he must certainly be esteemed,

[[1] Sir J. H. Ramsay,[e] however, says: "Scottish historians, from the time of Hector Boece[f] downwards, have stated that James arrested some twenty-six noblemen (several of whom, by the way, were in England at the time) at Perth. The mistake has arisen from taking a parenthesis in the *Scotichronicon*[b] (ii., 482) as part of the text. For the parenthesis in question see the *Liber Pluscardensis*."[h]]

fell into an error common to those who, seeing acutely the extent of a rooted evil, attempt too hastily and too violently to remedy it by instant eradication.

James I might be more easily justified in teaching, even by strict examples of severity, the respect due to the royal person, the source of law and justice, which had fallen into contempt during the feeble regency of duke Murdoch, than in prosecution of acts of treason committed when there was no king in the land. We have the following instance of his strictness on such occasions: A nobleman of high rank, and nearly related to the crown, forgot himself so far as to strike a youth within the king's hall. James commanded that the hand with which the offence had been given should on the instant be extended on the council-table, and the young man who had received the blow was ordered to stand by with the edge of a large knife applied to the wrist of the offender, ready to sever it upon a signal given. In this posture the culprit remained for more than an hour in agonising expectation of the blow being struck, while the queen and her ladies, the prelates, and the clergy, prostrated themselves on the floor, imploring mercy for the criminal. The king at length dispensed with the punishment, but banished the offender for some time from his court and presence.

JAMES REDUCES THE LORD OF THE ISLES TO OBEDIENCE (1427 A.D.)

Besides repressing the general habits of violence and devastation in the Lowlands of Scotland, James had also to reduce to his obedience the Highland chiefs, who during the impunity of the last regency had thrown off all respect to the mandates of the crown, forgotten the terrors of the Harlaw, and might be considered as having returned to their pristine independence and barbarism. The king, with a view to remedy these evils, built or repaired the strong tower of Inverness, at which place he held a parliament. Alexander, the lord of the Isles, and his mother, the countess of Ross, with almost all the Highland chiefs, many of whom could carry into the field at least two thousand men, attended upon this assembly. The king invited them separately to visit his castle, where he had nearly fifty of them placed under arrest at the same moment; James in the meanwhile applauding his own dexterity in an extempore verse, of which the Latin only survives.[1] Two leaders of tribes were beheaded for acts of robbery and oppression; and to render his justice impartial, James Campbell was hanged for the murder of John, a former lord of the Isles.

In the midst of these examples of punishment, James was clement in his treatment of Alexander of the Isles, the successor of Donald, who was worsted at the Harlaw. His mother was detained as a hostage for his faith. Alexander, however, no sooner returned to his own territories than he raised his banner, and collected a host from the Isles and Highland mainland to the amount of ten thousand men, with which he invaded the continent, and burned the town of Inverness, where he had lately sustained the affront of an arrest. King James assembled an army and hastened northward, where his prompt arrival alarmed the invaders. The Highland forces sustained a severe defeat, and the lord of the Isles humbled himself to ask peace and forgiveness. It

[1] Ad turrim fortem ducamus cautè cohortem;
Per Christi sortem, meruerunt hi quia mortem.

Which may be thus translated:

To donjon tower let this rude troop be driven;
For death they merit, by the cross of heaven.

was not, however, granted, till he had performed a feudal penance for his breach of allegiance. On the eve of Saint Augustine's festival he appeared in full congregation before the high altar of Holyrood church, at Edinburgh, attired only in his shirt and drawers, and there upon his knees presented the hilt of his naked sword to the king, he himself holding it by the point. In this attitude of submission the island chief humbly confessed his offences, and deprecated their deserved punishment. The capital penalty, which he had deservedly incurred, was exchanged for a long imprisonment in Tantallon castle.

The captivity of the lord of the Isles did not prevent further disturbance from these unruly people. Choosing for chieftain Donald, called Ballach or the Freckled, the cousin-german of their imprisoned lord, who exercised his power during his captivity, the islanders again invaded Lochaber with an army of wild Caterans. But deserted by those who had been accessory to his crime, Donald Ballach was forced to fly to Ireland, where he was shortly after slain, to propitiate the Scottish king, and his head sent to the court of James.

James took other and less violent methods of confirming the right of the Scottish crown, by accommodating with the Norwegians, who had heavy claims for the long arrears of an annuity, stipulated to them in the treaty with Alexander III, as the consideration for ceding their right over the Hebrides, but which the continued misfortunes of Scotland had prevented from being regularly paid.

Great pains were also taken to assure the regular distribution of government by the royal courts of justice, with the assurance that if there were any "poor creature"[1] who, for want of skill and money, could not have his cause properly stated, a skilful advocate should be engaged for him at the expense of the crown. Another law against "leasing-making" imposed the doom of death on the devisers of such falsehoods as were calculated to render the king's government odious to the people. The punishment, however severe, was not, perhaps, ill-suited to that time, when there was so little communication between different parts of the country, and one province knew so little of what was happening in another that a rumour of any unpopular measure or oppressive act on the part of the crown might put a part of the kingdom into open rebellion before it could be refuted or explained. In after times, the statute, being applied even to confidential communications between man and man, became the source of gross and iniquitous oppression.

WAR WITH ENGLAND

In relation to foreign policy, James I appears to have supported his place with dignity betwixt the contending powers of France and England. Like his predecessors, he preferred the alliance of the former kingdom, as less tempted to abuse his confidence; and his friendship was thought of such importance, that Charles of France was induced to cement it by choosing the bride of his son the dauphin, afterwards Louis XI, in the person of Margaret,

[1 "And gif thar be ony pur creatur," the law observes, "that for defalte of cunnyng or dispens, can nocht, or may nocht follow his caus; the king, for the lufe of God, shall ordane that the juge before quhame the causs suld be determyt purway and get a lele and wyss advocate to follow sic creaturis caus. And gif sic caus be obtenyt, the wrangar sall assythe the party skathit, and ye advocatis costis that travale. And gif the juge refusys to doe the lawe evinly, as is before saide, ye party plenzeand sall haf recours to ye king, ye quhilk sall sa rigorusly punyst sic jugis, yat it be ane ensampill till all utheris."]

eldest daughter of the king of Scotland. The bridal took place in 1436, eight years after the contract. The honour which attended this match was great; but the bride's happiness was far from being secured in proportion. Though amiable and accomplished, she was neglected and contemned by her husband, one of the most malignant men who ever lived. She was basely calumniated also and slandered by his unworthy courtiers, and appears to have felt the imputed ignominy so sensitively that the acuteness of her feelings at length cost the princess her life.

As the affairs of the English were declining in France, from the enthusiasm universally awakened by the appearance of the maid of Orleans on the scene, an English ambassador was sent to Scotland in the person of Lord Scrope, with instructions to gain James, if possible, from his French alliance, but in vain.

It may be easily conceived that the unwonted boldness with which James carried on his favourite measures—resuming grants made in favour of the most powerful nobles; altering at his will the seat of their power, as in the case of the earl of March; interfering with and controlling their jurisdiction over their vassals; at times imprisoning the most powerful of them, as he did the earl of Douglas, his own nephew; and substituting the authority of the crown for that of the vassals, by whose greatness it had been eclipsed—was regarded with very different feelings by two classes of his subjects. With the great mass of the nation James was popular, for the people felt the protection arising from the power of the crown, which could seldom have any temptation to oppress those in middle life, and willingly took refuge under it to escape from the subordinate tyranny of the numerous barons, whose castles crowned every cliff, and for whose rapacity or violence no object was too inconsiderable. But there was a great party among the nobility who regarded James with fear and hatred, and who only wanted an opportunity to give deadly proof of the character of their feelings towards him.

The approach of war gave these evil sentiments an opportunity to display themselves. Sir Robert Ogle, an English borderer of distinction, in breach of a truce which had continued uninterrupted since King James's accession to the Scottish throne, made an incursion on the borders in 1435, and did some mischief; but was encountered by the earl of Angus near Piperden, defeated, and made prisoner. In resentment of this violence, and of an attempt on the part of the English to intercept the Scottish princess Margaret on her way to France in 1436, James declared war against England. He besieged Roxburgh Castle with the whole array of his kingdom, which was said to amount to a tumultuary multitude of nearly two hundred thousand men. After remaining fifteen days before Roxburgh, the king suddenly raised the siege and dismissed his array, upon surmise, as has been supposed, of treason in his host. That there were such practices is highly probable: and a Scottish encampment, filled with feudal levies, each man under the banner of the noble to whom he owed service, was no safe residence for a monarch who was on bad terms with his aristocracy.

THE MURDER OF JAMES I (1437 A.D.)

After dismissal of his army, James I met his parliament at Edinburgh, and employed himself and them in making several regulations for commerce, and for the impartial administration of justice. In the mean time the period of this active and good prince's labours was speedily approaching.

The chief author of his fate was Sir Robert Graham [or Graeme], uncle to

the earl of Strathearn. James, with his usual view of unfixing and gradually undermining the high power of the nobility, resumed the earldom of Strathearn and obliged the young earl to accept of the earldom of Menteith in lieu of it. This seems to have irritated the haughty spirit of the earl's uncle Sir Robert, who was likewise exasperated by having sustained a personal arrest and imprisonment, along with other men of rank, on the king's return in 1425. Entertaining these causes of personal dislike against his sovereign, Graham, in the parliament of 1436, undertook to represent to the king the grievances of the nobility; but, instead of doing so with respect and moderation, this fierce and haughty man worked himself into such extremity of passion as to make offer to arrest the monarch in name of the estates of parliament. As no one dared to support him in an attempt so arrogant, Graham was seized, and, finally, his possessions were declared forfeited, and he himself ordered into banishment.

He retired to the recesses of the Highlands, vowing revenge, and had the boldness to send forth from his lurking place a written defiance, in which he renounced the king's allegiance, and declared himself his mortal enemy. On this new proof of audacity, a reward was offered to any one who should bring in the person of Sir Robert Graham dead or alive. On this a conspiracy took place, the event of which was terrible, although we can but ill trace the motives of some of the party.

The ostensible head of the conspirators was the king's own uncle, Walter earl of Athol, son of Robert III by his second marriage. This ambitious old man was not prevented by his near alliance with the crown from plotting against his royal nephew's life, with the purpose of placing on the throne Sir Robert Stuart, his own grandson, who on his part, though favoured by the king and holding the confidential situation of chamberlain, did not hesitate to enter into so nefarious a conspiracy.

The removal of the court to Perth, where James proposed to hold his Christmas, facilitated the conspirators' enterprise, by making a sudden descent from the Highlands, a short expedition. About the 21st of February, 1437, the king, after having entertained his treacherous uncle of Athol at supper, was about to retire to rest in the Dominican monastery, which was the royal residence for the time, when it was suddenly entered by a body of three hundred men, whose admittance had been facilitated by Sir Robert Stuart, the faithless chamberlain. There is a tradition that a young lady in attendance on the queen, named Catherine Douglas, endeavoured to supply the want of a bar to the door of the royal apartment by thrusting her own arm across the staples. This slender obstacle was soon overcome. So much time had, however, been gained that the queen and her ladies had found means to let down the king into a vault beneath the apartment, from which he might have made his escape had not an entrance from the sewer to the court of the monastery been built up by his own order a day or two before, because his tennis balls were lost by entering the vault. Still, notwithstanding this obstacle, the king might have escaped, for the assassins left the apartment without finding out his place of retreat, and, having in their brutal fury wounded the queen, dispersed to seek for James in the other chambers.

Unhappily, before either the conspirators had withdrawn from the palace, or assistance had arrived, the king endeavoured, by the help of the ladies, to escape from the vault, and some of the villains returning detected him in the attempt. Two brothers, named Hall, then descended into the vault, fell fiercely upon James with their daggers, when, young, active, and fighting for his life, the king threw them down, and trode them under foot. But while

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he was struggling with the traitors, and cutting his hands in an attempt to wrench their daggers from them, the principal conspirator, Graham, came to the assistance of his associates, and the king died from many wounds. The alarm was given at last, and the attendants of the court and domestics began to gather to the palace, from which the assassins made their escape to the Highlands, not without loss.

The queen Joan urged the pursuit of the murderers with a zeal becoming the widow of such a husband. She had enjoyed her husband's political confidence as well as his domestic affection. In the parliament of 1435, the king, impressed, perhaps, with a presentiment that his public-spirited measures might expose him to assassination, had caused the members of the estates to give written assurances of their fidelity to the queen. Upon this trying occasion they redeemed their pledge, and a close and general pursuit after the murderers took place. In the space of a month they were all apprehended in their various lurking places. Athol's grandson, Sir Robert Stuart, was executed at Edinburgh with refined tortures, in the midst of which he avowed his guilt. The aged earl admitted that his grandson had proposed such a conspiracy to him; but alleged that he did his utmost to dissuade him from engaging in it, and believed that the id a was laid aside. He was beheaded at Edinburgh, and his head, being surrounded with a crown of iron, was exposed to public view.

The principal conspirator, Sir Robert Graham, whose mind had devised, and whose hand executed the bloody deed, boldly contended that he had a right to act as he had done. The king, he said, had inflicted on him mortal injury; and he, in return, had renounced his allegiance, and sent him a formal letter of defiance. Dreadful tortures were inflicted on the regicide, which served but to show how much extremity a hardy spirit is capable to endure. He told the court that, though now executed as a traitor, he should be hereafter recollected as the man who had freed Scotland from a tyrant. But the evil spirit which had seduced him, and seemed to speak by his mouth, proved a false prophet: the immortality which his memory obtained was only conferred by a popular rhyme to this effect:

> Robert Grahame,
> That kill'd our king, God give him shame.[a]

Burnet[j] calls James I "the greatest and ablest of all the Stewart kings of Scotland. To strengthen the crown, to reduce to subjection the feudal aristocracy, to elevate the small lairds and the burgesses, and to make the law respected by all, were objects of which he never lost sight." Sir J. H. Ramsay[e] thus sums up his achievements: "He held annual parliaments; he gave Scotland a supreme court of justice; he laid the foundations of a system of statute laws; he issued stringent edicts against private war; he gave the Scotch parliaments a speaker, and endeavoured to introduce a system of representation among the minor barons. By careful supervision, and without imposing any new duties, he raised his customs from 2,200*l.* a year to an average exceeding 5,000*l.* a year. His dealings with the currency were less deserving of approval. The Scotch coin, which apparently since the beginning of the century had been rated as worth about half the English coin, by the end of his reign was depreciated to little more than a third of it. In this matter James may have followed the example of France; but in his general legislation we trace once more, after a long interval, a disposition to copy English institutions."[a]

TYTLER'S ESTIMATE OF JAMES I

There was nothing little in the character of James I; his virtues and his faults were alike on a great scale; and his reign, although it embraced only a period of thirteen years—reckoning from his return to his assassination—stands forward brightly and prominently in the history of the country. Perhaps the most important changes which he introduced were the publication of the acts of parliament in the spoken language of the land; the introduction of the principle of representation by the election of the commissaries for shires; the institution of the court entitled the "session," and the regularity



DRYBURGH ABBEY

with which he assembled the parliament. Before his time it had been the practice of the laws, the resolutions, and the judgments of the parliament to be embodied in the Latin language; a custom which evidently was calculated to retard improvement, and perpetuate the dominion of barbarism and feudal oppression. Before his time the great body of the judges, to whom the administration of the laws was intrusted, the barons within their regalities, the bailies, the sheriffs, mayors, sergeants, and other inferior officers, were incapable of reading or understanding the statutes; and the importance of the change from this state of darkness and uncertainty to that which presented them with the law speaking in their own tongue, cannot be too

highly estimated. It is of itself enough to stamp originality upon the character of the king, and to cause us to regard his reign as an era in the legislative history of the country.

Nor was the frequency in the assembling of his parliaments of less consequence. Of these convocations of the legislature no less than thirteen occurred during his brief reign, a very striking contrast to their infrequency under the government of his predecessors. His great principle seems to have been, to govern the country through the medium of the parliament; to introduce into this august assembly a complete representation of the body of the smaller landed proprietors, and of the commercial classes; and to insist on the frequent attendance of the great temporal and spiritual lords, not, as they were formerly wont, in the character of rivals of the sovereign, surrounded by a little court, and backed by numerous bands of armed vassals, but in their accredited station, as forming the principal and essential portion of the council of the nation, bound to obey their summons to parliament upon the same principle which obliged them to give suit and service in the feudal court of their liege lord the king.

Another striking feature in James' reign was his institution of the "session," his constant anxiety for the administration of justice amongst the middle ranks and the commons, and the frequent and anxious legislative enactments for the severe and speedy punishment of offenders. His determination that "he would make the bracken-bush keep the cow"—that proverb already alluded to, and still gratefully remembered in Scotland—was carried into execution by an indefatigable activity, and a firmness so inexorable as sometimes to assume the appearance of cruelty; but in estimating his true character upon this point, it is necessary to keep clearly before our eyes the circumstances in which he found the country, and the dreadful misrule and oppression to which the weaker individuals in the states were subjected from the tyranny of the higher orders. It is impossible, however, to deny that the king was sometimes cruel and unjust, and that when Graham accused him of tyranny and oppression, he had perhaps more to say in his vindication than many historians are willing to admit.

The explanation, and, in some little measure, the excuse for this is to be found in the natural feelings of determined and undisguised hostility with which he undoubtedly regarded the family of Albany and their remotest connections. James considered the government of the father and the son in its true light—as one long usurpation; for although the first few years of Albany's administration as governor had been sanctioned by royal approval and the voice of the parliament, yet it is not to be forgotten that the detention of the youthful king in England extended through the long and sickening period of nineteen years, during the greater part of which time the return of this prince to his throne and to his people was thwarted, as we have seen, by every possible intrigue upon the part of Albany.

This base conduct was viewed by James with more unforgiving resentment from its being crowned with success: for the aged usurper by a quiet death escaped the meditated vengeance, and transmitted the supreme authority in the state to his son, ransomed from captivity for this very end, whilst his lawful prince beheld himself still detained in England. When he did return, therefore, it was not to be wondered at that his resentment was wrought to a high pitch; and deep and bloody as was the retribution which he exacted, it was neither unnatural nor, according to the feelings of those times, unjustifiable. But making every allowance for the extraordinary wrongs he had suffered, the determination which he appears to have formed, of con-

sidering every single act of Albany's administration, however just it may have been in itself, as liable to be challenged and cut down, necessarily led, when attempted to be acted upon, to a stretch of power which bordered upon tyranny.

If we except his misguided desire to distinguish himself as a persecutor of the Wycliffites,[1] James' love for the church, as the best instrument he could employ in disseminating the blessings of education, and of general improvement throughout the country, was a wise and polite passion. He found his clergy a superior and enlightened class of men, and he employed their power, their wealth, and their abilities as a counterpoise to his nobility; yet he was not, like David I, a munificent founder of new religious houses; indeed, his income was so limited as to make this impossible.

It is well known that the personal accomplishments of this prince were of a high character. He was a reformer of the language and of the poetry of his country; he sang beautifully, and not only accompanied himself upon the harp and the organ, but composed various airs and pieces of sacred music, in which there was to be recognised the same original and inventive genius which distinguished this remarkable man in everything to which he applied his mind.

His great strength was shown in the dreadful and almost successful resistance which he made to his murderers. He died in the forty-fourth year of his age, and was buried in the church of the Carthusians at Perth, which he had himself founded. He left by his queen Joan an only son, James, his successor, then a boy in his seventh year, and five daughters. To two of these, Margaret, who became queen of France, and Eleanor, who married Sigismund, duke of Austria, their father transmitted his love of literature. James' remaining daughters were Isabella, married to Francis, duke of Bretagne; Mary who took as her husband the Count de Boncquan, son to the lord of Campvere; and lastly, Jane, wedded to the earl of Angus, and subsequently to the earl of Morton.

The story of the dauphiness and Alain Chartier is well known. Finding this famous poet asleep in the saloon of the palace, she stooped down and kissed him, observing to her ladies, who were somewhat astonished at the proceeding, that she did not kiss the man, but the mouth which had uttered so many fine things—a singular and, as they perhaps thought, too minute a distinction. Eleanor, although equally fond of literature, confined herself to a more decorous mode of exhibiting her predilection, by translating the romance of *Ponthus et Sidoyne* into German, for the amusement of her husband.[c]

THE MINORITY OF JAMES II; CRICHTON *VS.* LIVINGSTON (1437 A.D.)

Among the able men whom James I had called from comparative obscurity, the names of two statesmen appear, whom he had selected from the rank of the gentry, and raised to a high place in his councils. These were Sir William Crichton the chancellor, and Sir Alexander Livingston of Callander. Both were men of ancient family, though, descended probably of

[1 Among the transactions of this reign, we ought not to omit to mention the fate of a heretic. James I is culpable for having permitted the death of Paul Crawar, a foreigner, and a follower of John Huss. He was tried by Laurence of Lindores, the same bigoted inquisitor who sat in judgment on Resby, whose fate this second martyr shared, at Saint Andrews, 1433. These instances prove that Scotland did not escape the ravages of intolerant superstition, though her history stands more free of such shocking cruelties than that of nations more important and more early civilised than herself.*d*]

Saxon parentage, they did not number among the greater nobles, who claimed, generally speaking, their birth from the Norman blood. Both, and more especially Crichton, had talents of a distinguished order, and were well qualified to serve the state. Unhappily, these two statesmen, upon whom the will of the late king, or the ordinance of a parliament called at Edinburgh immediately after James's murder, devolved the power of a joint regency, were enemies to each other, probably from ancient rivalry; and it was still more unfortunate that their talents were not united with corresponding virtues; for Livingston and Crichton appear to have been alike ambitious, cruel, and unscrupulous politicians. It is said by the Scots chronicles that the parliament assigned to Crichton the chancellor the administration of the kingdom, and to Livingston the care of the person of the young king.

It might have been supposed that the widowed queen Joan had some title to be comprised in the commission of regency, and there are indications that such had been the purpose of her husband; but alone, an English stranger, and a woman, after prosecuting the murderers of her husband to the death, she seems to have withdrawn herself from public affairs, and shortly afterwards married a man of rank, Sir James Stuart, who was called the Black Knight of Lorne—a union which, placing herself under tutelage, disqualified her from the office of regent, whether in her sole person or as an associate of Crichton and Livingston. About the same time, 1438, a nine years' truce with England put an end to the war which subsisted at the death of James I, and left the Scottish rulers at liberty to follow out without interruption their domestic dissensions.

Crichton and Livingston had a powerful opponent in the dreaded earl of Douglas; they were obliged to admit this mighty peer into the office of lieutenant-general of the kingdom. This cause of alarm, common to them both, did not suppress their mutual hatred to each other. A minute account of enterprises which historians have left in great obscurity may be here excused; but the following facts are prominent.

THE "BLACK DINNER" (1439 A.D.)

Archibald, the fifth earl of Douglas, died in 1439, and was succeeded by his son William, a boy of fourteen years old, upon whom descended the various estates and dignities of that powerful family. The duchy of Touraine and lordship of Longueville in France seemed to give him the consequence of a foreign prince. In Scotland he enjoyed the earldom of Douglas, the lordships of Galloway and Annandale, and a wide extent both of property and influence throughout all the southern frontier. Repeatedly intermarried with the royal family itself, this mighty house had also formed matrimonial alliances with many of the most distinguished Scottish families. By bonds of dependence, or man-rent as they were called, almost all the principal gentry who lay in the neighbourhood of the wide domains of Douglas had become followers of the earl's banner, and his power, as far as it could be immediately and directly exercised, was equal to that of the king, his opulence perhaps superior.

Earl William, whose youth rendered him arrogant, made an imprudent display of the power which he possessed. His ordinary attendance consisted of a thousand horse, and he is said to have held *cours plenieres*, after the manner of parliaments, within his own jurisdictions, and to have dubbed knights with his own hand. The body of men who constantly attended on this young chief were many of them such as found their subsistence by bloodshed and

pillage, who were always ready to interpose the name of their patron as a defence against punishment. The instances of oppression performed by the earl's followers, and the contempt and insult with which they rejected the attempts of the ordinary distributers of justice to bring them to punishment, were carefully noted down and laid to the charge of the young Douglas, whom Crichton was determined to make responsible for the mass of injuries which were committed in his name and by his followers. Under pretext of cultivating an intimacy between the young king and the earl of Douglas, whose years corresponded together, Earl William and his younger brother David were inveigled by the chancellor's flattery and fair speeches first to his castle of Crichton near Edinburgh, and then to the metropolis itself, where the two noble guests were lodged in the castle. Here, while they expected to be regaled at the royal table, a black bull's head, the signal of death, as it is reputed to have been in Scotland, was suddenly placed before them.[1] The astonished youths were dragged from the table by armed men, and subjected to a hasty trial, and in spite of the entreaties and prayers of the young king, they were cruelly beheaded. Malcolm Fleming of Cumbernauld, a friend and adherent of their family, shared the fate of the unfortunate boys. The whole might be well pronounced a murder committed with the sword of justice.

Unquestionably Livingston and Crichton, the authors of this detestable treason, reckoned on its effects in depressing the house of Douglas, and producing general quiet and good order. Another encouragement to the crime was the indolent and pacific disposition of James, called the Gross, the uncle of the murdered earl. This corpulent dignitary, whose fat is said to have weighed four stone, seems accordingly to have taken no measures whatever for avenging the death of his relatives.

James the Gross being removed by death within two years after the murder at Edinburgh Castle, was succeeded by his son William, a youth in the flower of his age, of as ardent ambition as any of his towering house, and filled with hatred against Crichton and Livingston for their share in his kinsmen's death. Thus did the power of Douglas revive in its most dangerous form within two years after the tragic execution in the castle of Edinburgh, and the political crime of Crichton and Livingston was, like many of the same dark complexion, committed in vain.

If we look at Scotland generally during this minority it forms a dark and disgusting spectacle. Feudal animosities were revived in all corners of the country; and the barriers of the law having been in a great measure removed, the land was drenched with the blood of its inhabitants, shed by their countrymen and neighbours.

In the midst of universal complaint, bloodshed, and confusion, the king was approaching his fourteenth year. He was easily persuaded, or brought to persuade himself, in 1444, that he could govern more effectively without the control of Crichton and Livingston, while the greater part of his subjects were at least satisfied that he could not rule worse than with the assistance of such unscrupulous counsellors. This produced a desire on the part both of the king and his subjects to dissolve the regency; and the earl of Douglas, trusting to find his own advantage, and the means of prosecuting his revenge against Crichton and Livingston, with more art than his house had usually manifested, resolved to make personal advances to gain the king's favour, and

[1] This circumstance staggers the belief of modern historians. The bull's head, used as the sign of death, is repeatedly mentioned in Highland tradition, and the custom may have been Celtic. [This atrocity was called the "Black Dinner" in popular memory.]

prosecute his course to power rather as an ally and minister of the throne than the avowed rival and antagonist of the royal family.

He therefore came to court, submitted himself to the king's will, placed his person in the royal power without reserve, and personated so well the expressions and behaviour of a good subject, that James was delighted to find in the earl of Douglas, who had been represented as a formidable rival, a vassal so powerful at once and so humble. The king received him not into favour only, but into confidential trust and power, and with the assistance received from him easily succeeded in assuming the supreme authority into his own hands, and in displacing Livingston and Crichton, who had governed in James' name since his father's death.

In modern times, the dismissal of a ministry whose government has lasted long and assumed an absolute character, is usually followed by inquiries and impeachments: in the more ancient days, the ministers were called to account for their power by the terrors of a civil war. Livingston shut himself up in the castle of Stirling, and determined on resistance; the chancellor also garrisoned his castles, and stood upon his defence.

Sir William Crichton continued to hold out the castle of Edinburgh for nine weeks, and at last surrendered in 1446, on the most advantageous terms. He was confirmed in his honours, titles, and possessions; even his office of chancellor was restored to him. He seems to have formed an alliance with the earl of Douglas, and consented to take a share in his administration, surrendering at the same time to the earl's resentment Sir Alexander Livingston, the king's governor. This latter statesman was arrested, with many of his friends; and though his own grey hairs were spared, their ransom was dearly purchased by the decapitation of his two sons and the destruction of his family. He himself was imprisoned, and with his kinsmen Dundas, Bruce, and others, subjected to ruinous fines and penalties.

The earl of Douglas now attained the high dignity of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and having the universal management of state affairs, failed not to use his influence for the advancement of the overswollen importance of his house. Three of his brothers were created peers. Archibald, by marrying with the heiress of the earl of Moray, succeeded to that title and estate; Hugh Douglas was made earl of Ormonde; and John, lord of Balveny.

Meantime the public tranquillity went to wreck on all hands. In the midst of this almost universal turmoil we may notice the death of Joan, the queen-mother, who hardly obtained permission to die in safety in the castle of Dunbar, that of Hailes being stormed and taken for having afforded her temporary refuge. Her second husband, the Black Knight of Lorne, having uttered some words reflecting on the administration of the earl of Douglas, saw himself compelled to leave Scotland. His misfortunes continued to attend him; the bark on which he sailed for France was taken by a Flemish corsair, and he died shortly after in a species of captivity.

In the mean time the earl of Douglas, who possessed the warlike character of his ancestors, defended the country against its external enemies with better success than that with which he maintained domestic tranquillity. The borderers, partaking the spirit of the unsettled times, had broken through the truce by incursions on both sides; and the discordant administrations of Henry VI and James II, who strongly resembled each other in point of cabal and internal dissension, found that the two countries were at war, even without either government intending it. On the one side, Dumfries was burned by young Percy and Robert Ogle; on the other, Lord Balveny, the youngest brother of Douglas, gave the town of Alnwick to the flames.

To make a deeper impression on the hostile country, the earl of Huntingdon and Lord Percy crossed the western marches with about fifteen thousand men. They were met by Douglas at the head of a much inferior army, who either defeated or compelled them to retire. This foil only animated the English to a stronger effort. They assembled an army amounting to twenty thousand men. They crossed the river Sark at low water in 1448, and found themselves in front of the Scottish force, under command of Hugh, earl of Ormonde, another brother of the Douglas family. The Scots pressed furiously forward, and the English gave way. The river Sark, now augmented by the returning tide, lay in the rear of the fugitive army: many were drowned in the attempt to cross it. The English army lost three thousand men, and the young Lord Percy and Sir John Pennington were made prisoners.

The truce was shortly after again renewed, in 1449, by the English; and in the treaty on the occasion both parties disowned having been the cause of its being broken. About the same period the interest of the earl of Douglas at the Scottish court began to decline.

Sir William Crichton also began to recover the king's confidence, and his proved policy was employed in the honourable commission of renewing the old alliance with France, and seeking out upon the continent a befitting match for the king. The election fell on Mary of Guelders, with whom Philip of Burgundy agreed to give 60,000 crowns of gold as the portion of his kinswoman, who had been educated at his court. The alliance with France was renewed, and one with Burgundy was entered into. The success of Sir William Crichton in this negotiation, and the acceptable selection of his bride, raised the old statesman still higher in James' favour; and as he acquired the royal confidence, he had further opportunities of instilling into the sovereign's mind the rules of policy on which his father, James I, had acted, with a view of raising the power of the crown and depressing the feudal greatness of the nobility. These instructions were necessarily unfavourable to Douglas.

A parliament was held at Edinburgh in 1450, providing for the restoration of the progresses of the justiciary courts, which had been interrupted, and denouncing the penalties of rebellion against all persons who should presume to make private war on the king's subjects, declaring that the whole force of the country should be led against them if necessary. Severe laws were made against spoilers and marauders, and regulations laid down that the nobility should travel with moderate trains, to avoid oppressing the country. Finally, a statute was passed imposing the pains of treason on any who should aid or supply with help or counsel those who were traitors to the king's person, or who should garrison houses in their defence, or aid such rebels in the assault of castles or other places where the king's person should happen to be for the time. The tendency of these laws shows the predominant evils which had taken root during the king's minority, and the remedies by which, when come to man's estate, James II proceeded to attempt a cure.

THE KING CRUSHES THE POWER OF THE DOUGLAS

The earl of Douglas, finding his court favour upon the wane, began to withdraw himself from the king's, and, in despite of the laws which had been so lately enacted, to play the independent prince in his own country, which comprehended all the borders and great part of the west of Scotland. In 1450 the earl of Douglas undertook a pilgrimage to Rome, which he performed magnificently, with a retinue of six knights, fourteen gentlemen, and eighty attendants of inferior rank. He was received at Paris with the honour due

to his high family and the memory of his ancestor who fell at Verneuil in the French service. Even at Rome the name of Douglas was respected, and the rude magnificence of the earl who bore it attracted attention and regard.

While Douglas was absent on his pilgrimage his vassals continued to be disorderly and insubordinate as before. Symington, the earl's bailiff in Douglas-dale, was cited to answer for the conduct of such malefactors, but contumaciously refused to obey. Upon this, William Sinclair, earl of Orkney, then chancellor of Scotland, was sent to levy distress on the rents and goods of the earl of Douglas, to satisfy those who complained of injury from his tenants. The chancellor's mission met with no success, for he was received only with resistance and insult. The king, incensed at this contumacy offered to the highest law-officer in the realm, marched in person into the disobedient districts, ravaged Douglas' estates, and took possession of the castles of Lochmaberry and Douglas, the last of which he razed to the ground.

When the evil tidings reached Rome, they struck such alarm into the minds of Douglas' attendants that several relinquished their dependence on the earl and left him. He himself hastened homewards, and used his influence upon such men of consequence as lived in those countries over which he had authority, to compel them, though diametrically contrary to law, to execute leagues and bonds, by which they engaged themselves to support each other, and to make common cause with the Douglas against all mortals besides. Those who declined to comply with Douglas' pleasure in this matter were sure, more or less directly, to feel the force of his vengeance, which a wide authority over the border countries, filled with strong clans of habitual marauders, enabled him to accomplish, without the earl himself appearing active in the matter.[d]

By forming the league with the earl of Crawford and other barons, he had united against his sovereign almost one-half of his kingdom. But his credulity led him into the same snare which had been fatal to the former earl. Relying on the king's promises, who had now attained to the years of manhood, and having obtained a safe-conduct under the great seal, he ventured to meet him in Stirling Castle. James urged him to dissolve that dangerous confederacy into which he had entered; the earl obstinately refused. "If you will not," said the enraged monarch, drawing his dagger, "this shall," and stabbed him to the heart.

An action so unworthy of a king filled the nation with astonishment and with horror. The earl's vassals ran to arms with the utmost fury, and dragging the safe-conduct, which the king had granted and violated, at a horse's tail, they marched towards Stirling, burned the town, and threatened to besiege the castle. An accommodation, however, ensued, on what terms is not known. But the king's jealousy, and the new earl's power and resentment, prevented it from being of long continuance. Both took the field at the head of their armies in March, 1455, and met near Abercorn. That of the earl, composed chiefly of borderers, was far superior to the king's, both in number and in valour; and a single battle must, in all probability, have decided whether the house of Stuart or of Douglas was henceforth to possess the throne of Scotland. But while his troops impatiently expected the signal to engage, the earl ordered them to retire to their camp;[1] and Sir James Hamilton of Cadzow, the person in whom he placed the greatest confidence, convinced of his want of genius to improve an opportunity, or of his want of courage to seize a crown, deserted him that very night.[i]

[1 Hume Brown *k* notes that this story of the meeting of the two armies as told by Boece *f* has no contemporary support.]

The example was contagious, for the character of Hamilton for prudence and sagacity stood very high. The army of insurgents dissolved like a snow-wreath in a sudden thaw.

The secession of Hamilton to the royal cause was deservedly regarded as excellent service. He was, for appearance' sake, put in ward for a while at Roslin, under the charge of the earl of Orkney. But the king's favour was shown to him by large grants of forfeited estates, and by the title of lord of parliament, which raised first to nobility the great ducal house of Hamilton.

The earl of Douglas broke up his camp and withdrew with his diminished squadrons to take refuge in the wildest districts of the border, where they lurked as exiles and fugitives in the countries which they had lately commanded with sovereign power. The castle of Abercorn, despairing of relief, soon surrendered, and of the defenders some principal persons were put to death for holding out the place against the king. James II proceeded to march his army through the west and south of Scotland, where his powerful opponents had lately been proprietors of the soil, and leaders, if not tyrants, of the people, and with slight resistance reduced all the strong places of the Douglases to his own authority. Douglas Castle itself, that of Strathaven, and that of the Thrieve, were in this manner taken and demolished.

About the same time, and while the king was making his triumphant progress, Douglas himself fled into England with a very few attendants. His three brothers, Moray, Ormonde, and Balveny, remained on the borders at the head of the remains of the followers of their family, and maintained them by military license. A conflict took place at Arkinholm, near Langholm, where the bands of Douglas were totally defeated by border clans, May 1st, 1455. The earl of Moray was slain; the earl of Ormonde taken prisoner, condemned, and executed; and of the brethren of Douglas the lord Balveny alone escaped into England.

The history of this the last of the original branch of the Douglas family may as well be terminated here. Having during his prosperity maintained a close intercourse with the house of York, who were then in power, Douglas was hospitably received in England. In the year 1483 he, with the duke of Albany, then a banished noble like himself, made an incursion into Scotland, having vowed they would make their offer on the high altar of Lochmaberry upon Saint Magdalen's day. The west border men rose to repel the incursion. The exiles were defeated, and the earl of Douglas struck from his horse. Surrounded by enemies, and seeing on the field a son of Kirkpatrick of Closeburn, once his own follower, the earl surrendered himself to him in preference to others, that, as an old friend, he might profit by the reward set upon his head. Kirkpatrick wept to see the extremity to which his old master was reduced, and offered to set him at liberty and fly with him into England. But Douglas, weary of exile, was resigned to his fate. When the aged prisoner came before the king, James II commanded him to be put into the cloister at Lindores. The earl only replied, "He that may no better must be a monk." He assumed the tonsure accordingly, and died about 1488.

Thus, after an obscure conflict with those who had been so lately its dependents, fell, and for ever, the formidable power of the house of Douglas, which had so lately measured itself against that of monarchy. It can only be compared to the gourd of the prophet, which, spreading with such miraculous luxuriance, was withered in a single night. The indecision and imbecility of Earl James, who did not chance to possess the qualities of military skill and political wisdom which had seemed till his time almost hereditary in this great family, appear to have been the immediate cause of their de-

[1455 A.D.]

struction. But there was moral justice in the lesson, that a house raised to power by the inappreciable services and inflexible loyalty of the good Lord James and his successors should fall by the irregular ambition and treasonable practices of its later chiefs.[d]

James did not suffer this favourable interval to pass unimproved; he procured the consent of a parliament, called at Edinburgh, to laws more advantageous to the prerogative, and more subversive of the privileges of the aristocracy, than were ever obtained by any former or subsequent monarch of Scotland. By one of these, not only all the vast possessions of the earl of Douglas were annexed to the crown, but all prior and future alienations of crown lands were declared to be void, and the king was empowered to seize them at pleasure without any process or form of law, and oblige the possessors to refund whatever they had received from them. A dreadful instrument of oppression in the hands of a prince!

Another law prohibited the wardenship of the marches to be granted hereditarily; restrained, in several instances, the jurisdiction of that office; and extended the authority of the king's courts. By a third it was enacted that no regality or exclusive right of administering justice within a man's own lands should be granted in time to come without the consent of parliament; a condition which implied almost an express prohibition. Those nobles who already possessed that great privilege would naturally be solicitous to prevent it from becoming common by being bestowed on many. Those who had not themselves attained it would envy others the acquisition of such a flattering distinction, and both would concur in rejecting the claims of new pretenders.

By a fourth act, all new grants of hereditary offices were prohibited, and those obtained since the death of the last king were revoked. Each of these statutes undermined some of the great pillars on which the power of the aristocracy rested.[i]

LAST YEARS AND DEATH OF JAMES II (1459–1460 A.D.)

Yet, though the policy of retaining these forfeitures in the crown was distinctly seen, it could not in prudence be invariably acted upon. The king had no other means of rewarding the services of the loyal chiefs who had stood by the crown in the last struggle than by grants out of the estates of the traitors; and the lands of the Douglas family, large as they were, were inadequate to satisfy the numerous expectants. The chief of these was the earl of Angus, a large and flourishing branch of the Douglas, sprung from a second son of the earl of the principal family. The present Angus had been a loyalist during his kinsman's usurpation, which, from the difference of the family complexion, led to a popular saying that the Red Douglas had put down the Black. The earl of Angus was rewarded with a grant of Douglas Castle with its valley and domains, of Tantallon Castle, and other large portions of the ancient estates of the Douglas family; an imprudent profusion, it must be allowed, since it served to raise this younger branch to a height not much less formidable to the crown than that which the original Douglases had attained. Gordon, in the north, was not forgotten; and the southern chieftains profiting largely by the forfeiture of the Douglases, easily obtained gifts of considerable possessions which no one but they themselves could have occupied with safety. In a word, if the king distinctly saw the policy of enriching the crown, which the statutes of his reign imply, it is as certain he found it impossible to follow the maxim rigidly

without restricting the necessary bounty to his adherents. It was no time to lose men's hearts for lack of liberality; for the ashes of the civil hostility were still glowing in the remoter districts of Scotland.

A war with England was the next object of interest during the active reign of James II. He invaded England in 1459 with six thousand men, burned and plundered the country for twenty miles inland, and destroyed eighteen towers and fortalices. The Scottish army remained on English ground six days, without battle being offered, and returned home without loss, and with worship and honour. On James' retreat, the duke of York and earl Salisbury, with other English nobles, led to the border a body of about four or five thousand men; but having differed in opinion of the plan of the campaign, they quarrelled among themselves and retired with disgrace. The cause of these internal discords in the English camp probably arose out of the dissensions concerning the red and white roses, which were now engrossing the nation. The truce with England was prolonged for nine years. James, however, seems to have deemed the period favourable for recovering such Scottish possessions as were still held by the English; accordingly we find him breaking through the truce.

It was with this view that the king collected a numerous army, and laid siege to Roxburgh, which had now been in possession of the English since the captivity of David II, and, as a military post, was of the greatest importance, being very strongly situated between the Tweed and Teviot, and not far from their confluence, in the most fertile part of the Scottish frontier. John, the lord of the Isles, appeared in the royal camp, to atone for former errors and treasonable actions in 1451 by zeal on the present occasion. James beleaguered the castle on every side. He was proud of his train of cannon, and of the skill of a French engineer, who could level them so truly as to hit within a fathom of the place he aimed at, which, in these days, was held extraordinary practice.

Unhappily, on Sunday, August 3rd, 1460, standing in the vicinity of a gun which was about to be discharged, the rude mass, composed of ribs of iron bound together by hoops of the same metal, burst asunder, and a fragment striking the king on the thigh, broke it asunder, and killed him on the spot. The earl of Angus was severely wounded on the same occasion.

Thus fell James II of Scotland in the twenty-ninth year of his age, and the twenty-fourth of his reign. His person was strong and well put together, and he was reckoned excellent at all exercises. His face would have been handsome, had it not been partly disfigured by a red spot, which procured him from his subjects the name of "James with the Fiery Face." Of the natural violence of his temper he had given an unfortunate proof, by suffering himself to be surprised into a violation of faith towards Douglas. His subjects seem, however, to have considered this as the act of momentary passion; and James' clemency to Crawford, who, in the words of the chronicler, had been "right dangerous to the king," after that earl was entirely in his power, as well as the small number of persons who suffered for rebellions which shook the very throne, made his temper appear merciful compared to that of his father, James I. He possessed the gift of being able to choose wise counsellors, and had the sense to follow their advice when chosen. In the display which James II was called on to make of his military talents he showed both courage and conduct. His death was an inexpressible loss to his country, which was again plunged into the miseries of a long minority.[d]

Hume Brown[k] notes the remarkable coincidence of great events during the period of James II's reign. The end of the hundred years' war shut Eng-

land out of France forever, and consolidated French nationality. In Florence the Medici rose to power. In the East Constantinople fell to the Mohammedans. He notes also a minor parallel to the wars of Lancaster and York in the feud of the Stuart and the Douglas and thinks that lawless as Scotland was at this time, it was in no worse state than England or France.[a]

James II left three sons: James, his successor; Alexander, duke of Albany, and John, who was created earl of Mar; with two daughters, Mary and Margaret, of whom we shall have occasion to say more hereafter.

MARY OF GUELDERS AND BISHOP KENNEDY IN CONTROL

The sudden death of James II struck such a damp into the Scottish nobles that they were about to abandon the siege of Roxburgh, and break up their camp, when the courage of Mary of Guelders, the widowed queen, reanimated their spirits. She arrived in the camp almost immediately after the king's death, and throwing herself and her son [now about nine years old], their infant sovereign, upon the faith of the Scottish lords, conjured them never to remove the siege from this ill-fated castle till they had laid it in ruins. The nobles caught fire at her exhortations. They crowned their king at the neighbouring abbey of Kelso, August 10th, 1460, with such ceremonies of homage and royalty as the time admitted, and, pressing the siege with double vigour, compelled the English garrison to surrender on terms. The castle of Roxburgh they levelled to the ground, agreeably to the policy recommended by Robert Bruce. [They also invaded England and destroyed the castle of Wark.]

The queen regent naturally retained a considerable influence in the government, and seems to have acted for some time as regent, with the assistance of a council of state. Her conduct, however, which was not personally respectable, considerably diminished her influence before her death, which took place when she was in the full vigour of life. Kennedy, archbishop of Saint Andrews, the wise and loyal friend of his father, became the personal guardian of the infant king.[d]

Hume Brown[k] calls James Kennedy "a name of happy omen in Scottish history," since he had aided James II materially in crushing the Douglas family. A recently discovered letter from Kennedy to Louis XI, published by Wavrin,[l] has re-established the statement by Buchanan,[m] which Pinkerton,[n] Tytler,[c] and others branded as fables, that after James II's death there rose a bitter feud between Mary of Guelders and Kennedy over the wars of Lancaster and York; and that while Kennedy favoured Henry VI, Mary was so strongly in favour of the house of York that civil war was almost precipitated. She had at first sided with the Lancastrians, the marriage of her daughter Mary with Prince Edward was broached, and Margaret of Anjou and her son Edward were entertained in Scotland by Mary; but the Yorkists brought the influence of Philip of Burgundy to bear upon Mary, who was his niece, and she set herself in opposition to Kennedy and the Lancastrians. It was even proposed by the earl of Warwick that Mary should marry the English king Edward IV, who had driven Henry VI to exile in Scotland. Edward also intrigued with the exiled earl of Douglas and with John earl of Ross and lord of the Isles, and assigned to the latter and to Donald Balloch all the country north of the Forth, which John at once assumed to rule.

In 1463, however, Douglas was defeated on one of his raids, the earl of Angus, the chief Lancastrian supporter, died, and December 1st, 1463, Mary

of Guelders also died at the age of about thirty. This threw the power into the hands of the Yorkists, and Kennedy became the practical ruler. But he preserved the truce with Edward IV which had been arranged in 1463, and renewed it for fourteen years June 3rd, 1464.

Kennedy died, probably in July, 1465. He is rated as one of the great Catholic churchmen in Scottish history, and Major[a] said of him "Among our fellow countrymen I have found none who have done more signal public service than this prelate."

In the vacant place of Kennedy, there now rose a strange alliance of three men who made a bond of union February 10th, 1466, for mutual support in all exigencies, and for the control of the king and of patronage. These three were the lords Fleming and Kennedy (brother of the bishop), and Sir Alexander Boyd (brother of Lord Robert Boyd). Fleming asked only for the patronage, and any "large thing such as ward, relief, marriage, or office" falling to the crown was to be given to him in return for his leaving the young king in the power of the other two.

July 9th, 1466, the confederates kidnapped the king and took him to Edinburgh, where a parliament was summoned October 9th, and Boyd went through a farce of begging the king to confess that his removal from Linlithgow was at his own wish. The king so declared and appointed Boyd his guardian. The other members of the family now made large seizures of property, and Lord Robert Boyd's eldest son Thomas was in 1467 made earl of Arran and married to the king's sister Mary.[a]

THE ACQUISITION OF THE ORKNEY AND SHETLAND ISLANDS (1469 A.D.)

An important acquisition to the Scottish dominions was effected in this reign, feeble as it was. The Orkney Islands had as yet remained part of the Norwegian dominions, having been seized by that people in the ninth century. A large sum of money was due from Scotland to Denmark, being the arrears of the annual, as it was called, of Norway. This was the annuity of 100 marks, due to Norway as the consideration for the cession of the Hebrides, or Western Isles, settled by the treaty of 1264, entered into after Hakon's defeat at the battle of Largs. James I had obtained some settlement respecting this annuity; but it had been again permitted to fall into arrears, and the amount of the debt had become uncertain.

Under the influence of Charles VII of France there had been negotiations between Denmark and Scotland for the final arrangement of these claims, which were renewed in 1468. Boyd, the young earl of Arran, seems to have managed this treaty with considerable dexterity. It was finally agreed that James III should wed Margaret, a daughter of the king of Denmark, whom her father proposed to endow with a portion of 60,000 florins, of which 10,000 only were to be paid in ready money, and for security of the remainder the islands of Orkney were to be assigned in pledge. In addition to this, Denmark renounced all claim to the arrears of the annuity payable on account of the cession of the Hebrides, which seem to have been given up as an old, prescribed, and somewhat desperate claim. When the term for payment of the 10,000 florins arrived, Christian of Denmark found himself so short of money that he could only produce the fifth part of the sum, and for the rest an assignment of security over the archipelago of Shetland was offered and gladly accepted. Thus Scotland acquired a right of mortgage to the whole of these islands, constituting the ancient Thule, so important to her in every

point of view, and which, as we shall hereafter see, the crown of Denmark was never able to redeem.

While the earl of Arran was negotiating this national treaty, his influence with the king was undermined by those courtiers who envied his sudden elevation and the preference which James had displayed towards him and his family. When the earl arrived in the firth of Forth with the fleet which escorted the Danish princess to the shores where she was to reign, Arran's wife, the princess Mary, came on board to acquaint him that if he landed his life would be in danger. They fled together, therefore; and the new earl of Arran returned to Denmark, to seek refuge from the indignation of his fickle prince, for whom he had so lately achieved, in the same kingdom, such important negotiations. In the mean time the total ruin of his friends at home took place, almost without opposition, and the power of the house of Boyd was destroyed as speedily as it arose. It is vain to inquire why a weak prince should be as changeable as he was violent in his partialities.

Sentence of high treason was passed upon the Boyds for their aggression in 1466, though fully pardoned by a subsequent parliament. Sir Alexander Boyd suffered death; the lord Boyd escaped to England, where he died in poverty. The earl of Arran, who appears by his personal qualities to have merited the confidence which the king had so suddenly withdrawn, seems to have received but a cold welcome in Denmark. The princess Mary was separated from him and sent back to Scotland, on the demand, it may be presumed, of her royal brother; and her unfortunate husband, after wandering as an exile from one country to another, died, it is said, in Flanders. His death, or a divorce between him and the princess Mary obtained by the influence of James, gave an opportunity for forming a second marriage betwixt the king's sister and the Lord Hamilton,[1] the heir of a family which had been rising in influence and importance ever since the first lord of the name so opportunely embraced the cause of the king, in the grand struggle of James II with the house of Douglas. The princess had a family by both marriages; but Boyd's son and daughter died without heirs; while her son by Hamilton survived, so that in Queen Mary's time their descendant stood first in succession to the crown.

TREATY WITH ENGLAND (1474 A.D.)

In the parliament of 1469, held after the fall of the Boyds, we see the good sense of the people of Scotland displayed in an act declaring that every homicide who flees to sanctuary shall be taken forth and put to the judgment of an assize; "for to such manslayers of forethought felony," said the statute, "the law will not grant the immunity of the church."

The sceptre of France was now swayed by Louis XI, one of the most wise of princes and most worthless of men. He was aware of the importance of the Scottish league to the safety of France, as affording a ready means of annoyance against England. Edward IV of England became, on the other hand, sensible that it was better to acquire, if possible, the goodwill of his northern neighbours by friendly means, and thus secure his frontier at home. By a treaty entered into in 1474, it was agreed, that, in order to promote the mutual happiness, honour, and interest of this noble island, called Great Britain, a contract of marriage should be executed betwixt the prince of Scotland and

[1 In the union which he thus eagerly pressed, James little dreamed what trouble he was preparing for one of his descendants. From this second marriage sprung that claim of the Hamiltons which was a permanent source of disturbance throughout the reign of Mary Stuart. —Hume Brown.[k]]

Cecilia, daughter of the king of England, the former being only two, the latter four years old. A portion of 20,000 marks sterling was to be paid by annual instalments of 2,000 marks, to commence with the date of the contract. If the prince or princess named in the contract should die, it was agreed that another of the royal family to which the deceased party might belong should fill up his or her place in the contract. If such marriage did not take place, Scotland became bound to repay the sum of money advanced in manner aforesaid, under the deduction of 2,500 marks, which Edward agreed to abandon as a consideration paid for the friendship of Scotland at a critical period. By the same treaty the long truce of fifty-five years was affirmed and secured.

Edward IV was, however, too impetuous and too necessitous to continue long this expensive though secure course of policy. Three years' instalments of the proposed portion were paid with regularity; but Edward in the course of 1478 conceived he stood so well with France as might enable him to dispense with the expensive friendship of Scotland.

In the same year in which the treaty of marriage with England was fixed upon, the counsellors of James III resolved to proceed to check the power of John, lord of the Isles and titular earl of Ross, whose insubordination again had merited chastisement. After a show of resistance the island lord submitted himself [July 15th, 1476], and by an act of parliament was finally deprived of the earldom of Ross, which was annexed inalienably to the crown, with liberty to the kings to convey it as an appanage to their younger sons, but to no meaner subject.

James III had now attained his twenty-fifth year under circumstances of success which had attended no Scottish monarch since Robert Bruce. His kingdom was strengthened by the expulsion of the English from Roxburgh Castle and the town of Berwick, as well as by the acquisition of the Orkney and Shetland islands, the natural dependencies of Scotland. The country was relieved of the charge of the Norway annual, a burden it was incapable of discharging, and the increasing consequence of the nation was manifested by the contending offers of France and England for her favour and friendship. All these advantages indicate that James had, at this period of his reign, able ministers, by whom his counsels were directed. The chief of these probably was the chancellor, Andrew Stuart, Lord Evandale, whose importance was now so great that, in virtue of his office, he took rank next to the princes of the blood royal. He was a natural son of Sir James Stuart, son of Murdoch, duke of Albany.

In the mean time the unfortunate James began to disclose evil qualities and habits which his youth had hitherto concealed from observation. He had a dislike to the active sports of hunting and the games of chivalry, mounted on horseback rarely, and rode ill. A consciousness of these deficiencies, in what were the most approved accomplishments of the age, and a certain shyness which attends a timorous temper, rendered the king alike unfit and unwilling to mingle in the pleasures of his nobility, or to show himself to his subjects in the romantic pageants which were the delight of the age. James' amusements were of a character in which neither his peers nor people could share, and though to a certain extent they were innocent, and even honourable, they were yet such as, pushed to excess, must have necessarily interfered with the regular discharge of his royal duties. He was attached to what are now called the fine arts of architecture and music: and in studying these used the instructions of William Roger, an English musician, Thomas Cochrane, a mason or architect, and William Torphichen, a dancing-master. Another

of his domestic minions was Hommli [or Hommyle], a tailor, not the least important in the conclave, if we may judge from the variety and extent of the royal wardrobe, of which a voluminous catalogue is preserved.

JAMES' ENMITY TO HIS BROTHERS

The nation with disgust and displeasure saw the king disuse the society of the Scottish nobles, and abstain from their counsel, to lavish favours upon and be guided by the advice of a few whom the age termed base mechanics. In this situation, the public eye was fixed upon James' younger brothers, Alexander, duke of Albany, and John, earl of Mar. These princes were remarkable for the royal qualities which the king did not possess. Being naturally drawn into comparison with their brother, and extolled above him by the public voice, James seems to have become jealous of them, even on account of their possessing the virtues or endowments which he himself was conscious of wanting. It is too consonant with the practice of courts to suppose that Mar and Albany were not quiescent under this dishonourable suspicion and jealousy. It is probable that they intrigued with the other discontented nobles; with what purpose, or to what extent, cannot now be ascertained. Mar was accused of having inquired of pretended witches concerning the term of the king's life; a suspicious subject of inquiry, considering it was made by so near a relation; and the progress of Albany's life shows him capable of unscrupulous ambition.

The king, on his part, resorted to diviners and soothsayers to know his own future fate; and the answer (probably dictated by the favourite Cochrane) was, that he should fall by the means of his nearest of kin. The unhappy monarch, with a self-contradiction, one of the many implied in superstition, imagined that his brothers were the relations indicated by the oracle; and also imagined that his knowledge of their intentions might enable him to alter the supposed doom of fate. Albany and Mar were suddenly arrested, as the king's suspicions grew darker and more dangerous; and while the duke was confined in the castle of Edinburgh, Mar was committed to that of Craigmillar. Conscious, probably, that the king possessed matter which might afford a pretext to take his life, Albany resolved on his escape. He communicated his scheme to a faithful attendant, by whose assistance he intoxicated, or, as some accounts say, murdered the captain of the guard, and then attempted to descend from the battlements of the castle by a rope. His attendant made the essay first; but the rope being too short, he fell and broke his thigh-bone. The duke, warned by this accident, lengthened the rope with the sheets from his bed, and made the perilous descent in safety. He transported his faithful attendant on his back to a place of security, then was received on board a vessel which lay in the roads of Leith, and set sail for France, where he met a hospitable reception, and was maintained by the bounty of Louis XI.

Enraged at the escape of the elder of his captives, it would seem that James was determined to make secure of Mar, who remained. There occur no records to show that the unfortunate prince was subjected to any public trial; nor can it be known, save by conjecture, how far James III was accessory to the perpetration of his murder, which was said to be executed by bleeding the prisoner to death in a bath.[1] Several persons were at the same time condemned and executed for acts of witchcraft, charged as having been practised, at Mar's instance, against the life of the king.

[1 Hume Brown *k* thinks that the earl of Mar was not murdered, but died in prison.]

THE REBELLION OF ALBANY AND THE ENGLISH WAR (1482 A.D.)

About this time war broke out between the two sister countries of Britain, after an interval of peace of unusual duration. The blame may have originally lain with England, who had violated the articles of the last treaty, in discontinuing the stipulated payment of the princess Cecilia's portion; but the incursions of the Scots gave the first signal for actual hostilities. Wise regulations were laid down by the Scottish parliament [met at Edinburgh March 13th, 1482] for garrisoning, with hired soldiers, Berwick, the Hermitage castle, and other fortresses on the border, the expense to be defrayed from the public revenue. If Edward IV, who is discourteously termed the robber ["the revare, Edward, calland himself king of England"], should invade Scotland, it was appointed that the king should take the field, and that the whole nobles and commons should live or die with him. Edward IV on his part, desirous to obtain an advantage similar to that which had been gained by Edward I and Edward III, by means of the Baliol's claim to the Scottish throne, made proposals to the banished duke of Albany that he should set himself up as a competitor for his brother's throne. Whatever had been the specious virtue of Albany, it was of a kind easily seduced by temptation, and, like Baliol in similar circumstances, he hastened from France over to England, agreed to become king of Scotland under the patronage of Edward,[1] consented to resign the long-disputed question of the independence of his country, promised the abandonment of Berwick and other places on the border, and undertook to restore to his estate the banished earl of Douglas, who was to be a party in the projected invasion. Under this agreement, which was, however, kept strictly secret, the celebrated duke of Gloucester, afterwards King Richard III, was detached to the Scottish wars at the head of a considerable army, and Albany accompanied him.

The Scottish king had in the mean time assembled his army and set forward against the enemy. But there existed a spirit of disaffection among his nobility, which led to an unexpected explosion. Cochrane, the mason, the most able, or at least the most bold, of the king's plebeian favourites, had made so much money by accepting of bribes and selling his interest in the king's favour, that he was able to purchase from his master, James—who added avarice to the other vices of a grovelling and degraded spirit—the earldom of Mar. The insatiable extortioner amassed money by indirect means of every kind; and one mode which particularly affected the poor was the debasement of the coin of the realm, by mixing the silver with so much copper as entirely to destroy its value. This adulterated coin was called the "Cochrane-plack," and was so favourite a speculation of his that, having been told it would be one day called in, he answered scornfully, "Yes, on the day I am hanged," an unwitting prophecy, which was punctually accomplished.

The rank and state affected by the new earl of Mar only more deeply incensed the nobility, who considered their order as disgraced by the introduction of such a person. A band of three hundred men constantly attended the favourite, armed with battle-axes, and displaying his livery of white with black fillets. He himself used to appear in a riding suit of black velvet, his horn mounted with gold, and hung around his neck by a chain of the same metal. In this manner he joined the Scottish host.

The army had advanced from the capital as far as Lauder, when the

[1 By the treaty of Fotheringay, 1482, he agreed to call himself "Alexander, king of Scotland by the gyfte of the king of England."]

[1482 A.D.]

nobility, beginning to feel sensible of their power in a camp consisting chiefly of their own soldiers and feudal followers, resolved that they would meet together, and consult what measures were to be taken for the reform of the abuses of the commonwealth, having already in vain represented their grievances to the king.

The armed conclave was held in Lauder church, where, in the course of their deliberations, Lord Gray reminded them of the fable in which the mice are said to have laid a project for preventing the future ravages of the cat by tying a bell around her neck, which might make them aware of her approach. "An excellent proposal," said the orator, "but which fell unexpectedly to the ground, because none of the mice had courage enough to fasten the bell on the cat's neck." "I will bell the cat!" exclaimed Douglas, earl of Angus; from which he was ever afterwards called by the homely appellation of Archibald Bell-the-Cat. It was agreed that the king's favourites should be seized and put to death, and the king himself should be placed under some gentle restraint, until he should give satisfactory assurance of a change of measures.

One or two, deemed the most grave of the nobles, undertook to acquaint the king with their purpose; while the others, seizing the minions who were the objects of their violence, caused them to be hanged over the bridge of Lauder. Cochrane, when brought to the place of execution, showed how much a paltry love of show made part of his character. He made it his suit to be hanged in a silken cord, and offered to supply it from his own pavilion. This idle request only taught his stern auditors how to wound his feelings more deeply. "Thou shalt die," they said, "like a mean slave as thou art," and applied to the purpose of his execution a halter of horse-hair, as the most degrading means of death which they could invent. This execution was done with excessive applause on the part of the army. All the favourites of the weak prince perished, except [the tailor Hommyle, and] a youth called Ramsay of Balmain, who clung close to the king's person: James begged his life with so much earnestness, that the peers relented, and granted their sovereign's boon.

The consequences of this enterprise are very puzzling to the historian. The Scottish nobility seem to have retired with the determination not to oppose the English host in arms, expecting, probably, that they would be able to settle some accommodation by means of the duke of Albany. They were as yet ignorant of the disgraceful treaty which he had made with England, and hoped to have the advantage of his talents as a regent to direct the weak councils of his brother James. In the mean time they subjected the king to a mitigated imprisonment in Edinburgh Castle. It would seem that Albany, perceiving the Scottish nobles totally indisposed to admit his claim to the kingdom, was willing enough to accept the proposal of becoming lieutenant-general. That he might do so with the better grace Albany and the duke f Glou ster interceded with the Scottish lords for the liberation of the king. The nobles addressed the duke of Albany with much respect, and agreed to grant whatever he desired, acknowledging him to be, after James' children, the nearest of blood to the royal family. "But for that person who accompanies you," they continued, in allusion to the English prince, "we know nothing of him whatever, or by what right he presumes to talk to us upon our national affairs, and will pay no deference to his wishes, seeing he is entitled to none."

The English, however, gained one important advantage upon this occasion. The town of Berwick, which had been delivered up to the Scots by Henry VI, and possessed by them for nearly twenty years, was taken, August

24th, 1482, by the troops of Richard of Gloucester, and the castle being also yielded, this strong fortress and valuable sea-port never afterwards returned to the dominion of Scotland. In other respects the English sought no national advantage by the pacification.

James was in this manner restored to his liberty, and, either from fickleness of temper or profound dissimulation, appeared for a time to be so much attached to Albany, that he could not be separated from him for a moment. The concord of the royal brethren showed itself by some demonstrations which would seem strange at the present day. They rode together, on one occasion mounted on the same horse, from the castle of Edinburgh, along the principal street, down to the abbey of Holyrood, to the great joy and delectation of all good subjects. Every night, also, according to Ferrerius,[p] the king and Albany partook the same bed.

But this fraternal concord, which must have had from the beginning its source in a degree of affectation, did not long continue; and the predominant disposition of each prince disconcerted their union. The ambition of Albany would have alarmed the fears of a less timorous or suspicious man than James. It appears too plainly that the duke resumed his treasonable practices with the court of England [in a treaty dated February 11th, 1483], and it would seem that his intrigues were discovered, and that the greater part of the Scottish nobles, incensed at his perfidy, joined in expelling him from the government. [By a parliament which met June 27th, 1484] doom of forfeiture was pronounced against Albany, and he fled to England, having first, as the last act of treachery in his power, delivered up his castle of Dunbar to an English garrison, and thus, in so far as in him lay, exposed the frontiers of which he was the warden. The next year witnessed the battle of Lochmaberry, the event of a foray undertaken by Douglas and Albany into Annandale, in which Douglas was made prisoner,[1] and Albany obliged to fly for his life (July 22nd, 1485).

Richard III had now begun his brief and precarious reign. A short negotiation speedily arranged a truce with Scotland, September 21st, 1484, which might have had some endurance if the monarchs who made it had remained steady on their thrones. But James, when he felt himself uncontrolled in his sovereignty, used it, as his inclinations determined him, in founding expensive establishments for the cultivation of music, and in the erection of chapels and palaces in a peculiar species of architecture, in which the Gothic style was mingled with an imitation of the Grecian orders. To meet the expense of these buildings and foundations, and to gratify his natural love of amassing treasure, James watched and availed himself of every opportunity by which he could collect money; nor did he hesitate to appropriate to these favourite purposes funds which the haughty nobles were disposed to consider as perquisites of their own. A particular instance of this nature hurried on James's catastrophe.

In order to maintain the expenses of a double choir in the royal chapel of Stirling, the king ventured to apply to that purpose the revenues of the priory of Coldingham. The two powerful families of Home [Hume or Hoome] and Hepburn had long accounted this wealthy abbey their own property. The king's appropriation of the revenues which they had considered as destined to the advantage of their friends and clansmen disposed these haughty chiefs to seek revenge as men who were suffering oppression. The spirit of dis-

[1 "If ever subject deserved the death of a traitor, it was this last of the Black Douglases," says Hume Brown.[k] He died in prison, however, and Albany was killed by accident while witnessing a tournament in France in 1486.]

content spread fast among the southern barons, much influenced by the earl of Angus, a nobleman both hated and feared by the king, who could not be supposed to have forgotten the manner in which he had acquired his popular epithet of Bell-the-Cat. In the vain hope of controlling his discontented nobles, the king showed his fears more than his wisdom by prohibiting them to appear in court in arms, with the exception of Ramsay, whose life had been spared upon his entreaty at the execution of Lauder bridge. James had made this young man captain of his guard, and created him a peer, by the name of Lord Bothwell, under which title the new favourite had succeeded, if not to the whole power, at least to much of the unpopularity of Cochrane, whose fate he had so nearly shared.

A NEW REVOLT AND THE DEATH OF JAMES III (1488 A.D.)

A league was now formed against James, which was daily increased by fresh adherents till it ended in a rebellion which could be compared to no similar insurrection in Scottish history save that of the Douglas in the preceding reign.

The fate of James III was not yet determined, notwithstanding this powerful combination. He had on his side the northern barons, and was at least as powerful as his father had been at the siege of Abercorn. But he had not his father's courage, or the sage counsels of Bishop Kennedy. The malcontents, instead of attending the king's summons to court, withdrew to the southward, and raised their banners in open insurrection. James, unnerved by his fears, repaired to the more northern regions, in which the strength of his adherents lay, and by the assistance of Athol, Crawford, Lindsay of the Byres, Ruthven, and other powerful chiefs of the east and north, assembled a considerable army. The insurgent lords advanced to the southern shores of the Forth.

During some indecisive skirmishes, and equally indecisive negotiations, the associated nobles contrived to get into their hands the king's eldest son, the duke of Rothesay, by the treachery of Shaw of Sauchie, his governor. This gave a colour to their enterprise which was of itself almost decisive of success. They erected the royal standard of Scotland in opposition to its monarch, and boldly proclaimed that they were in arms in behalf of the youthful prince, whose unnatural father intended to put him to death and to sell the country to the English.

The king retired upon Stirling; but the faithless Shaw, who had betrayed the prince to the rebel lords, completed his treachery by refusing James' access to the castle of that town. In a species of despair the king turned southward, like a stag brought to bay, with the purpose of meeting his enemies in conflict. The battle took place at Sauchieburn, June 11th, 1488, not far from Falkirk, where Wallace was defeated, and yet nearer to the memorable field of Bannockburn, where Bruce triumphed. At the first encounter the archers of the king's army had some advantage. But the Annandale men, whose spears were of unusual length, charged, according to their custom, with loud yells, and bore down the left wing of the king's forces. James, who was already dispirited from seeing his own banner and his own son brought in arms against him, and who remembered the prophecy of the witch, that he should fall by his nearest of kin, on hearing the cries of the border-men lost courage entirely, and turned his horse for flight. [His sword was found on the field.] As he fled at a gallop through the hamlet of Milltown, his charger, a fiery animal, presented to him on that very morning by Lindsay

of the Byres, took fright at the sight of a woman engaged in drawing water at a well, and threw to the ground his timid and inexperienced rider. The king was borne into the mill, where he was so incautious as to proclaim his name and quality. The consequence was, that some of the rebels who followed the chase entered the hut and stabbed him to the heart.[d]

Though it is in some contradiction with the relations of Buchanan[m] and Ferrerius,[p] we give the story of Lindsay of Pitscottie, retaining in part its quaint language and spelling.[a]

PITSCOTTIE'S ACCOUNT OF THE DEATH OF JAMES III

The king fell aff his horse before the mill door of Bannockburne, and so was brused with the fall, being heavie in armour, that he fell in ane deadlie swoon: And the miller and his wife haled him into the mill, and not knowing quhat he was, cast him up in a nook, and covered him with a cloth; while at the last the kingis host, knawing that he was fled, debated themselves manfully, and knowing that they were borderers and thieves that dealt with



West Front of St. Andrews

them, therefore they had the more courage to defend themselves. Nevertheless, they retired and fled in guid ordour quhill they came to the Torwood, and there debated long time till the night came, and fled away as quyetlie as they might, and part passed to Stirling. But their enemies, on the other side, followed them very sharply, so that there was many taken, hurt, and slain of them. As the kingis enemies were retiring back, the king himself was overcome lying in the mill, and cryed if there was a priest to make his confessioun. The miller and his wife hearing his words, inquyred of him quhat man he was, and what was his name.

He happened to say, unhappilie: "This day at morne I was your king." Then the milleris wife clapped her hands, and ran forth and cried for a priest. In the meantime ane priest was cvming by; sum says he was my lord Grayes servant;[1] quho answered and said, "here am I ane priest, quhere is the king?" Then the miller's wife took the priest by the hand and led him in at the mill

[1 This priest in Lord Gray's service was said to be named Borthwick.]

[1488 A.D.]

door, and how soon as the priest saw the king he knew him incontinent, and kneilled doun on his knies, and inquired of the king's grace if he might live if he had good leech-ment: he answered him he trowed he might, but he would have had a priest to tak his adwyce, and to give him his sacrament. The priest answered, "That sall I do haistilie"—and pulled out a whinger [dirk] and strak him four or fyve tymes evin to the heart, and syne got him on his back and had him away. But no man knew quhat he did with him, nor where he buried him. Nor no trail of the king was gotten a month thereafter. This battle was fought on the eighth day of June, in the yeir of God 1488 yeires.

This may be an example to all kings that come hereafter, not to fall from God, and to ground themselves upon the vaine sayings and illusiones of devillis and sorcereris, as this feible king did, quhilk pat him in suspitioun of his nobilitie, and to murther and exyll his awin native brother. For, if he had used the counsall of his wyse lords and barons, he had not come to sick disparatioun, nor suspitione, quhilk he was moved to take be vaine and vicked persones, quhilk brought him to a mischievous end. Therefore we pray all godly kings to take example by him, and to fear God, and to use wyse and godlie counsall, having respect to their high calling, and to doe justice to all men.[q]

TYTLER'S ESTIMATE OF JAMES III

A body ascertained to be that of James was afterwards found in the neighbourhood, and interred with royal honours beside his queen, in the abbey of Cambuskenneth. Thus perished in the prime of life, and the victim of a conspiracy headed by his own son, James III of Scotland; a prince whose character appears to have been misrepresented and mistaken by writers of two very different parties, and whose real disposition is to be sought for neither in the mistaken aspersions of Buchanan,[m] nor in the vague and indiscriminate panegyric of some later authors. Buchanan, misled by the attacks of a faction, whose interest it was to paint the monarch whom they had deposed and murdered as weak, unjust, and abandoned to low pleasures, has exaggerated the picture by his own prejudices and antipathies; other writers, amongst whom Abercromby[r] is the most conspicuous, have, with an equal aberration from the truth, represented him as almost faultless.

That James had any design, similar to that of his able and energetic grandfather, of raising the kingly power upon the ruins of the nobility, is an assertion not only unsupported by authentic testimony, but contradicted by the facts which are already before the reader. That he was cruel or tyrannical is an unfounded aspersion, ungraciously proceeding from those who had experienced his repeated lenity, and who, in the last fatal scenes of his life, abused his ready forgiveness to compass his ruin. That he murdered his brother is an untruth, emanating from the same source, contradicted by the highest contemporary evidence, and abandoned by his worst enemies as too ridiculous to be stated at a time when they were anxiously collecting every possible accusation against him. Yet it figures in the classical pages of Buchanan;[m] a very convincing proof of the slight examination which that great man was accustomed to bestow upon any story which coincided with his preconceived opinions, and flattered his prejudices against monarchy.

Equally unfounded was that imputation, so strongly urged against this prince by his insurgent nobles, that he had attempted to accomplish the perpetual subjection of the realm to England. His brother Albany had truly done so; and the original records of his negotiations, and of his homage sworn

to Edward, remain to this day, although we in vain look for an account of this extraordinary intrigue in the pages of the popular historians. In this attempt to destroy the independence of the kingdom, it is equally certain that Albany was supported by a great proportion of the nobility, who now rose against the king, and whose names appear in the contemporary muniments of the period; but we in vain look in the pages of the *Fœdera*,[8] or in the rolls of Westminster and the Tower, for an atom of evidence to show that James, in his natural anxiety for assistance against a rebellion of his own subjects, had ceased for a moment to treat with Henry VII as an independent sovereign. So far, indeed, from this being the case, we know that at a time when conciliation was necessary, he refused to benefit himself by sacrificing any portion of his kingdom, and insisted on the re-delivery of Berwick with an obstinacy which in all probability disgusted the English monarch, and rendered him lukewarm in his support.

James' misfortunes, in truth, are to be attributed more to the extraordinary circumstances of the times in which he lived than to any very marked defects in the character or conduct of the monarch himself, although both were certainly far from blameless. At this period, in almost every kingdom in Europe with which Scotland was connected, the power of the great feudal nobles and that of the sovereign had been arrayed in jealous and mortal hostility against each other. The time appeared to have arrived in which both parties seemed convinced that they were on the very confines of a great change, and that the sovereignty of the throne must either sink under the superior strength of the greater nobles, or the tyranny and independence of these feudal tyrants receive a blow from which it would not be easy for them to recover.

In this struggle another remarkable feature is to be discerned. The nobles, anxious for a leader, and eager to produce some counterpoise to the weight of the king's name and authority, generally attempted to seduce the heir apparent, or some one of the royal family, to favour their designs, bribing him to dethrone his parent or relation by the promise of placing him immediately upon the vacant throne.

In the struggle in Scotland, which ended by the death of the unfortunate monarch, it is important to observe, that although the pretext used by the barons was the resistance to royal oppression and the establishment of liberty, the middle classes and the great body of the people took no share. They did not side with the nobles, whose efforts on this occasion were entirely selfish and exclusive. On the contrary, so far as they were represented by the commissaries of the burghs who sat in parliament, they joined the party of the king and the clergy, by whom very frequent efforts were made to introduce a more effectual administration of justice, and a more constant respect for the rights of individuals and the protection of property.

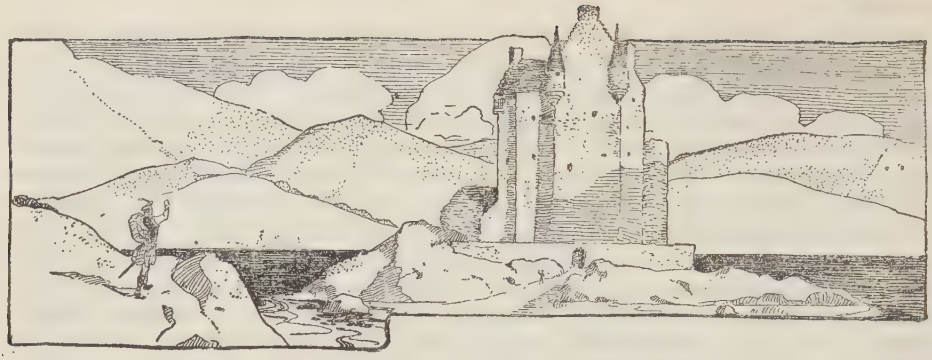
James' great fault seems to have been a devotion to studies and accomplishments which, in this rude and warlike age, were deemed unworthy of his rank and dignity. He was an enthusiast in music, and took great delight in architecture, and the construction of splendid and noble palaces and buildings; he was fond of rich and gorgeous dresses, and ready to spend large sums in the encouragement of the most skilful and curious workers in gold and steel; and the productions of these artists, their inlaid armour, massive gold chains, and jewelled-hilted daggers, were purchased by him at high prices, whilst they themselves were admitted, if we believe the same writers, to an intimacy and friendship with the sovereign which disgusted the nobility.

The true account of this was, probably, that James received these ingenious

artisans into his palace, where he gave them employment, and took pleasure in superintending their labours—an amusement for which he might have pleaded the example of some of the wisest and most popular sovereigns. But the barons, for whose rude and unintellectual society the monarch showed little predilection, returned the neglect with which they were unwisely treated by pouring contempt and ridicule upon the pursuits to which he was devoted. Cochrane, the architect, whose genius in an art which, in its higher branches, is eminently intellectual, had raised him to favour with the king, was stigmatised as a low mason. Rogers, whose musical compositions were fitted to refine and improve the barbarous taste of the age, and whose works were long after highly esteemed in Scotland, was ridiculed as a common fiddler or buffoon; and other artists, whose talents had been warmly encouraged by the sovereign, were treated with the same indignity. It would be absurd, however, from the evidence of such interested witnesses, to form our opinion of the true character of his favourites, as they have been termed, or of the encouragement which they received from the sovereign. To the Scottish barons of this age Phidias would have been but a marble-cutter, and Apelles no better than the artisan who stained their oaken wainscot.

The error of the king lay, not so much in the encouragement of ingenuity and excellence, as in the indolent neglect of those duties and cares of government, which were in no degree incompatible with his patronage of the fine arts. Had he possessed the energy and powerful intellect of his grandfather —had he devoted the greater portion of his time to the administration of justice, to a friendly intercourse with his feudal nobles, and a strict and watchful superintendence of their conduct in the offices intrusted to them, he might safely have employed his leisure in any way most agreeable to him. Nothing can justify the king's inattention to the cares of government, and the recklessness with which he shut his ears to the complaints and remonstrances of his nobility; but that he was cruel, unjust, or unforgiving—that he was a selfish and avaricious voluptuary—or that he drew down upon himself, by these dark portions of his character, the merited execration and vengeance of his nobles, is a representation founded on no authentic evidence, and contradicted by the uniform history of his reign and of his misfortunes.

By his queen, Margaret, daughter of Christian, king of Denmark, James left a family of three children, all of them sons: James, his successor; a second son, also named James, created marquis of Ormonde, and who afterwards became archbishop of St. Andrews; and John, earl of Mar, who died without issue. The king was eminently handsome; his figure was tall, athletic, and well-proportioned; his countenance combined intelligence with sweetness, and his deep brown complexion and black hair resembled the hue rather of the warmer climates of the south than that which we meet in colder latitudes. His manners were dignified, but somewhat cold and distant, owing to his reserved and secluded habits of life. He was murdered in the thirty-fifth year of his age and the twenty-eighth of his reign.[c]



CHAPTER IX

JAMES IV AND FLODDEN FIELD

[1488–1513 A.D.]

> The period covered by the reign of James IV was one of the most important in the history of western Europe since the introduction of Christianity. During these years began what is distinctively known as modern Europe in contradistinction to the Middle Age which preceded it. By many of his qualities James IV was peculiarly fitted to rule men in such a time of transition. In the case of the two most important actions of his reign we shall see that it was in the teeth of all that nobles and commons could urge that he carried out a policy which gratified his own whims at such terrible cost to his people. Thus master of his own kingdom, he was able, in spite of its comparative insignificance, to make it a real force in the rivalries of the greater European powers.—HUME BROWN.[b]

THE flight of James III had decided the battle of Sauchieburn which proved so fatal to him, and the lords of his party were suffered to withdraw towards Stirling without any vigorous pursuit, while the victors passed the night on the field. When intelligence was brought to the camp of the manner of the king's death, it is said that the prince was overwhelmed with grief and remorse, which, however, were soon forgotten amid the pomp and ceremony of his accession to the throne. The day after the battle the victors fell back upon Linlithgow and dismissed their army, and the first act of the new king was to reward those who had supported his cause. On this very day, the 12th of June, 1488, grants of lands were made to the Humes and Hepburns, who had been among the most powerful of the prince's supporters.

After the interment of the late king the court removed to Perth, and James IV was crowned, with the usual ceremonies, in the abbey of Scone on the 26th of June. The new king there committed the privy seal to the keeping of the prior of St. Andrews. James had before his elevation to the throne formed an attachment to the beautiful Margaret Drummond, the daughter of Lord Drummond, and her father, baser in his subserviency even than the other courtiers, encouraged an intimacy so dishonourable to his family.

One of the first cares of the new government was to examine the foreign relations of the kingdom, which were likely to be considerably shaken by a revolution of so violent a character. An embassy was sent to Henry VII of England, and a truce for three years was concluded between the two coun-

[1488–1490 A.D.]

tries. Parliament assembled at Edinburgh on the 4th of September, 1488. After the first preliminaries the persons charged with treason, including all who had borne arms on the late king's side in the field of Stirling, were summoned to appear and defend themselves. One great object of these proceedings was to throw the blame of the late rebellion,[1] and especially of the king's death, upon the party who had supported the crown, and, by a strange perversion of terms, the men who had supported the reigning monarch against his insurgent subjects were described as rebels and traitors. They were accused, singularly enough, of having attempted to bring into the kingdom their enemies of England and to reduce the crown of Scotland to a dependence on that country; and of having advised the late king repeatedly to break the agreements which he had made with his nobles. The earl of Buchan made a confession of guilt, and threw himself upon the king's mercy, in return for which he was pardoned and taken into favour. Ramsay, Lord Bothwell, the late king's favourite, who had escaped out of the kingdom, failing to appear, was condemned and his estates confiscated. The latter were given to the lord Hailes, who was made an earl. By another act, all grants signed by the late king since the 2nd of February, when the prince took the field in arms against his father, were revoked, because, as it was pretended, they were made for the assistance of the treasonable faction which had been enemies to the realm and to the present king.

The parliament was prorogued from time to time, holding, in fact, four different sessions. An attempt was made to restore order throughout the realm, and put an end to the practice of murder and robbery which then prevailed, by dividing the kingdom into districts, each of which was intrusted to the care of certain barons, who promised, on their oath, to do their utmost to detect and bring to punishment all offenders. Other laws were passed, providing for the better administration of justice, for the regulation and improvement of the commerce and coinage of the realm, and for putting a check on the practice of purchasing at the court of Rome presentations to benefices in Scotland.

THE NAVAL VICTORIES OF SIR ANDREW WOOD (1489–1490 A.D.)

Some naval successes occurred at this time to throw lustre on the commencement of the young king's reign. Sir Andrew Wood, a naval officer of great talent and experience, had distinguished himself in several actions against the English during the reign of James III, his known faithfulness to whom is said to have been a matter of considerable embarrassment to the prince and the nobles of his party after their victory at Sauchieburn. Although he refused to acknowledge the new government, Sir Andrew was still active in the service of his country, and successfully protected the coasts against the piratical attacks of the English cruisers, who, unauthorised by their own government, took advantage of the domestic troubles in Scotland to attack the Scottish merchant and fishing vessels, and even plundered some of the smaller coast towns.

In the February of the year 1490 a fleet of five English piratical ships entered the Clyde, and not only plundered the merchant ships, but gave chase to a vessel belonging to the king, and drove it into Dumbarton. The young king, provoked at this insult, again invited Sir Andrew Wood on shore,

[1] The rebels voted themselves "innocent, white, and free" of all guilt in the late king's death.]

and appealed to his patriotism, pointing out the danger and disgrace incurred by the whole nation in thus allowing a few ships to insult their coasts.

From this moment Wood appears to have given his entire support to the young monarch. He undertook at once to attack the pirates, and when the courtiers recommended him to provide himself with a more numerous fleet, he replied with some pride that the two ships he had—the *Flower* and the *Yellow Carvel*—were enough for him. He immediately spread his sails, and finding the five English ships at anchor off the town of Dunbar, he captured them all after a desperate action, and bringing his prizes into Leith, presented their five captains to the king.

Sir Andrew Wood now became a favourite with the king, who began to show an extraordinary taste for naval architecture. King Henry, though he was unwilling to break the truce, had been heard to express his wish that some one would reduce the pride of the Scottish sailors. Wood had been sent, for some purpose or other, to the coast of Flanders, and an enterprising merchant of London, named Stephen Bull, determined to intercept the Scottish commander on his return. Bull fitted out three good ships, and cast anchor behind the May, a small island off the mouth of the Forth, where he watched for the return of the two Scottish ships of war.

The *Flower* and the *Yellow Carvel* found themselves unexpectedly in the presence of a formidable enemy Sir Andrew had barely time to prepare for action when, as he approached, the English ships opened their fire upon him; the Scottish ships closed with the English, and lashed them together with cables. A desperate combat followed, which although it began early in the morning, at the approach of night was still undecided. At the return of day the trumpets were sounded as the signal for renewing the combat, and they continued to fight with so much resolution that, unconsciously, they allowed themselves to drift with the tide into the mouth of the Tay.

Here the shore on each side was soon covered with crowds of people, shouting and gesticulating to encourage their countrymen. Victory at length decided in favour of Sir Andrew Wood, who captured the three English vessels, which he carried into Dundee. Thence he proceeded to court, and presented the English commander to the king. James generously set all prisoners at liberty, and sent them back to England, with an earnest remonstrance to King Edward on the depredations of his subjects. Wood rose to the highest degree of favour, and the king kept him much about his person at court as his instructor in naval matters, and rewarded him with grants of lands.

THE RESTORATION OF ORDER

This battle was gained on the 10th of August, 1490. The victory was the more welcome, because it came almost at the same moment that James gained a signal success over the lords who had risen up in arms against him. The vigorous conduct of the faction which had raised the king to the throne, and the unscrupulous use they had made of their power, did not entirely discourage their opponents. Two nobles who had hitherto acted with the party in power, but who are supposed to have been disappointed in their expectations of reward, the earl of Lennox and the lord Lisle, began the revolt.

Lord Forbes, another of the insurgent nobles, marched about with the king's shirt, all bloody and torn with the blows that had caused his death, displayed on the end of a spear, which was thus exhibited through Aberdeen and the chief towns of the adjacent counties. The public were excited by this exhibition, and by the exhortations with which it was accompanied;

and the overgrown power of the Hepburns, with the overbearing conduct of Lord Drummond and his sons, who presumed on the influence of Margaret Drummond over the king, to commit great disorders, were themes which the opponents of the existing government turned to the utmost advantage. The king lost no time in proceeding against the northern rebels, and within a very short period the revolt was entirely suppressed.

Most of those engaged in it were pardoned, and the leaders were soon afterwards taken into favour. "Thus," says Buchanan,[c] "in a short time, all parties being reconciled, jocund peace and universal tranquillity ensued; and, as if fortune had become handmaid to the king's virtues, a plentiful harvest followed, and a golden season seemed to have arisen after the more than iron age. The king, however, when he had repressed public robberies by arms, and other vices by the severities of the laws, lest he should be thought to be a severe avenger to others, and too indulgent to himself, in order to show openly that his father was put to death against his desire, bound an iron chain around his body, to which he added a link every year during his life."

An embassy had been sent to France and other courts to seek a bride for the youthful monarch. Another embassy was sent to Denmark, to renew the friendly relations with that country, in 1492, and the archbishop of St. Andrews went to England, and an amicable arrangement was soon after made with King Henry for the regulation of the borders and the prolongation of the truce [by the Treaty of Coldstream, October, 1488].

A parliament was held at Edinburgh in the summer of 1493, which was occupied with measures of resistance to the encroachments of the court of Rome in regard to ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

James determined to consolidate his kingdom by reducing the Highland clans to a more regular form of government than any to which they had hitherto submitted. To give greater effect to his plans, he made frequent visits to the Highlands, and accustomed his subjects in the north to the presence of their sovereign. He thus proceeded twice in the year 1490 from Perth across the mountains to the head of Loch Rannoch; he also made two visits to the Highlands in 1493, penetrating to Dunstaffnage and Mingarry; and in 1494 he thrice visited the Isles.

These progresses were attended with the most salutary effects. The wild people of the north, unaccustomed to the pageantry of the court, were now taught to look with respect on the crown; and the rapidity of the king's movements, the ease with which he penetrated into their mountain wilds, the success with which he proceeded against those who resisted, and the generosity with which he rewarded his friends, produced everywhere a ready submission to his will. The lord of the Isles was the only one whose great power encouraged him to offer serious resistance, and he was cited before a parliament at Edinburgh in 1493, and having been condemned of high treason, was deprived of his possessions, which were forfeited to the crown.

JAMES IV SUPPORTS PERKIN WARBECK

While James was thus restoring order and peace at home, his foreign relations were gradually assuming a more hostile character. He knew that Henry VII had given his countenance to conspiracies against his crown, and he was not unwilling to retaliate by giving his secret support to those who attempted to overthrow the government then established in England. Mutual suspicions increased the estrangement between the two princes, until at length, when the mysterious conspiracy of Perkin Warbeck led to an open attack on

the English monarch, James did not hesitate publicly to give it his support. It is supposed that the king of Scots had been in the secret of this plot long before the impostor was brought forward on the stage, and there can be no doubt that he had long been engaged in intimate correspondence with the duchess of Burgundy, the inveterate enemy of Henry VII, and the chief fosterer of Warbeck's plot.

When this impostor was in Ireland King James held open communication with him, and formally acknowledged him as duke of York; and when, in the November of 1494, the king received intelligence from Flanders that the pretended prince would visit Scotland, he made preparations for receiving him in the most honourable manner. James and the Scots in general seem to have been perfectly convinced that Warbeck was the person he pretended to be, and he was everywhere treated as the duke of York, and, among other favours, the king gave him in marriage his cousin, the beautiful Catherine Gordon, a daughter of the earl of Huntley. He was allowed to state his case before the king's council, and it was determined that he should be assisted in making war on his enemy, the usurper King Henry.[a]

Warbeck agreed to restore Berwick to Scotland when he was seated on the throne, and James led an invasion into Northumberland, September 20th, 1496. As described in our history of England, the people refused to rise in Warbeck's favour, and James was disgusted at the pretender's own mildness in his treatment of the recalcitrant populace whom he hoped to rule. Accordingly, James returned to Scotland and signed the Truce of Ayton with England, September, 1497, leaving Warbeck to pursue his own vicissitudes till their end on the gallows of Tyburn.[a]

PEACEFUL RELATIONS WITH ENGLAND; THE KING MARRIES THE PRINCESS MARGARET (1499–1503 A.D.)

As King James advanced in years he gained in the love of his subjects and of his nobility. The latter, accustomed under two monarchs to be treated with suspicious jealousy, and often with stern hostility, seem to have rejoiced in a king whose prejudices were in their favour, and to have been willing at last to remain in tranquillity. James possessed many qualities which rendered him popular among his subjects of the middle and inferior classes. Generous and open in his manners, and fond of gaiety and mixing with the world, he, at the same time, partook in many of the more refined tastes[1] of his father.

The reign of James IV was the golden age of the old Scottish literature, and boasts of such names as Dunbar and Gawain Douglas; but James' favourite pursuits were architecture and navigation. He lived in an age when wonderful discoveries of distant lands had drawn the attention of the wise and learned to the sea, and when the princes of Christendom began to be more than ever anxious for the possession of powerful fleets. Scotland could hardly be said to possess a royal fleet when the king ascended the throne, yet among her merchants and traders were many able and enterprising seamen, among whom we need only mention Sir Andrew Wood of Largo, Andrew and John Barton, Sir Alexander Mathison, and William Merrimouth of Leith. These men the king liked to have about his person, and under their directions he applied himself with great ardour to the study of naval affairs. He went out on short experimental voyages; mixed with

[1 The Spanish envoy Ayala[e] called James an excellent historian and a linguist, but Buchanan[c] makes him out "illiterate after the vice of his time."]

the seamen and sailors; encouraged them with rewards and presents, and flattered their commanders by visiting them familiarly in their houses. Above all things, he paid attention to gunnery, and he not only prided himself on his train of artillery, but he practised with it himself.

King Henry's policy towards Scotland had been pacific in the extreme, and had been met with no unfriendly feeling by James, who was influenced by the intervention of Spain. Pedro de Ayala, the Spanish envoy at the court of England, had proceeded to Scotland in the year 1497 with a missive to King James from his sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella, and he soon acquired so much influence over the prince to whom he was thus accredited, that he was appointed his principal commissioner in the negotiations with England. The result of these negotiations was the truce of seven years, concluded, as we have seen, at Ayton, on the 30th of September, 1497, and it was soon afterwards agreed that this truce should continue during the lives of the two monarchs, and for a year after the death of the survivor.

Soon afterwards Ayala left Scotland, and James, no longer influenced by his counsels, seems to have been less earnest in his pacific negotiations, which were interrupted by the circumstances just related. They were now renewed with increased confidence, and the English king having sent his vice-admiral, Ryder, as ambassador to the Scottish court, the truce was finally signed at Stirling on the 20th of July, 1499.

This important matter being arranged, King Henry sought with a wise policy to cement the alliance between the two countries by a new tie. A proposal had been made long before for a marriage between King James and King Henry's eldest daughter, the princess Margaret, which had met with the approbation of the wisest statesmen of both countries; but different circumstances, combined with the tender age of the lady, and James' attachment to Margaret Drummond, had interrupted the negotiations on this subject. They were now, however, renewed, and James' nobles, fearful perhaps of the influence of the mistress combined with the king's impetuous temper, warmly recommended the union.

Commissioners on the part of the two kings held repeated meetings and consultations, the result of which was that the king and the princess were betrothed in the year 1500, although the marriage treaty was not finally signed till the 24th of January, 1503. It was stipulated in this treaty, that as the princess Margaret had not yet completed her twelfth year, her father should not be obliged to send her to Scotland before the 1st day of September, 1503; and within fifteen days after her arrival there King James was bound to espouse her. The usual arrangements were made as to the income to be settled on the queen, and the dowry to be paid with her.

It is supposed that the slowness with which the negotiations had been carried on was principally caused by the opposition of the Drummonds; but the influence on which they relied was suddenly broken by a domestic tragedy, which, though involved in the deepest mystery, we can hardly help connecting with the jealousy of the Scottish nobles. While the treaty of marriage with England had not yet received the royal signature, and James seemed unaccountably backward in giving it, the lady Margaret Drummond and her two sisters, Euphemia and Sibyila, who were then at Drummond Castle, were suddenly seized with illness after a repast, and died in great agony, with all the symptoms of having been poisoned. The circumstances of their death seem to have been studiously concealed, and their bodies were hastily removed to Dunblane and there buried immediately, without any

further inquiry. After this occurrence no further delay appears to have taken place in the preparations for the English marriage.

The chain was now broken with which James had so long been bound, and he prepared eagerly for his marriage. At the beginning of August, 1503, the princess Margaret proceeded to Scotland, in charge of the earl of Surrey. She was now fourteen years old, while James had reached his thirty-first year. When Margaret reached Newbattle, only a few miles short of Edinburgh, James himself came to meet her. We are told by a contemporary writer that the king flew to Newbattle, like a bird that seeks its prey, and that, entering her chamber, he found her playing at cards. After the first familiar salutation, he entertained her by his performance on the clavichord and lute. When he departed he leaped on his fine courser without putting his foot in the stirrup, and set off at full speed, leaving his train far behind him. Perceiving, however, that the earl of Surrey had come out to greet him, he turned back and saluted the earl barehead. At his next visit, the queen exhibited her musical skill, while he listened with bended knee. On another occasion, the king came with a retinue of forty horse, while he rode himself on a mule. Everything was done to show the ardour of a youthful lover, eager to throw himself at the feet of the mistress of his heart.

When at length the princess Margaret left Dalkeith to proceed to the capital, James met her half way, mounted on a bay horse trapped with gold, he and his attendants riding, to use the phrase of the old writer, as if after a hare. When they reached the suburbs of Edinburgh the princess descended from her litter, and mounted upon a pillion behind the king, and they thus rode through the streets of the city to the palace, amid the acclamations of the populace. On the 8th of August the marriage was solemnised in the abbey church of Holyrood, by the archbishop of St. Andrews. The days were passed in tournaments and similar pageantry, in which the king distinguished himself by his strength and martial skill.

THE SCOTCH NAVY; THE CONQUEST OF DONALD DHU

The numerous attendance of foreigners at James' wedding showed the high respect which he had already gained abroad. Indeed, but a few months had passed since the Scottish king had been enabled to send a strong auxiliary force to assist the king of Denmark against the revolted Norwegians, in 1502. He was enabled to give effective assistance to his northern ally and kinsman by the excellence of his fleet, for the improvement and perfection of which he never ceased to labour.

Among the ships he was now building was one to which he gave the name of the *Great St. Michael*, which far exceeded in magnitude any that had previously been made in western Europe. The dimensions of this huge vessel are given by Pitscottie,[1] who tells us that in his days they were preserved at Tullibardine, "planted in hawthorn, the length and breadth, by the wright that helped to make her." She was two hundred and forty feet long, and thirty-six wide within the sides, which were ten feet thick. We are told that, in building this vessel, all the oak woods of Fife, except Falkland, were used up, besides what was brought from Norway.

While the king was rendering himself popular in the south, the spirit of revolt had again shown itself in the north. We have already mentioned James' personal visits to the Highlands in the early part of his reign, and the success which attended them. At the close of the century, for some reason with which we are unacquainted, his policy towards the Highlanders was

suddenly changed, and in place of his former moderation, he became oppressive and unjust. He summarily revoked charters which he had granted himself, and, having appointed the earl of Argyll his lieutenant, he gave him authority to lease out nearly the whole lordship of the Isles. The old landholders were expelled ignominiously from the possessions of their forefathers, which were given to enrich the supporters of the king's policy and measures.

At this time (in 1502) Donald Dhu, the grandson of John lord of the Isles, had been shut up a close prisoner in the castle of Inchconnal for forty years, and the men of the Isles, who, in spite of the illegitimacy of his birth, looked upon him as the true heir of Ross and Innisgail, determined to set him at liberty, and proclaim him their king. The Mac-Ians of Glencoe led the insurrection, and having surprised the castle of Inchconnal, they carried Donald Dhu in triumph to Torquil Macleod's castle, in the isle of Lewis. This exploit was the signal for a general revolt of the fierce population of these districts, who overran Badenoch with fire and sword, and burned the town of Inverness.

James was well aware of the dangerous confederacy which had been formed in the north, and he instantly called forth the military array of the kingdom. The supreme command of this army was afterwards intrusted to the earl of Arran. All the king's improvements in ships and artillery were brought to bear upon the northerns, and produced a proportionate impression.

It was now especially that James felt the importance of his fleet. A small squadron, under Sir Andrew Wood and another of his ablest seamen, Robert Barton, proceeded to the Isles, and the king, who was preparing an attack on the turbulent clans of Eskdale and Teviotdale, accompanied them as far as Dumbarton. The rebellion was thus soon appeased, and the chiefs who had supported the crown were rendered still more loyal by liberal grants of the confiscated lands.

In the midst of these proceedings, between the breaking out of this northern insurrection and the sending of the fleet, James had called a parliament to give force to his measures of repression. This parliament met at Edinburgh on the eleventh of March, 1504, and proceeded at once to pass a variety of acts, the direct object of which was the reformation and civilisation of the Highlands. Other steps were taken by this parliament for facilitating the administration of justice throughout the kingdom. It appears that much confusion and delay of justice occurred in the court of the lords of the session, from the great accumulation of cases, for the relief of which a court of daily council was appointed, the judges of which were to be appointed by the king, and they were to hold their sittings in Edinburgh.

An act was passed restricting the granting of comprehensive pardons, under which persons guilty of great crimes had been accustomed to purchase impunity. Various other laws were made at this time for protecting agriculture, for regulating the letting of lands, and for equalising weights and measures. It was finally declared that all barons or freeholders, whose annual revenue was less than a hundred marks, might absent themselves from the meeting of the three estates, provided they sent their procurators to answer for them; but that those whose income exceeded that sum should be obliged to attend, a law which affected the constitution of the parliament itself.

This parliament was followed, as we have already stated, by the expedition against the Highlanders, on his return from which the king marched with his powerful army to punish the borderers for their plundering propensities. He had first sent a messenger to the English king, requesting his co-operation

in the task of purging the borders of thieves, who disturbed the peace of both kingdoms, and accordingly the English warden, Lord Dacre, was ordered to repair to James's headquarters at Lochmaben. This "raid of Eskdale," as it was called, was long remembered on the border for the summary justice which was executed upon multitudes of turbulent marauders. Scarcely a month had passed after this expedition when James found it necessary to make another progress in the north, by way of Scone, Forfar, Aberdeen, and Elgin, as far as Forres, for the purpose of examining the proceedings of the judges and seeing personally that the laws were properly executed.

The next year a new insurrection broke out in the Isles, headed by Torquil Macleod, with Maclean of Dowart, Macquarrie of Ulva, Macneil of Barra, and Mackinnon. A fleet under the command of John Barton was again sent to the northern seas, and the earl of Huntley was directed to invade the Isles from the north, while the king himself proceeded against them from the south. By these vigorous measures the rebellion was quickly suppressed, and in 1506 the northern hold of Torquil Macleod, the castle of Stornoway in Lewis, was taken by storm, and the power of its lord entirely destroyed. Donald Dhu, whom the insurgents had proclaimed king of the Isles, escaped to Ireland, where he died.

In this manner the king reduced his whole kingdom to such a state of order and good government, that about a year later he took what might have been considered a somewhat hazardous method of testing the obedience of his subjects to the laws. He set out on horseback secretly and alone, with nothing but his riding cloak cast round him, his hunting knife at his belt, and six-and-twenty pounds in his purse for his travelling expenses. Thus equipped, he rode from Stirling to Perth, and thence by Aberdeen and Elgin to the shrine of St. Duthoc in Ross, where he heard mass. The king related with pride that through this long and solitary progress he met with no interruption, and saw nothing but tranquillity; and having made himself known, and assembled the principal nobles and gentry of the districts through which he had passed, he returned with them in a sumptuous progress to Stirling.

JAMES COMES IN CONFLICT WITH HENRY VIII

Proud of his fleet, James began to interfere more in the political affairs of the Continent. Among all his foreign allies he was most partial to France. This led to a certain degree of estrangement between Scotland and England, and the breach was increased when, after the Spanish successes in Italy, James entered into an offensive alliance with France against Spain, the favourite ally of King Henry VII. Soon after this he exerted himself successfully in protecting the duke of Guelders from the designs of the emperor Maximilian. And when an embassy from the pope came to urge him to break off his alliance with the French king, he was so far from listening to it that he offered to send Louis an auxiliary force of four thousand Scots to serve in his wars in Italy. In 1508 the archbishop of St. Andrews and the earl of Arran were sent on an embassy to France to procure commercial privileges.

The death of Henry VII on the 21st of April, 1509, came to render more difficult the relations with England. The Scottish monarch was becoming gradually so much attached to France that he allowed himself to be led into a course of policy which was injurious to his country and fatal to himself. The pacific temper of Henry VII had been extremely favourable to the advancing prosperity of Scotland, and James had begun to assume a proud and haughty bearing in his transactions with the sister country; but in his

brother-in-law, Henry VIII, he found a prince who was as proud and intemperate as himself; and although mutual congratulations were exchanged on his accession to the throne, it was not likely that the amity between them would last long undisturbed.

The ocean seems at this time to have been considered a sort of open field, on which the ships of one nation did not scruple to attack and plunder those of another whenever they thought they could do it with impunity.

A few years before the time of which we are speaking the Hollanders had taken and plundered a small fleet of Scottish merchantmen, and slain the crews. This was not considered a subject for diplomatic remonstrance between the two countries; but Andrew Barton was sent with a squadron to punish the depredators, which he did so effectually that he sent home to his king a multitude of hogsheads filled with the heads of the Dutch sailors. On another occasion the Bartons had been attacked and plundered by the Portuguese, upon which King James granted letters of reprisal, which were soon carried into effect.

The Portuguese navy and commerce were at this time the richest and most powerful in the world, and the Scottish navigators would gain too much in such an extensive field of depredation to leave it. At length, in 1507, John Barton, the father, was taken in his ship, the *Lion*, and imprisoned at Campvere, in Zealand. This provoked King James to renew and extend the letters of reprisal to Barton's sons. The Bartons now seem for two years to have carried on an indiscriminate war with the Portuguese merchant navy, and, under cover of this excuse, with those of other nations. It is said that these ships, and especially Andrew Barton with the *Lion* and a smaller vessel, watched off the English ports to attack the merchantmen as they entered, and captured many and carried them to Scotland as prizes under pretence that they were laden with Portuguese goods.

Two English ships were sent to watch in the Downs, and attack Andrew Barton on his return from a cruise which he was making against the Portuguese; according to some accounts the expedition was undertaken by order of King Henry, who was irritated by the frequent complaints of his merchants; according to others, the ships were fitted out privately by the earl of Surrey. The two ships now sent to intercept Andrew Barton were placed under the command of the earl of Surrey's two sons, the lord Thomas Howard and Sir Edward Howard. The two Howards put to sea immediately, and had the fortune to fall in with Barton's two ships, the *Lion* (one of the largest ships in the Scottish navy, and inferior in size only to the *Great Harry*, the largest ship of war belonging to England), and an armed bark called the *Jenny Perwin*. The latter tried to make her escape, and was closely pursued by Sir Edward Howard, while the lord Howard engaged with Barton.

Both parties fought with the utmost obstinacy, and it is said that Barton, when he lay on the deck desperately wounded, still continued to encourage his men with his whistle, till he was killed by a cannon-ball. His ship was then boarded and captured; the bark was overtaken and soon surrendered, and both ships were carried into the Thames. The vessels were detained as lawful prizes, but their crews, after a short imprisonment, were sent home to Scotland.

King James was enraged at the insult offered to his navy, as well as for the loss of one of his best ships and the death of a favourite officer, and he sent a herald to the court of England to remonstrate and demand redress in threatening language. But King Henry condescended to give no other reply than that the defeat of pirates ought never to be a matter of dispute among

princes. The great sensation which the defeat of Andrew Barton seems to have caused in England, and the length of time during which it was remembered with pride, furnishes a decisive proof that the English must have suffered much from the depredations of the Scottish rovers. The defeat of Andrew Barton is placed by the annalists in August, 1511.

Another cause of irritation between the two countries occurred about the same time, in the revenge of Andrew Ker on the English murderers of his father, Sir Robert Ker. Engaging warmly in the interests of the king of France, James watched with anxiety the various leagues and combinations which were made for or against him; and when at length in the beginning of the year 1511 the English monarch joined the Italian league against Louis, James took up earnestly the quarrel of the latter. James was offended at the same time by some attacks of the English on his continental allies, and by Henry's refusal to deliver to the Scottish queen the jewels which had been bequeathed to her by her father.

At the beginning of 1512 Henry declared war against France; and soon afterwards his ambassador, along with those of France, Spain, and the pope, arrived at James's court. James treated Henry's pacific proposals with coldness; he spoke with indignation against the league into which he had entered against France, and laboured earnestly but in vain to reconcile Louis and the pope.

It still remained doubtful whether James would plunge into war or not. He had talked loudly, and had made great preparations, and he had already ordered his naval commanders to look out for English ships, but when he had completed his fleet he found that he had spent all his money in preparations, and that he had none left for carrying on the war. Offers of accommodation were made on both sides, which ended in James insisting on Henry's abandoning the league against France.

The two countries could hardly be said to be at peace, for his naval commanders had obtained letters of reprisal, and Leith was crowded with English prizes. James at the same time attempted to raise up a war against the English monarch in Ireland by entering into negotiations with O'Donnell, of Ulster, and that chieftain repaired to the Scottish court in the spring of 1513. He was at the same time encouraged in his designs by the arrival of ships from Denmark bringing him a contribution of arms and ammunition; and La Motte came with a French squadron laden with provisions for the fleet, and brought rich presents from King Louis to the Scottish nobles who were believed to exercise most influence over his mind.

But James was finally decided by one of those incidents which manifested his weakness and want of prudence. It appears that his backwardness had already alarmed Louis, and his queen, Anne of Brittany, well aware of his temper, addressed James in a romantic letter,[1] in which she claimed his protection as a distressed damsel who was attacked by a traitorous monarch, and she sent him a ring from her finger as to her own faithful knight, accompanied with a present of fourteen thousand crowns. The French king had not calculated without reason on the success of this artful stratagem, for from the moment he received the letter James seems to have resolved on

[1 In the words of Pitscottie: *f* "The queine of France also writt ane love lettre to the king of Scotland, nameing him hir love, shewing him that shoe had sufferred meikle rebuik for his saik in France, for the defending of his honour, quhairfoir shoe beleived that he wold recompence hir with sum of his kinglie support in sick ane necessitie, that is, that he wold raise ane armie and cum thrie fute on Inglis ground, for hir sak, and to that effect shoe sent him ane ring aff hir finger, worth fyfteine thousand French crounes."]

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hostilities; and when soon afterwards intelligence arrived that King Henry had landed in France, he ordered his army to assemble, and his ships to put to sea.

THE DISASTROUS WAR WITH ENGLAND, AND JAMES' DEATH ON FLODDEN FIELD

On both elements James' proceedings ended most disastrously. His fleet was one in which at that day he might justly take pride. It consisted of the *Great Michael*, already described, with a thirty-oared galley belonging to her; of thirteen great ships of war, and of about the same number of smaller vessels. This fleet was well provisioned, and carried on board three thousand soldiers under the command of the earl of Arran, who, from his superior feudal rank, had the chief command of the fleet as well as the army. James embarked in the *Great Michael*, and remained some days with the fleet, encouraging the seamen.

When he left, Arran, whose incapacity as a commander was soon obvious, instead of obeying the king's orders, which were to sail immediately for France, proceeded to the coast of Ireland, where he landed his troops and stormed the town of Carrickfergus, which was plundered and burned, and its inhabitants, without regard to age or sex, treated with the most brutal barbarity. After this exploit the earl returned with the fleet to Ayr to dispose of the plunder. James was greatly enraged when he heard of the earl of Arran's proceedings, and he immediately sent Sir Andrew Wood to supersede him in the command. Before he reached the coast Arran had again set sail, but all we know of the further history of his fleet is that it did reach France, and that at the beginning of the next reign a few of the ships returned in a shattered and disabled state. It is supposed that the *Great Michael* and most of the other ships were sold for a trifle to the king of France, and that they rotted in foreign harbours or were broken up for the timber.

After the fleet had departed the king employed himself with the utmost activity to assemble his army, and although the war was not generally popular, James was so much beloved by his subjects that they flocked from all parts to his standard, and even the clans from the Highlands and the Isles joined their sovereign under their different chiefs. The army thus assembled amounted at the lowest estimate to a hundred thousand men.

James had already sent a messenger to King Henry, who was in France, bearing a letter of recrimination and defiance, in which he made a long enumeration of injuries, true or imaginary, which he had experienced from that monarch. James' messenger found the king of England in his camp before Terouanne, and when he delivered his letter Henry burst into an ungovernable passion. The herald replied to this outburst of anger by a denunciation of war.

James showed by no means the same activity in making war that he had manifested in preparing for it, and he had to contend with the earnest exhortations of his queen and of many of his best counsellors, who deprecated the war. He seems, however, no longer to have hesitated in his resolution, and a first demonstration of hostilities was made by his chamberlain, Lord Home, who crossed the border with a force of eight thousand men, and after plundering and laying waste the adjoining districts of England, returned homeward with his booty. But with an extraordinary neglect of military precautions he forgot to push on his picquets, and at a pass called Broomhouse was charged furiously by Bulmer's cavalry, and so entirely defeated that the lord Home fled for his life, leaving his banner on the field, and his brother,

Sir George Home, a prisoner in the hands of the victors. The Scots lost on this occasion five hundred men slain and four hundred taken prisoners.

King James, deeply mortified at the result of this invasion, determined immediately to march into England at the head of his army and wipe off the disgrace of Home's defeat. This fatal determination was earnestly combated by the queen and those who were in favour of peace, and unable to make any impression on his obstinate temper, they seem to have made an attempt to work upon his superstitious feelings. The king had summoned his army to assemble at Edinburgh, and while they were there voices were heard at the dead hour of midnight, at the market cross of Edinburgh, where citations were usually made, summoning the king and the chief leaders of the army to appear within sixty days at the bar of the infernal judge. Before he left Linlithgow to place himself at the head of his troops, James attended as usual the service of vespers in the church of St. Michael.

Suddenly an old man, bareheaded and of venerable appearance, was seen to enter the church and approach him. His hair, which was of a bright golden colour, flowed over his shoulders, but it was thinly scattered over his smooth, bald forehead. He was clad in a long robe of blue, girt about the middle with a linen girdle. The crowd made way respectfully as the stranger approached, and proceeding directly to the king, he leaned over the chair where he was kneeling, and addressed him in a solemn and distinct voice—"I am sent to warn thee against proceeding in thy present undertaking, which admonition if thou neglect it will not fare well either with thee or with those who accompany thee; I am also ordered to warn thee to beware of familiarity with women, for if thou do otherwise, it will occasion thy destruction and disgrace." The speaker then withdrew in the same mysterious manner, and when, as soon as the service was ended, James ordered him to be brought into his presence, he was not to be found, nor could anybody tell how he had vanished. Buchanan[c] received the account of this incident from Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, who was standing by the king's chair at the time of the occurrence.

If this apparition caused any misgivings in the royal mind they were quickly dissipated when he arrived at Edinburgh and found himself at the head of one of the most numerous and best-equipped armies that a Scottish monarch had ever led into the field. His large train of artillery was at that time remarkable. With his army, after having passed it in review in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, he marched, apparently with no definite plan of operations, and entering England on the 22nd of August, encamped on the banks of the river Till, one of the tributaries to the Tweed, at a place called Twiselhaugh. He remained here two days, and on the 24th of August issued a proclamation promising that the heirs of all who fell in the present campaign should inherit without payment of the usual feudal fines.

The next few days were spent in exploits unworthy to occupy the time of a splendid army like that which James had brought into the country of his enemy. He first marched down the Tweed, and invested the castle of Norham, which held out for a week. He then returned up the river and besieged and took the castle of Wark. He then advanced a few miles and took and destroyed the small fortresses of Etal and Ford, the latter belonging to Sir William Heron, who was still his prisoner in Scotland. Much precious time was thrown away in these unprofitable undertakings; but this was not all. In the capture of Ford the Lady Heron, a beautiful but artful woman, fell into James' hands, and [it is said] he became deeply enamoured, and that she used her influence over his affections to cause still further delays,

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while she kept up a secret correspondence with the English leaders. Time was thus given to the latter to concentrate their forces and march against the invaders.[d]

The English, under the earl of Surrey, met the Scotch at the fatal hill of Flodden, September 9th, 1513, where, as described at length in our history of England, the Scottish army was overpowered after having apparently gained the day.[a]

No one thought of abandoning the king who with useless valour fought amidst the foremost in the conflict. Night at last separated the combatants; and the Scottish, like a wounded warrior, whom his courage sustains so long as the conflict lasts, but who faints with loss of blood when it is ended, became sensible of the extent of their loss, and melted in noiseless retreat from the field of battle in which the king and his nobles had perished.

There lay slain on the fatal field of Flodden twelve Scottish earls, thirteen lords, and five eldest sons of peers—fifty chiefs, knights, and men of eminence, and about ten thousand common men. Scotland had sustained defeats in which the loss had been numerically greater, but never one in which the number of the nobles slain bore such a proportion to those of the inferior rank. The cause was partly the unusual obstinacy of the long defence, partly that when the common people began, as already mentioned, to desert their standards, the nobility and gentry were deterred by shame and a sense of honour from following their example.

The Scots historians long contested the fact that James IV fell in the field of Flodden, and denied that the body which the English exhibited as the corpse of that unhappy king was in reality that of their sovereign. Some supposed that having escaped from the slaughter, James had gone to the Holy Land as a pilgrim to appease the resentment of heaven, which he conceived had sent his last misfortune in vengeance for his accession to his father's death. But there is no doubt in the present day that the body of James was found and carried to Berwick by the lord Dacre, to whom the king must have been personally well known. It was afterwards interred in the monastery of Sheen or Richmond. The corpse was pierced with two arrows and had received the mortal wound from a bill or battle-axe. This amiable but ill-fated monarch left two lawful children, James, his successor, and Alexander, a posthumous infant, who did not live two years. James IV was the only Scottish king that fell in battle with the English since the defeat and death of Malcolm III near Alnwick. He fell in his forty-first year, after he had reigned twenty-six years.[g]

SCOTTISH FEUDALISM

In turning our inquiries to the progress and improvement of the Scots during this period, we still find our materials both scanty and obscure. The Scottish kings were not absolute sovereigns, as in other countries of Europe, but of limited power and authority; and it depended upon their own individual energies whether that little might not be reduced to an absolute nonentity. Hence the difficulty of understanding the form of government that prevailed in Scotland as compared with that of England.

If the Scottish king was brave and active, he could only maintain his regal superiority by availing himself of the mutual jealousies of his nobles, and arming the one half against the other; but if, on the other hand, he was weak or facile, he generally sank into their tool and reigned by their sufferance. All this is evident in the history of Robert Bruce, as contrasted with that of

Robert III; or of James I and James II with that of James III. In either case, it was a continual struggle for superiority between king and nobles, where the latter claimed an independence almost equal to his own. In the case of these sovereigns, also, we find nothing of that divinity that hedges a king,[1] by which his person is invested with such sacredness as to exempt it from violence, and his authority with such abstract right that to resist it is sinful, as well as unconstitutional.[j]

As Laing[n] says: "The Scots were seldom distinguished for loyalty." And Brodie[o] writes: "The little respect paid to royalty is conspicuous in every page of Scottish history." Wilkes expressed himself in the House of Commons: "Scotland seems, indeed, the natural foyer of rebellion, as Egypt of the plague." And Nimmo[q] said: "Never was any race of monarchs more unfortunate than the Scottish. Their reigns were generally turbulent and disastrous, and their own end often tragical."[a]

On the contrary, when a vassal rebelled he had only to send letters to his sovereign renouncing all further allegiance and bidding him defiance, in which case he was no longer a traitor but an open enemy, and might even slay the king should the opportunity be within his reach. Such was the argument of Sir Robert Graham, a man well versed in the laws of Scotland, when he was placed upon his trial for the assassination of James I. By letters under his hand he had disclaimed the king's authority and proclaimed himself the mortal enemy of James, upon whom he would inflict his worst; and after this he thought himself justified in striking down the king even within the sacred precincts of a monastery. His judges might therefore slay him in return, now that the opportunity was theirs; but to torture him as well as put him to death was a stretch of tyranny which the law of Scotland could not justify.

These restrictions upon the regal authority lead us to a consideration of that feudalism by which they were imposed. In England the nobility established over the country by William were Norman conquerors, whose lands and privileges were the rewards of violence and oppression; and the people, who continued to regard them as strangers and as enemies, thought themselves entitled to recover their own lost rights as soon as they were strong enough for the purpose. Hence the jealousy with which the English nobility were watched by the commons, and the facility with which an English sovereign could pull these temporary tyrants down when he adopted the wise policy of making himself strong in the affections of the people.

But the character as well as the origin of Scottish feudalism, was different. The founders of its noble families, although for the most part Normans also, had entered the country not as conquerors, but refugees or malcontents, and were received with that distinction which was due to their bravery, military skill, and superior civilisation. They thus became Scotland's best counsellors in peace and leaders in war, and the lands and honours which they won in the new home of their adoption were the willing awards of a grateful king and people. In this way they became not the lordly oppressors, but the fathers and

[1 But in Scotland the crown was possessed of very little power, and the king could scarce be considered as more than the first baron of the kingdom, subject to be restrained, imprisoned, dethroned, and slain, at the pleasure of a turbulent aristocracy. It is true that when the Scottish monarch possessed the love and affection of his peers he was generally allowed considerable weight in the national councils; but the extent of his power usually rested on the degree of personal estimation in which he was held. James III was repeatedly imprisoned and finally deposed and murdered by the same class of nobles (in some instances the very same individuals) who loved, honoured, and obeyed his more popular son with such devotion that they followed him against their own better judgment to the fatal field of Flodden, in which with the flower of his kingdom he lost his life.g]

[1400–1513 A.D.]

protectors of their Scottish vassals, and the feeling of devotedness towards their feudal superiors became in the hearts of the latter a downright national characteristic. Possessed of such power and surrounded by such adherents, it was no wonder if, in process of time, these nobles became envious of the regal authority and sought to repress it. This was all the more natural, as the Scottish kings, whether of the Bruce or Stuart line, had originally been nothing more than Norman nobles like themselves, and had been elevated to the throne by a lucky combination of chances. Hence the power of the Scottish nobility, and their readiness to turn it against the sovereign; so that while England had only one Leicester, and one Hotspur, and one Warwick, Scotland had a hundred.

In a country by nature so sterile, and among a people so incessantly occupied either with intestine wars or English invasions, the arts of agriculture were not likely to be well understood or even greatly cared for. A feudal lord who wished to increase his followers had only to subdivide his barren acres into roods, and the families so located had neither the means nor the stimulus to turn such miserable strips into regular, well-cultivated farms. Besides, with even more ample means the Scottish agriculturist had little inducement to plough or sow when he knew not by what hand the harvest might be gathered. When an English army crossed the border it generally drove into the heart of the kingdom, eating whatever produce it could find, and destroying what it could not use; and when the peasants returned after the invasion was over they found nothing but wasted fields and empty larders. Their only hope of present subsistence in this case arose from a counter-foray into England, with which they generally requited every inroad of the enemy, and thus they contrived to indemnify themselves for their losses among the rich corn-fields and fat pastures of Cumberland and Northumberland.

Added to these evils by which agricultural industry was checked may be mentioned the tenures upon which farms were generally held, where the leases only lasted from year to year, so that the occupant might be displaced upon a very short notice. The rent, too, was commonly paid by military service; and thus while the farmer was almost continually in harness under the banner of his lord, his fields were left to the cultivation of women, children, and villains, as villainage was still continued in Scotland after it had ceased in England. All these causes not only serve to explain the very defective state of Scottish agriculture, but might make us wonder how such a numerous population could have been supported, did we not call to mind how heavily the whole English border was taxed by the hungry stomachs of their northern antagonists.

Pasturage rather than tillage, indeed, formed the main dependence of the Scots, as this required little labour, while the cattle, in the event of an inroad, could be driven to the hills and fastnesses. But if the miseries of famine were so destructive in England, with all its industry and abundance, we may conceive what such visitations were in Scotland, whose inhabitants even at the best were generally confined to scanty rations. Conscious of the prevalent national defect and anxious to assimilate his native country to the improved state of England, James I endeavoured to amend its agriculture, but this, too, was by act of parliament, for which his subjects little cared. By this act every farmer having a plough and eight oxen was required to sow annually a firlot of wheat, half a firlot of pease, and *forty* beans, under a penalty of ten shillings; and every baron to sow a like quantity upon his own ground, under a forfeiture of four times the sum.

Besides destroying peaceful industry by converting the peasantry into soldiers the wars with England created more than one class of society, by

which the progress of Scottish civilisation was heavily retarded. And first of these we should mention the moss-troopers, men who lived upon the border and were therefore exposed to the first brunt of every onset. As they were thus the outposts of a hostile encampment they were, by birth, necessity, habit, and inclination, soldiers and nothing else; men who lived by English plunder and generally died upon an English gallows, if they were not so fortunate as to die in harness and upon the battle-field. Sometimes, also, when English plunder was not so abundant or so easily reached, they betook themselves to what they modestly called "a little shifting for their living," and robbed the pasturages or granaries of their own inland countrymen as readily as those of the Southrons, of whom they were the born and sworn enemies.

But besides these moss-troopers, who were amenable to the border laws and subject to the rule of the border wardens, there were the broken clans composed of communities settled upon those portions of the border usually called Debatable land. These men, who had lost their feudal lords as well as their native homes, and been driven hither and thither by the continual shifting of the boundary line between the two kingdoms, at length came to regard both as their natural enemies, and robbed either indiscriminately, while it was difficult to follow them into their fastnesses, or drive them from their strongholds.

A less formidable, but equally pernicious class, whom the wars with England tended to create, were the sturdy beggars, otherwise called "sorners" or "gaberlunzies," who multiplied in Scotland to an incredible extent. These, too, were not exclusively composed of the lowest of society; on the contrary, many of them either were, or pretended to be, men of gentle birth, although impoverished in their circumstances; and upon the strength of their honourable descent they pursued their humble vocation, not in rags and with a piteous whine, but with horses, hawks, and attendants, so that where they could not obtain admission in virtue of their high-sounding names, they were able to enforce it by storm or onslaught.

These jackdaws, however, were often detected, stripped of their borrowed plumes, and driven forth to herd with their own kind. But still, beggary continued to thrive on account of that mistaken hospitality which would allow no one to pass the door as well as that craving for news which is always strongest in a divided and thinly peopled country, so that Scotland remained pre-eminently a land of sturdy beggars until they dwindled into the Bluegowns and Edie Ochiltrees of the close of the eighteenth century.

WAR CUSTOMS

While such were the consequences which the wars of the two rival countries entailed upon Scotland on account of its being by far the weaker and the poorer, the war usages and customs of the Scots demand our consideration, as these constituted a large portion of the every-day life of the people. This subject, however, is so fully explained in the history of their military achievements that it may be dismissed with a brief notice. The training and customs of chivalry among them were of the same kind that prevailed not only in England but over Europe; and the country produced such stalwart knights as England or Europe could seldom have overmatched. There was little, however, of tournament practice in Scotland owing to the poverty of the people and their constant occupation in the realities of war, although its

knights, when summoned to the trial, could back a war-horse and couch a lance as skilfully as the best.

One favourite weapon of these champions was the axe, which, notwithstanding its unwieldiness, they could handle, according to Froissart,[a] with wonderful dexterity, and deal with it such strokes that, according to the great chronicler's favourite phrase, "it was a pleasure to behold them." Of this, indeed, the encounter of Bruce at Bannockburn with De Bohun was a sufficient testimony. While tournaments were seldom held in Scotland, single combats, either judicial or from private feud, were of almost constant occurrence and were fought out on horseback with the lance or on foot with the two-handed sword, or axe and dagger.

As in the wars between the English and Scots the former were generally the assailants, their favourite weapon, the longbow, was well fitted for such a purpose; while the Scots, who stood on the defensive, and generally fought on foot, preferred the spear eighteen feet in length with which they stood shoulder to shoulder, presenting such a bristly array that neither cavalry could easily break through their ranks, nor infantry reach them. This was well when matters came to a close hand-to-hand engagement in which the Scots were generally the victors; but when the English, on the other hand, depended upon their archery and contented themselves with a distant fight, it was then

> "Alas, alas for Scotland
> When England's arrows fly!"

It was singular that the Scots profited so little by the lesson which Bruce gave them at Bannockburn when he let loose among the English archers a small body of mounted men-at-arms who quickly cut them down or drove them back upon the main army; and thus their defeats were generally caused by those fatal shafts to which their serried ranks offered an easy and unresisting mark.[1]

The Scots, indeed, were not wholly without archers; but these were generally Highlanders or Islesmen, whom the Lowlanders heartily hated; and their bows of four feet long, where the string was only drawn to the breast, could not send an arrow with the same distant range and deadly force that were given to the "cloth-yard shaft." The Scottish kings, especially James I and James II, anxious to make their subjects a full match in every kind of conflict to their enemies, endeavoured to introduce among them the longbow and the careful apprenticeship which it required, and accordingly the popular out-door sports were prohibited. Every male above the age of twelve was to practise archery, and butts were to be erected at every village church at which every man was to shoot at least six arrows each holiday, while the defaulter was to forfeit two-pence as drink-money to those who gave regular attendance. But the Scots, still more impatient of such coercion than their rivals had ever been, chose rather to be shot with English arrows than learn to requite them, and accordingly the spear of six ells long which needed little beyond a stout heart and steady hand continued to be the favourite and national weapon, until, like the English bow, it was superseded by hagbut, arquebuse, and matchlock, and better still, by the bayonet.

As war was of necessity so much the occupation of the Scots, the war-laws were sufficiently numerous. These chiefly regarded border inroads and the

[1 The superiority of the English in archery cannot be better expressed than by the Scottish proverb, that each southern archer bore at his belt the lives of twenty four Scots, such being the number of arrows with which he was usually supplied.—SCOTT.a]

division of plunder—matters, as we have seen, of paramount importance in the military operations of the country. As invasions also from England were so frequent and sudden the system of war-signals in Scotland was brought even at an early period to a considerable state of improvement. The laws of James II in this respect were well suited to the requirement. All the fords and passages of the Tweed by which the English could cross were to be carefully watched, and bale-fires or beacons to be established at each to give notice of the coming enemy. From Hume Castle, the nearest point, these signals were taken up and transmitted to Edgerton; from Edgerton they passed to Soutra Edge, and thence to Dunbar, Haddington, Dalkeith, Edinburgh, and the Lothians, so that in a few hours the most populous districts could be warned and in readiness over the whole kingdom.

The military muster, from a band to a numerous army, according to the nature of the warning, could be effected with almost equal promptitude, as every peasant was a trained soldier, bound to repair to the banner of his feudal landlord, and more or less completely armed, according to the amount of land he held in fee. All these points were minutely specified by laws, which were as familiar as household words, and every man knew his place and duty, however sudden might be the summons. The campaign, however, was necessarily a short one, as each soldier carried his own provisions, and these only for forty days at the utmost; and hence the impatience of the Scottish armies to decide the contest at once and by a pitched battle, although against more numerous and better-armed antagonists.

The case, however, was different when the war was carried into England, for there the Scottish soldier's little bag of oatmeal could be replaced from the well-stored girnels and abundant stalls of the south with richer fare; in which he revelled with a zest for which his previous short commons had fully prepared him. When the English viands were thus found, the ingenuity of military Scottish cookery was by no means wanting, for the bullock's hide supplied not only a regimental caldron for boiling the carcass, but shoes for the march, while the animal's horns sufficed for trumpets to cheer the invaders on the way or sound to the onset.

A Douglas was usually accompanied by twelve hundred followers, practised in battle and armed to the teeth, while the trains of the chief nobility were scarcely inferior. This was all the more necessary when each had a score of feuds on his hands, and might have as many encounters in a journey from Jedburgh to Holyrood. While the habitations and style of living among the noblest was so rude and uncomfortable, notwithstanding the external pomp and glitter of feudal authority with which they were surrounded, the condition of the commons corresponded with that of their lords.

Such was the case especially in the reign of James I, when Æneas Sylvius,[i] afterwards Pius II, made an adventurous visit into Scotland. Upon the borders he found that most of the houses were not even huts, as they were generally a small breast-work composed of mud, or such materials as were at hand, and raised to a sufficient height by three or four poles meeting a-top, and covered with straw or turf; while those of the villages were little better, and had no door but a cow's hide suspended at the entrance. As for the towns, the houses were generally built of wood, but if of stone then lime was omitted.

This will sufficiently explain the cause of so little domestic architecture being indicated in Scotland previous to the sixteenth century except in the ruins of strong castles that either defied every attack or were thought not worth the trouble of demolition. From the border to the metropolis no one thought of building a costly edifice which a single hour of foreign invasion or domestic

feud might level to the ground. That neither the will nor the ability, however, was wanting, was sufficiently attested by the stately cathedrals and monasteries that towered above the huts of their builders, and upon which all the resources of architecture were expended in the hope that their sacredness would be respected by a Christian foe. But the feeling of the Macedonian conqueror was wanting, and therefore, while temple and tower went to the ground, the "house of Pindarus" would not have been spared. The noble ruins of Kelso, Jedburgh, Melrose, and Dryburgh abbeys are melancholy monuments of what Scotland might have achieved in architecture, had not the battle for national independence occurred to task all her energies as well as exhaust all her resources.

THE UNIVERSITIES

Hitherto the few learned men that Scotland produced had been indebted for their acquirements to the universities of England or France, but at last, in the fifteenth century, the country was provided with colleges of its own. The first of these was the university of St. Andrews erected by its bishop, Henry Wardlaw. This eminent individual, who was appointed to the Scottish primacy in 1404, while he was residing in the papal court at Avignon, found, on his return to his native country, everything in a confusion that was soon after deepened by the death of Robert III, the capture and imprisonment of the young prince, afterwards James I, and the usurpation of the duke of Albany.

Wardlaw first formed an association at St. Andrews of such scholars as the country then possessed, who gave lectures upon the subjects that were usually taught at colleges—divinity, logic, physics, and the canon and civil laws. In this way, having established the reality of a university without the name, his next step was to invest it with a charter or grant of privileges, which he did in 1411; and two years afterwards these privileges were confirmed by six papal bulls sent by Benedict XIII, which were received in St. Andrews with the ringing of bells, the lighting of bonfires, and every demonstration of popular triumph. James I on his return from captivity fostered the rising institution, which at length comprised thirteen doctors of divinity and eight doctors of laws as its teachers, while the students amounted to several thousands.

At first the professors had no fixed salaries and the students paid no fees, while the only building for the delivery of lectures was a large wooden edifice called the pedagogy. But in 1455 James Kennedy, the successor of Wardlaw, built and endowed the college of St. Salvator. The injunctions laid upon the ecclesiastics while they attended college give us a strange idea of the morals of the Scottish clergy of this period. They were to live decently according to their sacred calling, "so as not to keep concubines *publicly*, nor to be common night-walkers or robbers, or habitually guilty of other notorious crimes." Was it in consequence of these restrictions that so few of the clergy availed themselves of a university so expressly founded for their benefit? At all events, nothing is more certain than that while the laity were eager to improve themselves by its instructions the priesthood stood aloof or opposed it. But poetical justice requited them in the following century for their criminal remissness, for it was chiefly from this university that the Reformation issued, before which they were swept away.

The next Scottish establishment of the kind was the University of Glasgow, founded by William Turnbull. This ecclesiastic having been appointed bishop of that see in 1448, addressed himself to the erection of a college in

that city, and obtained a bull to that effect from Nicholas V at the beginning of 1450. In order still further to aggrandise the institution, which commenced its labours in 1451, the bull granted a universal indulgence to all faithful Christians who should visit the cathedral of Glasgow during that year.

As in the case of St. Andrews the course of study and form of government were modelled upon those of the university of Paris. Both of these Scottish colleges instead of being monastic institutions where the students were lodged within the walls and supported at a common table, were rather great academies composed of class-rooms which the students attended daily during the prescribed hours. This was all in the way of education that so poor a country as Scotland was able in the first instance to accomplish.[j]

The Scottish parliaments were so much impressed with the necessity of education that in 1494 they passed a remarkable edict by which each baron and substantial freeholder was enjoined, under the penalty of twenty pounds, to send his eldest son to the grammar school at six, or at the utmost nine years of age. Having been competently grounded in Latin the pupils were directed to study three years in the schools of philosophy and law to qualify themselves for occupying the situation of sheriffs, justices of the peace, and other judges in ordinary.

That this singular statute had considerable influence we cannot doubt; yet the historian Mair or Major[k] still continued to upbraid the nobility of his time with gross neglect of their children's education. But though a majority may have contemned literature and its pursuits in comparison with the sports of the field or the exercises of war, there were so many who availed themselves of the opportunities of education as to leave a splendid proof of their proficiency. Dunbar, the Chaucer of Scotland, has in his *Lament for the Death of the Makers* enumerated eighteen poets of eminence in their time, who flourished from the earlier half of the fifteenth century down to the reign of James V. Many of their poems which have been preserved attest the skill and taste of the authors; but the genius of Dunbar and Gawain Douglas alone is sufficient to illuminate whole centuries of ignorance. In Latin composition, the names of Bishop Elphinstone, John Major or Mair, Patrick Paulner, secretary to James IV, and Hector Boece, or Boetius (an excellent scholar, though a most inaccurate and mendacious historian), attest the progress of Scottish literature.[l]

POETRY

While Scotland was not more distinguished than England had been during this period for men of high attainment in literature and science, the case was different in poetry; for in this respect Scotland has names to offer with which her more richly endowed rival was unable to compete. The first as well as the most distinguished was James I, that minstrel king whose poetical history was as romantic as his political career, but without the same stormy troubles or melancholy termination.

He became a poet scarcely inferior to Chaucer himself, who was his model; and his principal poem, entitled the *King's Quhair* or Quair (*i.e.*, quire or book), is the only work in English worthy of being placed by the side of the *Canterbury Tales*. Several other poetical works have been attributed to him, but from their character and style they were more likely to have been the productions of James V, his talented descendant.

Another distinguished Scottish poet of this period was Henry the Minstrel, better known among the people at large by the homely epithet of Blind Harry. Of his personal history there is little known except that he belonged

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to that class now prescribed in Scotland among the *vagabondis, fuilis, and sic like idill peopill;* that he recited his ballads from house to house for a living, and that he was born blind. All this gave little promise of the celebrity he was afterwards to acquire among his countrymen. But happily he hit upon a popular theme, which was the life and adventures of Sir William Wallace, the almost worshipped national hero, which he must have composed between the years 1470 and 1480; and the materials of the work, he informs us, were chiefly derived from the *Life of Wallace*, written in Latin by John Blair, the chaplain of the hero, and amplified by Thomas Graye. In classical refinement, depth of reflection, and historical fidelity, the poem of *Wallace* cannot stand comparison with Barbour's *Bruce;* but as a spirit-stirring narrative as well as descriptive epic it is greatly superior to that of the philosophical archdeacon; so that while the latter work was chiefly confined to the reflective few, the former obtained a universal acceptance among the peasantry of Scotland, whom it roused and animated in the great struggle for national independence. In this way the blind minstrel became the Homer of his country. Even, too, when his language had become all but a dead letter to common readers, and when Barbour was almost forgotten, the poetical fame of Henry suffered little diminution, as his *Wallace* was faithfully modernised by William Hamilton of Gilbertfield, the friend and correspondent of Allan Ramsay, and in this condition continues to be a favourite in almost every cottage of Scotland.

A third Scottish poet, but of a different character from the preceding, was Robert Henryson or Henderson, of whose life little is known except that he was chief schoolmaster of Dunfermline during the fifteenth century. Classical and elegant in taste and refined in language, his poetry is a complete contrast to the rough, trumpet-like strains of Blind Harry, as well as his favourite themes, which were chiefly recommendatory of peacefulness, purity, and religious contemplation.

He wrote a collection of fables, thirteen in number, also the tale of *Orpheus*, founded on the old classical story, and the *Bludy Serk*, an allegorical tale in which the highest doctrines of Christianity are impersonated in the adventures of a young prince freeing a king's daughter from captivity. But the best-known of his works are the *Testament of Cresseid*, written as a sequel to Chaucer's *Troylus and Cresseyde*, and *Robene and Makyne*, the earliest pastoral poem written in the English language.

The poetical merits of Henryson are thus justly summed up by P. F. Tytler:[1] "Of the works of this remarkable man it is difficult, when we consider the period in which they were written, to speak in terms of too warm encomium. In strength and sometimes even in sublimity of painting, in pathos and sweetness, in the variety and beauty of his pictures of natural scenery, in the vein of quiet and playful humour which runs through many of his pieces, and in that fine natural taste which, rejecting the faults of his age, has dared to think for itself, he is altogether excellent."

ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS

A few notices remain to be added respecting the history of ecclesiastical affairs in Scotland. The clergy of that kingdom, or some of them, are spoken of under their ancient name of Culdees, as we have previously seen, down to so late a period as the close of the thirteenth century. The earliest historical record of any interference with Scotland on the part of the Romish pontiffs is that of the appearance in the country of John of Crema as papal legate

in 1126; but we are scarcely entitled thence to assume, as has sometimes been done, that the papal supremacy over the Scottish church was then for the first time asserted or admitted. Little can be inferred from the silence of history upon a particular point in a period of which scarcely anything that can be properly called history has come down to us. Some other circumstances, however, make it appear probable that if any dependence upon Rome was so much as formally acknowledged by the early Scottish church it was practically all but or altogether unfelt. The mere remoteness and barbarous condition of the country would secure its being left very much to itself. But long before the commencement of the present period, the ecclesiastical establishment of Scotland had become completely assimilated, in the general outline of its constitution, to the other churches of the Latin world.

The history of the Scottish church in the fifteenth century, so far as it can now be recovered, consists principally of the enumeration of a series of provincial councils whose acts, reported as they are, contain little or nothing of much interest.

The following passage from Pinkerton[m] gives in brief compass a comprehensive view of the state of the Scottish church at this period: "The privileges of the church seem to have been an exemption from tribute and war and from the sentence of a temporal judge; a judicial authority in the spiritual causes of tithes, testaments, matrimonial and heretical affairs; freedom to let lands and tithes; submission to no foreign church, but to the pope alone; a power of holding provincial councils for the regulation of the national church.

"In benefices the pontiff had only the right of confirmation and deprivation, and the purchase of any benefice at Rome was strictly prohibited. (By an act of parliament passed in 1471, the procurement of any benefices from the court of Rome, other than those anciently at the disposal of the pope, was declared to be a crime punishable with the pains of treason.) The bishops were elected by the chapter, and the royal recommendation seems seldom to have intervened. Abbots were chosen by the monks alone; the secular clergy were named by the proprietors of the lands. These clergy were either parsons (rectors) or vicars. Many were in the appointment of the bishops and of collegiate bodies whose chapters they formed. Hence the lay patronage was much confined. Many sees and abbeys were opulent, but James III seems to have been the first monarch who seized and made a traffic of the nomination."

The religious zeal of the age expended itself upon the same objects in Scotland as in England. Whithern, in Galloway, appears to have been the most noted Scottish pilgrimage. St. Treignan, repeatedly mentioned by Rabelais as the name of a Scottish saint, is supposed to be a corruption of St. Ninian, the founder of the bishopric of Whithern. The new doctrines, however, penetrated to the northern part of the island very soon after they made their appearance in the south. The first propagators appear to have come from England—whether seeking a refuge from the active inquisition after heresy which had begun in that kingdom, or, as is more likely, ambitious of exercising the apostleship of the truth in a new land.

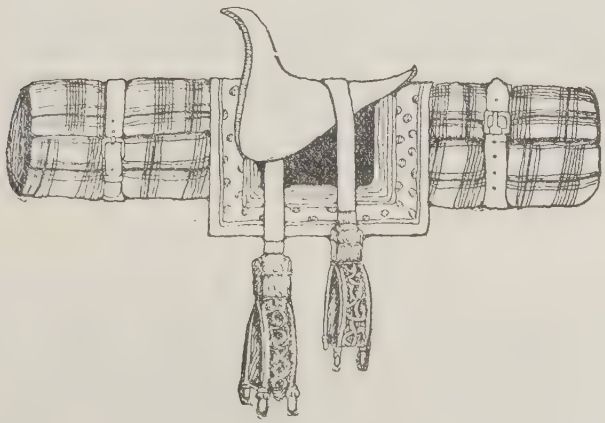
In the year 1408 John Resby, an English priest, was apprehended as a Wycliffite, as we have seen, and was burned at Perth along with his books and writings—being, as far as is known, the first person who thus suffered in Scotland. The example, like that of the similar execution of Sawtre in England a few years before, appears to have been considered sufficient to strike terror into the popular mind for some time. The second Scottish martyrdom did not take place till the year 1433, when Paul Crawar, a Bohemian phy-

sician, was burned at St. Andrews on the 23rd of July. It is lamentable to have to add that both these executions also took place during the primacy of Bishop Henry Wardlaw, the venerated founder of the first Scottish university.

Although no person is recorded to have been brought to the stake for heresy in the space of nearly thirty years that elapsed between the executions of Resby and Crawar, it is certain, nevertheless, that the new opinions obtained an extensive diffusion in Scotland during that interval. This is evident from the accounts of the trial of the Bohemian, who is spoken of as an emissary to a numerous body sharing the sentiments of himself and his countrymen.

The growth of Lollardism may also be inferred from a statute that had been passed for its suppression by the parliament that assembled immediately after the return of James I from England in 1421. Bower,[a] the continuator of Fordun, who wrote some years after the second of the two executions that have been mentioned, tells us that there were still in his day some unhappy persons, instigated by the devil, by whom Resby's writings were secretly preserved, and their pernicious heresies cherished, in accordance with the scriptural text that "stolen waters are sweet, and bread eaten in secret is pleasant."

The most important event that happened during the present period in the history of the Scottish ecclesiastical establishment was the erection of the see of St. Andrews into an archbishopric by Pope Sixtus IV in 1471. This measure was resorted to in consequence of the renewal by Nevil, archbishop of York, of the old claim of his see to supremacy over the kingdom of Scotland. The papal bull declared it to be an unfitting thing that an English prelate should be primate of Scotland, and ordained all the rest of the Scottish bishops, twelve in number, to be henceforth subject to St. Andrews.[b]





CHAPTER X

JAMES V AND MARY STUART

[1513–1567 A.D.]

There have been more rebellions in Scotland than in any other country; and the rebellions have been very sanguinary, as well as very numerous. The Scotch have made war upon most of their kings, and put to death many. To mention their treatment of a single dynasty they murdered James I and James III. They rebelled against James II and James VII. They laid hold of James V and placed him in confinement. Mary they immured in a castle, and afterwards deposed. Her successor, James VI, they imprisoned; they led him captive about the country, and on one occasion attempted his life. Towards Charles I they showed the greatest animosity, and they were the first to restrain his mad career. Three years before the English ventured to rise against that despotic prince the Scotch boldly took up arms and made war on him. The service which they then rendered to the cause of liberty it would be hard to overrate; but the singular part of the transaction was, that having afterwards got possession of the person of Charles they sold him to the English for a large sum of money, of which they, being very poor, had pressing need. Such a sale is unparalleled in history.—BUCKLE.[b]

THE MINORITY OF JAMES V

THE alarm which followed upon the melancholy event of the field of Flodden through the whole kingdom of Scotland was universal and appalling; but fortunately those who had to direct the energies of the state under circumstances so adverse were composed of a metal competent to the task. The commissioners who exercised the power of the magistracy of Edinburgh, for the lord provost and magistrates in person had accompanied the king to the fatal field, set a distinguished example of resolution. A proclamation is extant in which, speaking of the misfortune of the king and his host as a rumour of which there was yet no certainty, they appointed the females of respectability to pass to church, those of the lower rank to forbear clamouring and shrieking in the streets, and all men capable of bearing arms to take

their weapons and be ready on the first tolling of the great bell of the city to attend upon the magistrates, and contribute to the defence of the town. It is the language of Rome when Hannibal was at the gates.

The victorious English were, therefore, expected to appear shortly before the walls of the metropolis; but Surrey's army had been summoned together for defending their own frontier, not for the invasion of Scotland. The crown vassals did not remain in the field after their term of service had been rendered: and though the victory was gained, yet a loss of at least four thousand men had thinned the ranks of the conquerors.

A general council of the Scottish nobles[1] was convoked at Perth (October, 1513) to concert what national measures ought to be adopted for the government of the kingdom at this exigency. The number of the nobles who gave attendance was few, and the empty seats and shortened roll gave melancholy evidence of the extent of the late loss. The queen was readily admitted to the regency, a compliment which might be intended to conciliate her brother Henry. It had not that effect. Letters arrived from France by which the king of England strictly commanded and fiercely urged that the success at Flodden should be followed up by repeated inroads upon the Scottish frontiers, where a desolating though indecisive war was maintained accordingly.

Driven to despair by the severity of Henry, the Scottish council began to look towards France and to turn their eyes to a prince of the blood-royal now resident there, and next heir to the crown of Scotland, had James IV died childless. This was John duke of Albany, son of that Alexander duke of Albany who was brother to James III, and who having been declared a traitor for attaching himself to England had ended his days in France. To this duke John a strong party in Scotland proposed to assign the regency, which they wished no longer to intrust with a female and an Englishwoman, sister to a monarch who used his success so unsparingly. Whatever efforts might have been made to support Margaret in the office to which the king's will had admitted her, they became unavailing by her marrying, August 6th, 1514, the earl of Angus as soon as she had recovered from her confinement, in which she bore a posthumous child to James IV, April 30th, 1514. A marriage so soon after the death of her royal husband was prejudicial to her reputation, and as it placed her personally under the control of a subject rendered her incapable of holding and exercising the sovereign power of regent.

In some respects, indeed, her choice could not be amended. Earl Archibald of Angus was grandson and successor to him whom we have so often distinguished by the name of Bell-the-Cat. His father and uncle had fallen at Flodden; his aged grandfather had carried his sorrows for Scotland, and for his own loss of two gallant sons, into the shade of religious retirement. This young man, therefore, was at the head of the second branch of the house of Douglas, which had risen to a degree of power destined once more to make their sovereign tremble. Angus was also all that could win a lady's eye; he was splendid in attire, retinue, and housekeeping; handsome, brave, and active. But he had the faults of his family, being ambitious and desirous of power; and he had those of his youth, being headlong and impetuous in his passions, wild and unrestrained in his conduct. He did not pay the queen who was some years older than himself that deference which Margaret might have expected from decorum if not from affection, and at best was a negligent and faithless husband. His ambition aspired to maintain his wife's claims to the regency, although forfeited, as already said, by her second marriage.

[1 The infant king had been crowned twelve days after Flodden—*i.e.*, on September 21st, 1513.]

THE REGENCY OF ALBANY

But the preferable claim of Albany was maintained by the Scottish nobility, who asserted the right of the next in succession to rule the kingdom during the minority of the monarch. The right of this prince to the chief government was in an especial manner supported by the earl of Arran, head of the house of Hamilton. This powerful nobleman, waiving some pretensions which he himself might have made to the regency, added great weight to that party which pleaded the rights of Albany. The duke of Albany came over to Scotland accordingly and was installed as regent on May 17th, 1515. On May 15th the lingering war with England was put an end to by the inclusion of Scotland in the peace which had been agreed upon betwixt France and that country the August preceding.

Albany obtained an order from the parliament that the royal children should be delivered up to him. Margaret, after a vain resistance, was compelled to place the infant king and his short-lived brother Alexander under the suspicious care of an aspiring kinsman; and her husband Angus hastened to the border to consult with Lord Hume upon some means of withstanding the oppressive severity of the regent's government. Albany, however, was powerful enough to disconcert all their measures, even though Arran, deserting the regent's party, was so mutable as to make common cause with Hume. The queen-mother, far advanced in her pregnancy, was driven into England, where she was delivered of a female infant [afterwards Lady Lennox, mother of Darnley], in the miserable turret of a Northumbrian baron, from which she afterwards took refuge in her brother's court. The circumstance, however, of having been born in England was of considerable advantage to the lady Margaret Douglas in calculating her proximity to the English crown.

Meantime the regent became unpopular. The younger of the two Scottish princes died in his custody, not without foul suspicion of neglect or poison, and the king's person was taken from his custody and placed in the hands of certain select peers to whose loyalty he might be safely intrusted. The regent found his power restricted, and obtained or extorted the permission of the estates to pay a visit to France, June 7th, 1517. At the same time, although the duke's name was retained as regent, the real power was lodged in a council, in which Angus having now returned to Scotland held a seat. His wife, Queen Margaret, was received back with all due honour, and there seemed reason to think that something like a steady government was at length formed.

DOUGLAS AGAINST HAMILTON

The peace of the kingdom was disturbed by a constant dissension betwixt the parties of Hamilton and Douglas, in other words, between the earls of Angus and Arran. They used arms against each other without hesitation. At length, January, 1520, a parliament being called at Edinburgh, the earl of Angus appeared with four hundred of his followers armed with spears. The Hamiltons, not less eager and similarly prepared for strife, repaired to the capital in equal or superior numbers. They assembled in the house of the chancellor Beaton, the ambitious archbishop of Glasgow, who was bound to the faction of Arran by that nobleman having married the prelate's niece.

Gawain Douglas, bishop of Dunkeld, a son of Earl Bell-the-Cat and the celebrated translator of Vergil, laboured to prevent the factions from coming

to blows. He applied to Beaton himself, as official conservator of the laws and peace of the realm. Beaton laying his hand upon his heart protested upon his conscience he could not help the affray which was about to take place. "Ha! my lord," said the advocate for peace, who heard a shirt of mail rattle under the bishop's rochet, "methinks your conscience clatters." The bishop of Dunkeld then had recourse to Sir Patrick Hamilton, brother to the earl of Arran, who willingly attempted to exhort his kinsmen to the preservation of peace, until he was rudely upbraided with reluctance to fight by Sir James Hamilton, natural son to his brother and a man of a fierce and sanguinary disposition. "False bastard!" said Sir Patrick, in wrath, "I will fight to-day where thou darest not be seen."

There were now no more thoughts of peace, and the Hamiltons, with their western friends and allies, rushed in fury up the lanes which lead from the Cowgate where the bishop's palace was situated, intending to take possession of the High street. But the Douglases had been beforehand with them and already occupied the principal street with the advantage of attacking their enemies as they issued in disorder from the narrow closes or lanes. Such of Angus' followers also as had not lances were furnished with them by the favour of the citizens of Edinburgh who handed them over their windows.

The Hamiltons were driven out of the city leaving upwards of seventy men dead, one of whom was Sir Patrick Hamilton, the advocate for peace. The earl of Arran and his natural son were so far endangered that meeting a collier's horse, they were fain to throw off its burden, and both mounting the same miserable animal, they escaped through a ford in the loch which then defended the northern side of the city.

The consequences of this skirmish, which according to the humour of the age was long remembered by the name of "Cleanse the Causeway," raised Angus for a little time to the head of affairs. But unable to reacquire the lost affection of his wife, the queen-dowager, the latter in her aversion to her husband and resentment of his infidelities and neglects joined in soliciting the return of Albany, an event which took place November 19th, 1521. Angus and his party, alarmed at his arrival and remembering the fate of the Lord Hume and his brother, made a precipitate retreat from Edinburgh and took refuge in England.[c]

ALBANY'S SECOND REGENCY AND FAILURE (1521–1523 A.D.)

Albany thus once more reinstated, after an interval of five years, in the precarious honour of the regency, ordained a parliament to meet within a short period at Edinburgh, and fulminated a citation against the Douglases to appear in that assembly and reply to the weighty charges to be brought against them; but although determined to put down with a firm hand these enemies of the state, the regent was anxious for peace with England.

The principles of his government, of which the venality of the Scottish nobles and the intrigues of Dacre, the minister of Henry, alone prevented the development, were to maintain the ancient independence of Scotland, and whilst he dismissed all dreams of conquest or glory, to resist that secret influence by which the English monarch, for his own ambitious designs, sought to govern a kingdom in whose administration he had no title to interfere.

The means by which he sought to accomplish these ends were, to reunite the discordant elements of the Scottish aristocracy, to persuade the queen-mother that her interests and those of her son, the king, were one and the same, and to open immediately a diplomatic correspondence with England,

in which he trusted to convince that power of the uprightness and sincerity of his intentions.

But the difficulties which presented themselves even on the threshold of his schemes were great. Dacre, one of the ablest diplomatists in the profligate political school of Henry VIII, had no intentions of renouncing the hold he had so long maintained for his master over the Scottish affairs; he reckoned with confidence on the impetuous temper and capricious affections of the queen dowager, he was familiar with the venality of the nobles, and he knew that the means he possessed of disturbing the government were many and powerful.

It is unfortunate that the principal original records which remain of these troubled times are so completely the composition of partisans and so contradictory of each other that to arrive at the truth is a matter of no small difficulty. But in examining the impetuous measures adopted by Henry VIII, the violent accusations against the government of Albany which proceeded from Dacre and the bishop of Dunkeld, and the animated, though partial defence of his and her own conduct which is given by the queen, it is clear, we think, that the views presented of the character of the regent by Pinkerton[d] and some later writers are unjust and erroneous.[e]

Henry VIII seemed resolved on a war with France and Scotland; he denounced his own sister as Albany's paramour and demanded the regent's expulsion from Scotland. The Scottish parliament declined with dignity, and Henry issued an order of confiscation and exile against all Scotch and French subjects in England. He sent the earl of Shrewsbury across the borders and he burned the district of Kelso before he could be driven back, while English ships ravaged the Forth. Albany raised an army of eighty thousand and advanced to the borders, where Dacre persuaded him to a truce for a month and the disbandonment of his force, an act which some Scotch historians regard as cowardly, though Tytler[e] defends it as a wise step.

The queen now turned against the regent and entered into correspondence with Dacre. Seeing himself so distrusted Albany obtained permission to visit France for ten months. Border warfare went on and Surrey burned the ancient and beautiful monastery at Jedburgh in pure vandalism. This brought Albany back to Scotland with a fleet of eighty-seven small ships and an army of five thousand French. Parliament ordered a mustering of all troops for October 20th, 1523, and a total of forty thousand was arrayed. Albany advanced to the borders, but found that the nobles were unwilling to proceed. He turned to Wark Castle in which the French bravely opened a breach; the Scotch refusing to support him, he was compelled to withdraw.[a]

While these events occurred, however, Surrey concentrated his army and advanced with speed. The news of his speedy approach confirmed the Scottish nobles in their determination not to risk a battle. So completely had the majority of them been corrupted by the money and intrigues of Dacre and the queen dowager, that Albany did not venture to place them in the front, but, on his march, formed his vanguard of the French auxiliaries; a proceeding rendered the more necessary by the discovery of some secret machinations amongst the peers for delivering him, if he persisted in urging hostilities, into the hands of the enemy.

To attempt to encounter Surrey with his foreign auxiliaries alone would have been the extremity of rashness, and to abide the advance of the English earl with an army which refused to fight must have exposed him to discomfiture and dishonour: under such circumstances the regent, whose personal courage and military experience had been often tried on greater fields, adopted

or rather had forced upon him the only feasible plan which remained. At the head of his artillery and foreign auxiliaries, the single portion of the army which had behaved with spirit, he retreated to Eccles, a monastery six miles distant from Wark; and little able or anxious to conceal his contempt for those nobles who, almost in the presence of the enemy, had acted with so much faithlessness and pusillanimity, he permitted them to break up and disperse amid a tempest of snow—carrying to their homes the first intelligence of their own dishonour.

Such was the result of that remarkable expedition which Pinkerton,[d] whose opinion has been formed upon imperfect evidence, has erroneously represented as reflecting the utmost disgrace upon the courage and conduct of Albany. When carefully examined we must arrive at an opposite conclusion. The retreat of Albany is only one other amongst many facts which establish the venality and selfishness of the feudal aristocracy of Scotland, and the readiness with which they consented for their own private ends to sacrifice their individual honour and the welfare of the country.

On his return to the capital the governor assembled a parliament, of which the proceedings were distracted by mutual accusations and complaints. The peers accused the regent of squandering the public treasure, although the greater part of the money which he had brought from France had found its way in the shape of pensions into their own coffers, or had been necessarily laid out in the support of the foreign auxiliaries. They insisted on dismissing the French troops, and notwithstanding the inclement season of the year compelled them to embark; an ungenerous proceeding which led to the wreck of the transports on the shores of the Western Isles, and the loss of a great part of their crews.

To Albany such conduct was mortifying in the extreme; it convinced him that every effort must fail to persuade such men to adopt the only line of conduct which was likely to render the government respected, and to free the country from the dictation of England. He determined therefore, once more, to retire to France; and in a conference with the nobility requested three months' leave in which he might visit that kingdom and discover what further assistance might be expected from the French king in carrying on the war with England. His demand, after much opposition, was granted under the condition that if he did not return on the 31st of August, 1523, the league with France and his own regency should be considered as at an end.

He took an affectionate leave of his youthful sovereign and sailed for the continent, committing the chief management of affairs to the chancellor, with the bishop of Aberdeen and the earls of Huntly and Argyll. On quitting the kingdom, May 20th, 1523, Albany asserted that his absence would not exceed three months; but it is probable that his repeated reverses in a thankless office had totally disgusted him, both with Scotland and the regency, and that when he embarked it was with the resolution, which he fulfilled, of never returning to that country.[e]

In this view of Albany Hume Brown[f] concurs, saying that while he had been unlucky, he may be credited with having saved Scotland from English ascendency at a period dangerous to her independence, and that the historians nearest contemporary speak kindly of him.[a]

ANGUS GAINS CONTROL

The English interest once more began to predominate in the Scottish councils; for Henry VIII had again adopted his father's policy, and instead of en-

deavouring to conquer Scotland, was contented to aim at maintaining such an influence in the councils of that country as a wealthy and powerful nation may always find means of acquiring in the government of one that is poorer and weaker than herself. The present revolution seemed the more favourable to the interest of England since it raised Margaret once more to an efficient power in the Scottish government. She came from Stirling to Edinburgh, and announced that her son, James V, now a boy of twelve years old, was determined to take the sovereign power into his own hands, July 20th, 1524. A great many of the Scottish peers upon hearing this information associated themselves for protection of the young king's government, and for declaring the termination of Albany's regency.

The English king and his minister Wolsey at this crisis anxiously desired that Margaret should consent to a reconciliation with her husband Angus, but she retained a deep resentment and even detestation against her husband, and with an unmatronly levity had become enamoured of a young gentleman named Henry Stuart, second son of Andrew lord Avondale, and already entertained hopes of ridding herself of Angus by a divorce and then conferring her hand upon this younger favourite. In the mean time she raised the favoured youth to the dignity of lord treasurer of Scotland.

Angus, having determined to destroy his wife's power if he could not share it, attempted to supplant her authority, first by an escalade of the town of Edinburgh, in which he was assisted by Scott of Buccleuch and other border chiefs, and afterwards by a union with the wily and able Archbishop Beaton, with whom he effected a reconciliation and formed a party, the object of which was to free the young king from the tutelage of his mother. The struggle ended in the youthful monarch's being committed to the charge of a council of lords, the queen being allowed to preside at their sittings, a power which consisted in appearance rather than reality.

This revolution was completed, when the king, having arrived at the age of fourteen years, made choice of Angus—who had, by the most sedulous attention, obtained great influence over his mind—for administering the royal authority. But this state of things by degrees terminated in the absolute ascendency of Angus. As some atonement to the imprudent queen for having thus expelled her from all share of power he ceased to oppose the divorce which Margaret so anxiously desired, and no sooner was it obtained (March 11th, 1527), than the royal matron hastened to wed her youthful lover, Henry Stuart, who was afterwards created Lord Methven.

The government of Angus being that of a predominant family and faction was not only universally complained of as unjust and oppressive by the country in which it was exercised, but became odious to the king also, in whose name and authority it was carried on.

This order of things could not exist long without the king making some effort to free himself from a yoke which was at once galling and degrading; but such was the state of Scotland at that period that the king's person was regarded as the symbol of the royal power; and while Angus could retain possession of James himself he cared little whether or not he possessed the royal affections. The young king, however, determined in secret to escape from him at whatever risk and entered into more than one plot for accomplishing his freedom.[c] At Melrose, July 25th, 1526, Angus defeated Sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch, who had set upon him with a thousand horse. Angus also vanquished the forces of Lennox, near Edinburgh, where Lennox himself was slain.[a]

JAMES V ASSUMES THE AUTHORITY

The authority of Angus became more despotic, and was stronger than ever. This ambitious earl shortly after took upon himself the office of chancellor and surrounded the king even more closely than before with his clients and dependents, whom James now felt tempted to regard as his gaolers rather than his servants. Wherever he turned his eye lighted on the dark complexion and vigilant eye of a Douglas.

In the beginning of July the king, being at Falkland, assumed the dress of a yeoman, and getting to the stables unperceived, mounted with two attendants whom he had taken into his confidence and galloped to Stirling. The governor of the strong castle which commands that town received the prince with great joy, and assured him of his personal fidelity. The king caused a solemn proclamation to be made, commanding that neither the earl of Angus nor any of his kindred should approach within six miles of the king's person under pain of high treason.

A parliament was assembled in 1528, in which Angus and his whole friends and dependents were summoned to answer for various abuses of the royal authority, and for keeping the king's person nearly two years under restraint. To defend themselves was impossible, to appear was to encounter ruin; the earl of Angus and his followers, therefore, retreated into England. Henry VIII used much intercession in the earl's favour; but it was not until the death of James that the Douglases were restored to their native country.

In the elevation of the house of Angus to eminent power, and in its fall, there was something which resembled the rise and declension of the original house of Douglas in the reign of James II. But the second course of events were far inferior in consequence to those of the earlier revolution. The natural inference is, that since, with every advantage of a minority and a divided cabinet, with as much ambition and more talents than Douglas, Angus had neither been able to found his power so deeply nor to raise it so high; the precautions taken by James the second for repealing grants of crown-lands, for prohibiting or limiting the erection of hereditary jurisdictions, and otherwise restricting the powers of the nobility, had taken a certain though slow effect, and that James V possessed a degree of authority unknown to the Scottish princes before these restrictions undermined the power of the aristocracy. The slaughter of Flodden had tended much to reduce the numbers of the Scottish aristocracy and increase the power of the crown, to which many of their honours and estates reverted. It is owing to the influence of these joint causes that James V assumed a degree of self-agency which, in the opinion of the Scottish nobles, the monarch was hardly entitled to; that unlike his father James IV he did not seem to court their regard or employ their service, but sought his companions amongst the gentry, and his counsellors among the clergy, without for a length of time experiencing any inconvenience from the discontent of those who claimed by birth the right to share his sports and participate in the exercise of his power.

James V having obtained the unlimited exercise of the royal authority, became desirous of reducing to order the formidable border-men, who under the earl of Angus had been permitted to indulge themselves uncontrolled in all kinds of violence. The king swept through the frontiers with a flying army, reducing the castles and seizing upon the persons of those haughty chieftains, many of whom had no conception that the irregularities of which they and their people had been guilty were of a character to deserve the capital punishment of death which was unsparingly executed upon them. Having

thus succeeded in quelling the authors of foreign strife and domestic disorder so effectually as to make "the bush of rushes keep the cow," James V proceeded to occupy the crown-lands in the counties, which had been so lately disturbed, with flocks and herds, the produce of which formed a large addition to his royal revenue on the borders.

After this signal infliction of punishment, it is boasted by a contemporary historian that the king had thirty thousand sheep pasturing in Ettrick forest, and that his herdsmen gave him as good an account of the produce, although in that disorderly district, as if they had gone within the bounds of Fife. Scotland seems to have enjoyed several years of such tranquillity as seldom occurs in the history of that distracted country.

In the year 1531 James V gave to his country of Scotland the institution of the supreme court of council and session, which was framed in imitation of the parliament of Paris. Hitherto justice had been administered by standing committees of parliament by whom the duty was irregularly and sometimes negligently discharged. These were now to give place to a court of professional persons chosen with reference to their capacity for the high office, and having no occupation which might divert them from the administration of justice The court possessed the supreme power of decision in all civil cases, and subsists to this day under the various alterations and improvements which the experience of three centuries has suggested. The number of the judges of the new court of session was fifteen, one half of them being laymen and the others clergymen. The churchmen were taxed to defray the expense of the new establishment.

JAMES DECLINES TO JOIN HENRY VIII AGAINST ROME

In 1533 a short and unimportant war broke out with England. It was signalised only by mutual inroads on the frontiers, and ended by a peace, May 12th, 1533, between the royal uncle and nephew; after which James received from Henry the order of the Garter. At this period Henry VIII, from motives well known in history, had renounced the papal sway and became particularly anxious to induce his nephew to take a similar step. It is said that to purchase his compliance Henry would have been contented that James should become the husband of his eldest daughter Mary, with other high advantages.

But James, though desirous to be on good terms with his uncle, could not resolve upon imitating him in his scheme of throwing off the dominion of the church of Rome. The clergy who were so useful to him in the course of his administration had undoubtedly considerable influence in deterring him from following the courses of Henry. James also, though far from being wealthy, was so frugal as not to require for the support of his revenue the desperate measure of confiscating the church property. Finally, he felt that by joining with Henry in a step which all the princes of Europe held as impious and heretical he must break off his friendly connection with France and every other power, to place himself wholly in the hands of the most haughty and imperious monarch then living. He procrastinated, therefore, and evaded the proposal for a meeting.

The same reasons prevented the king from prosecuting the proposed match with the princess Mary. Meantime his people anxiously desired that he should marry. Years rolled on, and James, the last of his line, was still single. His subjects were the more anxious on this point as he often hazarded his person in private and nocturnal adventures, which he undertook sometimes

to further the purposes of justice, and on other occasions from the love of enterprise and intrigue. A blow in a midnight brawl might have again reduced Scotland to the miserable condition of a people with whom the succession to the crown is disputed.

At length a treaty of marriage was concluded (March 29th, 1536) between the king of Scotland and Marie de Bourbon, a daughter of the duke of Vendôme. James undertook a journey to France to fetch home his betrothed bride. But when he arrived in that kingdom he was dissatisfied with the choice of his ambassador,[1] and Madeleine, the princess of France, was substituted for Marie de Bourbon. They were married in great splendour on the 1st of January, 1537, and embarked in the beginning of May for the port of Leith, in Scotland, where they were received with great rejoicings, which within forty days were to be turned into the signs of mourning. Madeleine, the young queen of Scotland, carried in her constitution the seeds of a hectic fever, which within that brief space removed her from her new kingdom and royal bridegroom, July 7th, 1537.

Her vacant place on the throne was soon afterwards filled by Mary of Guise, or of Lorraine, the most celebrated queen of Scotland, excepting her daughter, Mary Stuart, still more famed for beauty and misfortune. This lady landed in Scotland June 10th, 1538; she bore to her husband two healthy male children, both of whom died within a few days of each other during James' lifetime. Mary, the third offspring of the marriage, beheld the light for the first time at the period of her father's death in 1542.

Throughout the whole of this reign the banished Douglases from their place of exile in England intrigued among the Scottish nobility, who saw with displeasure that the king preferred the assistance of the churchmen to theirs in the management of his political affairs. During the life of James Beaton, archbishop of Glasgow, the king used his approved talents in the administration; and at his death in 1539 he had called to his councils his nephew, David Beaton, afterwards cardinal and primate of Scotland. He was supposed to have been peculiarly connected with the following judicial proceedings. The son of Lord Forbes was accused of treason by the earl of Huntly, tried by the court of justiciary, and suffered death.

In like manner Jane Douglas, the sister of Angus, widow of the late Lord Glammis, mother of the youth who bore the title at the time, and wife of Archibald Campbell of Kepneith, was, with her present husband, her son, and certain accomplices, accused of and tried for an attempt to hasten the king's death by the imaginary crime of witchcraft. For this offence Lady Glammis suffered death at the stake on the castle hill of Edinburgh. She was much pitied on account of her noble birth, her distinguished grace and beauty, and the courage with which she endured her cruel punishment.

The Scottish historians throw reflections upon James for giving vent to his resentment against the Douglases in the punishment of this lady; but her crimes appear to have been fully proved; and although the idea of taking away the life of others by acts of sorcery be now exploded, yet it is well known that in the dark ages the effect of the unhallowed rites was often accelerated by the administration of poison, not to mention that those who engaged in such a conspiracy were morally, though not actually, guilty of the crime of murder. The punishment of Lady Glammis by fire was cruel, doubtless; but the cruelty was that of the age, not of the sovereign. Her husband Campbell was killed by a fall in attempting an escape from the castle of Edinburgh in which he was a prisoner.

[1 The chosen bride, it was said, proved to be a hunchback.]

JAMES' RESISTANCE TO THE REFORMATION

The same horrible mode of punishment undergone by Lady Glammis was during James' reign unsparingly applied to the restraint of heresy. In the year 1528 a young man of good birth, named Patrick Hamilton,[1] the first person who introduced the doctrines of Luther's reformation into Scotland, sealed them by his violent death which took place at St. Andrews. The king, being then under the tutelage of the Douglases, cannot be charged with this act of cruelty; but the execution of seven persons in the year 1539 attested his assent to these bloody and impolitic inflictions. It is however certain, that in permitting the established laws of the realm to have their course, James by no means appeared satisfied either with the frequent repetition of such exhibitions or with the conduct of the churchmen themselves. He evinced in several particulars a bias favourable to the reformed doctrines; and his uncle, Henry VIII, confiding in these hopeful indications, continued to entertain considerable hopes of drawing over his nephew to follow his own example.

Sir Ralph Sadler, a statesman of great talent and no stranger to Scotland, was despatched with a present of some horses and the delicate task of prevailing on James to dismiss such of his ministers as were Catholic priests, especially Cardinal David Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrews, and of exhorting him at the same time to seize on the property of the church and to reform the morals of the churchmen by severe correction. The old proposal of a personal conference was again renewed.

King James answered with mildness to the urgency of his uncle. He declared that he would reform the abuses of the church, but that he could not justly or conscientiously make these a pretext for seizing on its property, especially since the churchmen were willing to supply him with such sums of money as he from time to time required. The candour of Sadler owned to his master that the king of Scotland was obliged to make use of the clergy in the public service, owing to the ignorance and incapacity of his nobility.

During all these transactions the personal character of James V appears in a favourable light. He did not, indeed, escape the charge of severity usually brought against princes who endeavour to restore the current of justice to its proper channel after it has been for some time interrupted. But his reign was distinguished by acts of personal intrepidity on the part of the sovereign, as well as by an economical and sage management of the revenues of the kingdom. James encouraged fisheries, wrought mines, cultivated waste lands, and understood and protected commerce. The palaces which he built are in a beautiful though singular style of architecture; and the productions of his mint, particularly that called the bonnet-piece, because it bears James' head surmounted by the national cap, is the most elegant specimen of gold coinage which the age affords. The sculptor of the die was probably some foreign medallist whom James had induced to settle in Scotland, and who died young. Had so excellent an artist lived for any considerable period he must have distinguished himself.

James, in proportion to his means, was liberal to foreign mechanics, by whose aid he hoped to encourage the arts among his ignorant people. The court of Scotland was gay and filled with persons of accomplishment. Himself a poet, the king gave all liberal indulgence to the Muses, and does not seem to have resented the shafts of satire which were sometimes aimed against the royal gallantries or the royal parsimony.

[1 So John Knox credits Hamilton with starting the Reformation in Scotland.]

With many virtues James V displayed few faults, but these were of a fatal character. The license which he gave to the vindictive persecution of the Protestants seems to have originated in that personal severity of temper already noticed. His inexorable hatred of the Douglases partakes of the same character.

In 1540 James V undertook an expedition truly worthy of a patriotic sovereign, making, with a strong fleet and a sufficient body of troops, a circumnavigation of his whole realm of Scotland, acquainting himself with the various islands, harbours, capes, currents, and tides. In the Hebrides he took hostages from the most turbulent chiefs for the quiet behaviour of their clans, which bore in general the same denominations which they have at this day, as Macdonalds, McLeods, McLeans, Mackenzies, and others. In this expedition the king showed to the most remote part of his dominions the presence of their sovereign in a position both willing and able to support the dignity of the crown and the due administration of justice, striking a salutary terror into those heads of clans who were unwilling to acknowledge a higher authority than their own. James sailed from Leith on this praiseworthy expedition about the 22nd of May, and landed at Dumbarton in the course of July, 1540, after a voyage which in that early state of navigation was not without its dangers.



COSTUME OF THE TIME OF JAMES V OF SCOTLAND

In 1541 James met with a great and poignant family affliction. The two male infants born to him by his wife, Mary of Guise, or Lorraine, were both cut off by sudden illness within a few days of each other. The Protestants recorded this as a judgment against the king for permitting the persecution of their faith, and their writers record an ominous dream of the king, in which the spectre of Sir James Hamilton [recently put to death for an alleged plot] appeared to James in the visions of the night, and striking off his two arms while he upbraided him with his cruelty, announced that he would speedily return and take his head. The superstition of Mary of Lorraine, a devoted daughter of the church of Rome, took a different direction; and the king might perhaps agree with her and the priests in concluding that their family calamity arose from the vengeance of heaven expressed against him for his slowness in extirpating heresy. At least, from the tenour of his measures at this time, such seems to have been his own interpretation of this severe visitation.

The statute-book at this period contains various severe denunciations against heresy. To argue against the pope's authority is declared punishable with death, and all discussion on the subject of religion is as far as possible prohibited. Suspected heretics are declared incapable of exercising any office;

nay, such as may even have abjured their errors of faith are still to remain excluded from conversation with Catholics. Fugitives for their religious opinions are held as condemned; all correspondence with them is prohibited, and rewards are offered for their discovery.

These severe penal enactments sufficiently show the sense of Cardinal Beaton their author, that the Protestant opinions were penetrating deeply into Scotland, and could in his opinion only be eradicated by the most active measures. But in proportion as the severity increased the prohibited doctrines seemed to gain ground; and the Scottish clergymen saw no remedy except in the dangerous expedient of engaging James V in a war with England, the monarch of which kingdom had led the way in the great northern schism of the church.

WAR WITH HENRY VIII

The situation of James V now became extremely critical. Whatever might be the king's own moderation, there seemed almost an impossibility of his remaining neutral while France and England were hastening to a rupture; and there were weighty reasons for dreading the consequences whichever party he might embrace. If he became the close and inseparable ally of his uncle he must comply with that impetuous prince in all his humours, alter the religious constitution of his country after the example of England, confiscate the possessions of the church to the prejudice of his own ideas of religion and justice, and discharge Beaton and other counsellors by whose experienced talents he had hitherto conducted his administration.

He felt also that these sacrifices which must necessarily cost him the esteem and the alliance both of France and of Germany would be made for the chance of securing the doubtful friendship of an uncle who, amid all his professions of friendship, had constantly maintained within his kingdom the exiled family of Douglas, whom James not only peculiarly hated, but whom, from their extensive connections in Scotland, he had some reason to dread.

The king was warmly urged by a new embassy from Henry VIII to come to a decisive conclusion on these difficult points when, worn out by importunity, he gave a doubtful promise, that if the affairs of his kingdom permitted, he would meet his uncle at York for the purpose of arranging an amicable settlement. Henry, who thought highly of his own arts of eloquence and persuasion and who appears to have founded extravagant hopes on the influence which he might expect to gain by this personal interview, repaired to York and remained there for six days, expecting the arrival of King James. The king of Scotland, however, aware that to meet Henry without being prepared to concede to him everything which he desired would only precipitate a rupture, excused himself for not attending upon the conference; and Henry returned to London personally offended with James and eagerly desirous of revenge. The chastisement of the king of Scotland became now as favourite an object with Henry as the conversion of James to his own opinions on religion and politics had previously been.

At length, after a variety of petty incursions, the war broke out openly in 1542; and Sir Robert Bowes, with the banished Douglases, entered Scotland at the head of three thousand cavalry. They were encountered near Haddonrig by the earl of Huntly, to whom James had intrusted the defence of the border. The English were defeated, and left their general and many inferior leaders prisoners in the hands of their enemies. Angus himself would have shared the same fate, but he rid himself of the knight who laid hands on him by employing his dagger.

[1542 A.D.]

James was highly encouraged by this fortunate commencement of the campaign; but he was now doomed to find that he had made shipwreck of his popularity in lending his countenance to the severities against the heretics and in excluding from his favour the nobility of the kingdom. The presence of an English army under the duke of Norfolk, which, entering the Scottish frontier, had burned the towns of Kelso and Roxburgh and nearly twenty villages, compelled him to summon an army to repel the invasion.

THE MUTINY AT FALA MOOR; SOLWAY MOSS, AND THE DEATH OF JAMES V (1542 A.D.)

The Scottish king assembled thirty thousand men under their various feudal leaders upon the Borough moor, and marched from thence against the enemy. But as the Scottish army halted at Fala moor, they received information that the English had retired to Berwick and dismissed the greater part of their forces. The Scottish nobles on receiving this intelligence united in declaring that the occasion of their service in arms was ended, signified their intention to attend the host no longer, and prepared to depart with their respective followers.

The king was deeply grieved and irritated by this unexpected resolution. There was, however, no remedy: in a Scottish feudal camp the aristocracy were omnipotent, the king's power merely nominal; and to have urged the dispute to an open rupture would only have incurred the risk of reviving the scene of Lauder bridge in James III's time. James dismissed his refractory army when it was about to dismiss itself, and returned so deeply moved with shame and indignation that he not only lost his spirits, but his health was obviously affected.

The royal counsellors endeavoured to find a remedy for James' wounded feelings by appointing another attempt to be made against England on the western border, the success of which might, they hoped, obliterate the recollection of the mutiny at Fala. The lord Maxwell was appointed to command ten thousand men; but though Maxwell was himself a counsellor and favourite of the king, they were injudiciously composed of the followers of Cassilis, Glencairn, and other westland nobles, amongst whom the Reformation had made considerable progress, and who were proportionably disgusted with the war, which they regarded as undertaken at the instigation and to serve the interest of the papal clergy. This may in part account for the extraordinary scene which followed.

Maxwell's army had assembled and advanced as far as the western border, when it was drawn up in order, and the king's favourite, Oliver Sinclair, was raised on a buckler for the purpose of reading the commission intrusting Lord Maxwell with the command of the army. The ill-timed introduction of this unpopular minion in a situation and duty so ostensible occasioned a belief that the commission which he read was in his own favour; and as this rumour gained ground a general confusion prevailed, and many who did not choose to fight under the command of so unpopular a general began to leave their ranks and return homeward.

Dacre and Musgrave, two chiefs of the English borderers who had come to watch the motions of the Scottish army, were witnesses of the strange and apparently causeless scene of confusion which it exhibited. Without knowing the cause, they took advantage of the effect and charged with a degree of courage and determination which changed the confusion of the enemy into flight, and in many cases into surrender; for a great number of the chiefs and

nobles [twelve hundred in all] chose rather to become the prisoners of the English leaders than to escape to their own country and meet the displeasure of their offended monarch. The whole Scottish force dispersed without stroke of sword, and the victors made many prisoners.

King James had advanced to the border that he might earlier receive intelligence from the army. But when he learned the news of a rout so dishonourable as that of Solway the honour of his kingdom and the reputation of his arms were, he thought, utterly and irredeemably lost, and his proud spirit refused to survive the humiliation. He removed from the border to Edinburgh, and from thence to Falkland, his deep melancholy still increasing and mixing itself with the secret springs of life. At length his powers of digestion totally failed. It was in this disconsolate condition that a messenger, who came to acquaint James V that his queen, then at Linlithgow, was delivered of a daughter, found him to whom he brought the news. "Is it so?" said the expiring monarch, reflecting on the alliance which had placed the Stuart family on the throne; "then God's will be done. It came with a lass, and will go with a lass." With these words, presaging the extinction of his house, he made a signal of adieu to his followers and courtiers and expired, December 14th, 1542.[c]

There was little to distinguish the reign of James V in an intellectual sense, save for the survival of certain stars of the previous reign, such as Gawain Douglas, Boece, and Major. Sir David Lyndsay is the only exception to the creative barrenness of the period, John Bellenden's translations of Livy and Boece into the vernacular hardly deserving the name creation. But Lyndsay is a host in himself and an ornament to any period. In the history of satire there is hardly a more brilliant or vigorous wit or a more vivid portrayer of the exterior as well as the soul of his time. His *Satyre of the Three Estates* is his masterwork and has in no sense lost its charm or power by the long passage of centuries.[a]

Thus was Scotland, by the death of an accomplished king, having only attained his thirty-first year, reduced once more to one of those long minorities which are the bane of her history, and which in the present case brought even more than the usual amount of misfortune. The Scots involved in a national war which had no national object were, upon the decease of James V, willingly disposed to address Henry in a pacific tone, in which they reminded him that they now spoke in behalf of their infant queen, his own near relation, who could have wronged no one since she did not as yet know good from evil.

The road to the conquest of Scotland might, to a sanguine prince, appear to lie open; but it had been repeatedly attempted from the time of Severus downwards, and had never been found practicable. The impetuous temper of Henry VIII was, therefore, forced to stoop to the plan adopted by Edward I ere the death of the Maid of Norway compelled his ambition to wear a sterner and more undisguised shape. A matrimonial alliance betwixt the young heiress of Scotland and his son, afterwards Edward VI, promised the English monarch all the advantages of conquest without either risk or odium. With this purpose he kept his eyes bent earnestly on the affairs of Scotland, to seize, as fast as they should occur, all means of furthering so desirable an object.

ARRAN REGENT: UNDER THE SWAY OF CARDINAL BEATON

The government of the kingdom was claimed by the late prime minister, Cardinal Beaton, in virtue of a testament of the deceased king, which, however, was universally regarded as a forgery perpetrated by that ambitious

churchman.[1] He had, as before mentioned, succeeded his uncle, the turbulent archbishop of Glasgow, in James' councils, and was esteemed the author of most of the deceased king's unpopular measures, especially those in persecution of heresy. The nobles who had no mind to perpetuate the power under which they had long groaned unanimously rejected the claim, and preferred that of the earl of Arran, representative of the house of Hamilton, and next heir to the Scottish crown, who was recognised accordingly as regent. Beaton was made prisoner by order of the regent.

The king of England manifested the most eager and impetuous desire that the person of the infant queen should be delivered into his custody; but at last consented she should be suffered to remain in Scotland till she attained the age of ten years.

Cardinal Beaton as leader of the Roman Catholic party, and both in office and in talents head of the churchmen, was the devoted friend of France and the no less determined enemy of England. By lavishing money which his numerous church preferments furnished in great store, by awakening all the ancient prejudices against England, and by dwelling on the imprudent tenacity with which Henry had clung to the rejected articles of the treaty, he contrived to unite a large and powerful body of the nobles, comprehending Argyll, Huntly, and Bothwell, in opposition to the English alliance. A great number of the barons, chiefly from jealousy of the national independence, joined the same party; and the regent himself, after showing a vacillation of temper which in a less serious matter would have been ludicrous, threw himself at last into the arms of the cardinal, and, within eight days after he had ratified the marriage treaty, renounced the friendship of Henry and declared himself for the French interest. This change in Arran's politics was attended with a corresponding alteration in his religion, for he had hitherto pretended great respect for the doctrines of the Reformation, and now he consented to every measure proposed by the cardinal for its suppression.

Henry was not to be trifled with in this manner with impunity. Resentment at what he termed the Scottish breach of faith prompted him to a vindictive invasion by sea and land: a strong army under the earl of Hertford was embarked in a numerous fleet. He took the Scots by surprise, landed in the Firth May 4th, 1544, plundered Edinburgh and the adjacent country, and thus destroyed for a time the English influence with the Scottish nobles. A series of destructive inroads on the frontier only added to the unpopularity of Henry with the people of Scotland. Even Angus the guest, pensioner, and brother-in-law of Henry by his marriage with the widowed queen of James IV, renounced the English monarch's friendship during the course of these ravages, and was distinguished by the share he took in an action by which they were in some degree revenged.[c]

The savage temper of Henry VIII no more strongly appears than in the directions which, on the 10th of April, 1544, he transmitted through a despatch of the privy council to the earl of Hertford. After observing that the grand attempt on Scotland was delayed for a season, they command him, in the mean time, to make an inroad into Scotland, "there to put all to fire and sword, to burn Edinburgh town, and to raze and deface it when you have sacked it and gotten what you can out of it, as that it may remain for ever a perpetual memory of the vengeance of God lighted upon it for their falsehood and disloyalty. Do what you can," continue they, "out of hand and without long tarrying to beat down and overthrow the castle, sack Holyrood House, and as many towns and villages about Edinburgh as ye conveniently can;

[1 Hume Brown[f] says that there can be little doubt that Beaton forged this will.]

sack Leith, and burn and subvert it, and all the rest, putting man, woman, and child to fire and sword, without exception, when any resistance shall be made against you; and this done, pass over to the Fife land, and extend like extremities and destructions in all towns and villages whereunto ye may reach conveniently, not forgetting, amongst all the rest, so to spoil and turn upside down the cardinal's town of St. Andrews, as the upper stone may be the nether, and not one stick stand by another, sparing no creature alive within the same, specially such as either in friendship or blood be allied to the cardinal." "This journey," the despatch goes on to state, "shall succeed most to his majesty's honour."[e]

Never before had Scotland been so ruthlessly pillaged. In Hume Brown's[f] words: "The ruins of the abbeys of Kelso, Melrose, Dryburgh, and Coldingham was the work of Hertford's miscellaneous host and not of the followers of John Knox, as till recent years was the accepted tradition of Scottish history."[a]

THE MARTYRDOM OF WISHART AND THE MURDER OF BEATON

Cardinal Beaton had not reached the summit of affairs without making many private enemies as well as acquiring the hatred of those who considered him as the prime opponent of the Protestant church, and author of the death of those revered characters who had suffered for heresy. A recent instance of this kind perpetrated under Beaton's own eye was marked with unusual atrocity. A Protestant preacher, named George Wishart, born of a good family and respected for eloquence, learning, and for a gentleness and sweetness of disposition which made him universally esteemed, had distinguished himself much by preaching the reformed doctrines. Even the regent declined to proceed against him or to commission lay judges to sit upon his trial. The cardinal, however, having treacherously got his person into his hands, proceeded to arraign the prisoner of heresy before an ecclesiastical court, by whom he was tried, found guilty, and condemned to the stake. Beaton himself sat in state to behold the execution of the sentence from the walls of the castle of St. Andrews, before which it took place.

When Wishart came forth to die, and beheld the author of his misfortunes reposing in pomp upon the battlements to witness his torments he said to those around, either from a conviction that the country would not long abide the cardinal's violence, or from that spirit of prescience said sometimes to inspire the words of those who are standing betwixt time and eternity, "See yonder proud man: I tell you that in a brief space ye shall see him flung out on yonder rampart with infamy and scorn equal to the pomp and dignity with which he now occupies it." The martyr died with the utmost patience and bravery, and it is probable his words did not fall to the ground.

Meantime the cardinal, conscious of the danger in which he stood in a country where men's swords did not wait the sanction of legal sentence to exact vengeance for real or supposed injuries, usually dwelt in the castle of St. Andrews, which stood on a peninsula overhanging the sea and was strongly fortified. There were workmen employed to repair and strengthen the defences of the place at the very time that a desperate and irritated enemy contrived the death of the bishop within its precincts. Norman Leslie, called master of Rothes, nourished deep resentment against the cardinal for some private cause; and associating with him about fifteen men who shared his sentiments for sundry reasons, they surprised the castle at the break of day, expelled the garrison, and murdered the object of their enmity with many circumstances of cruelty.[c]

Leslie and Carmichael throwing themselves furiously upon their victim who earnestly implored mercy stabbed him repeatedly. But Melville, a milder fanatic, who professed to murder not from passion but religious duty, reproved their violence. "This judgment of God," said he, "ought to be executed with gravity, although in secret"; and presenting the point of his sword to the bleeding prelate he called on him to repent of his wicked courses, and especially of the death of the holy Wishart, to avenge whose innocent blood they were now sent by God. "Remember," said he, "that the mortal stroke I am now about to deal is not the mercenary blow of a hired assassin, but the just vengeance which hath fallen on an obstinate and cruel enemy of Christ and the Holy Gospel." On his saying this, he repeatedly passed his sword through the body of his unresisting victim, who sunk down from the chair to which he had retreated and instantly expired.

The alarm had now risen in the town; the common bell was rung, and the citizens, with their provost, running in confused crowds to the side of the fosse, demanded admittance, crying out that they must instantly speak with my lord cardinal. They were answered from the battlements, that it would be better for them to disperse, as he whom they called for could not come to them, and would not trouble the world any longer. This, however, only irritated them the more, and being urgent that they would speak with him, Norman Leslie reproved them as unreasonable fools who desired an audience of a dead man; and dragging the body to the spot, hung it by a sheet over the wall, naked, ghastly, and bleeding from its recent wounds. "There," said he, "there is your God; and now that ye are satisfied get you home to your houses," a command which the people instantly obeyed.

Thus perished Cardinal David Beaton, the most powerful opponent of the reformed religion in Scotland, by an act which some authors, even in the present day, have scrupled to call murder. To these writers the secret and long-continued correspondence of the conspirators with England was unknown; a circumstance perhaps to be regretted, as it would have spared some idle and angry reasoning.

By its disclosure we have been enabled to trace the secret history of these iniquitous times, and it may now be pronounced without fear of contradiction that the assassination of Beaton was no sudden event, arising simply out of indignation for the fate of Wishart; but an act of long-projected murder, encouraged, if not originated, by the English monarch, and, so far as the principal conspirators were concerned, committed from private and mercenary considerations.[c]

The murderers of Beaton now shut themselves up in the castle of St. Andrews to undergo siege. Here they were joined by many who were in danger of being accused of complicity. Among these strangely was John Knox. For fourteen months the castle withstood siege. The murderers had been declared traitors, and the idea of an English alliance rejected by the estates meeting at Edinburgh June 10th, 1546. Henry VIII died in January, and Francis I March 31st, 1547.

The new French king, Henry II, brother of Mary of Lorraine, sent a French fleet to reduce the castle still held by its garrison of one hundred and fifty. After bombardment the garrison accepted terms, July 21st, by which they were to be exiled, but otherwise set free. But on surrendering they were taken to France, and the gentlemen immured in prison, while their humbler fellows were sent to the galleys. Among these latter was John Knox, whom France chained to an oar, and who later was her bitterest enemy in Scotland.[a]

THE DISASTER AT PINKIE AND THE MARRIAGE ALLIANCE WITH FRANCE (1547 A.D.)

Even the death of Beaton, though his most inveterate political adversary, did not benefit the cause of Henry. The cardinal's place, both as primate and as counsellor of the regent, was supplied by a natural brother of the earl of Arran, John Hamilton, abbot of Paisley, who, from possessing a superior firmness of mind, exercised much influence over his brother, and was as devoted a friend to France and the Catholic cause as the murdered cardinal had been during his lifetime.

So stood the English interests in Scotland, which had been ruined by the impetuous rudeness of Henry VIII. But in emulative prosecution of the war betwixt England and Scotland, the duke of Somerset, protector of England, entered the eastern marches at the head of an army. Prudence and delay would probably have placed the victory in the hands of the Scots. But the military testament of Robert Bruce was once more forgotten, and the Scots with national impetuosity abandoned the vantage ground to fight for the victory which time and patience would have given them without risk.

The battle of Pinkie on September 10th, 1547, as described in our history of England, ended without either a long or bloody conflict. The English horsemen pursued the chase almost to the gates of Edinburgh with unusual severity, and many of the fugitives were drowned in the Esk which was swelled with the tide. The whole space between the field of battle and the capital was strewn with dead bodies and with the weapons which the fugitives had thrown away in their flight.

Yet this great battle was followed by no corresponding effects; for the duke of Somerset having garrisoned and fortified the town of Haddington and received the compulsory submission of some of the border chiefs, withdrew to England with his victorious army. On the other hand, the loss of the battle, as it threw the Scottish nation into despair, compelled them in a manner to seek the assistance of France.[1] An assembly of nobles met at Stirling when it was agreed that the efficient support of their ancient ally should be purchased by offering the hand of their young queen in marriage to the dauphin of France. They consented voluntarily to place her person in the hands of Henry II, the father of her bridegroom, on condition that he would furnish the Scottish nation with immediate and powerful assistance to recover Haddington and such other places as the English had garrisoned, and to defend the rest of the kingdom in case of a repetition of the invasions. The liberal terms thus freely offered to France were the more surprising as the estates of Scotland had recently shown insurmountable reluctance to place similar confidence in Henry VIII. But from the prejudices created by a thousand years of war the Scottish and the English nations were inspired with a jealousy of each other which did not exist in either country against other foreigners.

Henry II of France caught at so favourable an opportunity of acquiring a new kingdom for his son. Six thousand veteran troops, under Montalambert, the sieur d'Essé, were instantly despatched to Scotland, and it was in the camp which they formed before Haddington that the articles of the royal marriage were finally adjusted. The queen-regent used the utmost of her art and address, and no woman of her time possessed more, in order to gain

[1 The French gained more by the defeat of their allies than the English by their victory. —Wm. Robertson.h]

over the opinions of such as could be influenced, and intimidate those who could not be so won. The regent, earl of Arran, was induced to consent by a grant from Henry II to accept the French title of duke of Chatelherault, with a considerable pension from the same country. The opposition of meaner persons was silenced by very intelligible threats of violence from men that were extremely likely to keep their word; the fear of the French arms, amongst which they held their councils, imposed silence on others; and the person of the infant queen Mary, suitably attended, was sent over to France by the same fleet which had escorted d'Essé and his troops to Scotland.[1] And thus, ere Mary knew what the word meant, she was bestowed in marriage upon a sickly and silly boy, a lot which might be said to begin her calamities.

MARY OF LORRAINE BECOMES REGENT (1554 A.D.)

The queen-dowager having perfected this great match in favour of the king of France, her kinsman, became naturally desirous of obtaining the interim administration of Scotland until her daughter should attain the years of discretion. For this purpose she dealt with the indolent and indecisive earl of Arran for a cession of the regency. An augmented pension from France, high honours to himself and his friends, were liberally promised, together with a public acknowledgment of his right as next heir to the Scottish throne. He finally made the sacrifice required of him, and aware perhaps of his own unpopularity, resigned to the superior firmness of Mary of Guise [or, as she is more often called, Mary of Lorraine] the regency of Scotland April 12th, 1554.

Meanwhile the queen-mother showed vigour and determination. With the assistance of d'Essé's French troops she retook Haddington from the English, October 14th, 1549, and drove out other petty garrisons which they had established after the battle of Pinkie. This warfare, though the actions were on a small scale, was uncommonly sanguinary. Many of the English officers had committed insolencies and atrocities during their hour of success which the Scots could not forgive; and not only did the latter themselves refuse quarter to the English, but there were instances of their purchasing English prisoners from the French, merely, like Indian savages, to have the pleasure of putting them to death. After so much expenditure of blood and treasure the Scots were included in the Treaty of Boulogne, March 24th, 1550, betwixt France and England, which amid civil discord and party faction the earl of Warwick, now at the head of the English affairs, was glad to accede to.

The queen-regent of Scotland in her new acquisition of power had one great disadvantage. She was a French woman; and while she was in truth desirous of serving her country and sovereign she found it very difficult to convince the people of Scotland that she was not willing to sacrifice the interests of the country which she ruled to that of which she was the native. The auxiliary army of d'Essé did not leave Scotland without a renewal of the hostile disposition which had on former occasions arisen between the French troops and the Scots, to whose assistance they had been sent. The Scots and French fought in the streets of Edinburgh, in which skirmish the lord

[1] Knox,[2] the stern apostle of Protestantism, says, that "some were corrupted with buds (bribes), some deceived with flattering promises, and some for fear were compelled to consent, for the French souldiers were officers of arms in that parliament. The lord of Buccleuch, a bloody man, with many G—d's wounds, said that they that did not assent should do worse." [When Mary arrived in France, Henry II exclaimed: "France and Scotland are one nation now."]

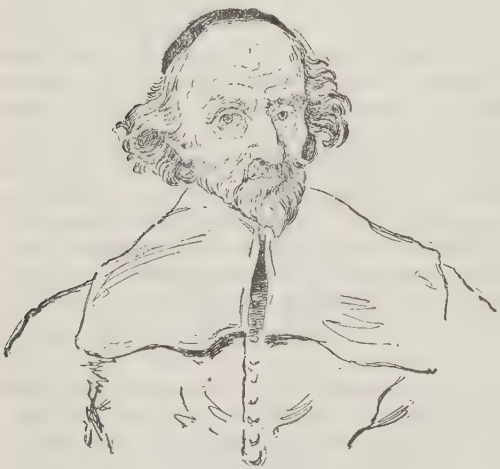
provost of the town and the governor of the castle were both slain. Peace was restored with the utmost difficulty; but their having been guilty of such an insult in the capital of their ally added greatly to the growing unpopularity of the auxiliaries.

Mary of Lorraine, out of a natural affection to her nation, hoped to serve the interests of France now engaged in war with Spain and England, by embroiling Scotland in the quarrel. But although she contrived without much trouble to effect a breach of the peace between two countries which were equally jealous and irritable, yet the Scottish nation, taught by experience, entered into the contest as a defensive war only; neither could the urgency of Le Crocq, who commanded the French troops, nor the entreaties of the queen-regent prevail on them to set a foot on English ground.

Meanwhile the marriage of the young queen of Scots to the dauphin was solemnly celebrated, April 24th, 1558, and that union between France and Scotland achieved so far as depended upon the execution of the marriage treaty. But by this time the subject of religion had become so interesting as to have greater weight in the scale of national policy than at any former period.[c]

THE EARLY CAREER OF JOHN KNOX

The removal of Beaton, the representative of the old cause, was immediately followed by the entrance of John Knox, the representative of the new; for among the refugees who fled to the castle of St. Andrews to escape the vengeance of the prelacy the future reformer was one. As the biography of this remarkable man constitutes so large a portion of the history of the Scottish Reformation, a brief notice of him in this place may not be unnecessary.



JOHN KNOX
(1505–1572)

John Knox was born [at Haddington, the county town of East Lothian] in the year 1505. He was of humble parentage, his ancestors having been retainers of the house of Hailes; and as such they rendered feudal military service to the first earls of Bothwell. Being destined for the church, John, at the age of sixteen, was sent to the university of Glasgow, where after the usual course of study he regented; he also appears to have studied at the university of St. Andrews. Before he had reached the canonical age of twenty five he was admitted into priest's orders; but an anxious spirit of doubt and inquiry prevented him from entering into the public duties of his office, and these investigations continued till his thirty-eighth year when, from serious deliberate conviction, he became a Protestant. A choice so considerately made was but the starting-point of action, upon which he entered with all his characteristic ardour; and as the companion of Wishart he exposed himself to all the dangers with which that martyr's career was continually surrounded.

Being now obnoxious to the clergy, both as an apostate priest and a

[1559 A.D.]

Protestant, he took refuge in the castle of St. Andrews, after the murder of Beaton, and during the siege that followed he was unanimously invited by the garrison to become their minister. He trembled and wept at the responsibility of those sacred duties which he was now to discharge for the first time, and only submitted after much importunity. In this way he commenced his great mission as a national religious reformer, and the commencement was characterised by the same heroic qualities that pervaded his whole life to the close. An unbending reprover of guilt wherever it might be found, he denounced the excesses of the garrison, when such a proceeding exposed him not only to hatred but personal danger.

He entered into no compromise with apparently trivial observances of the church of Rome; but condemned them all as inlets of error and incentives to idolatry. The contrast of such preaching to that of his predecessors arrested the people even in his first sermon, and they justly observed, "Others hewed at the branches of papistry, but he strikes at the root to destroy the whole."

On the surrender of the castle of St. Andrews, John Knox bore a full share of those hardships with which the unfortunate garrison was visited; for in express violation of the treaty of surrender he was, as we have seen, sent to the French galleys, where he laboured as a chained felon for nineteen months. His captivity might indeed have been perpetual, but for the kind interposition of Edward VI, through which he was set at liberty. After this Knox went to England where his services were so highly appreciated as one of Cranmer's itinerant preachers that he was appointed one of the royal chaplains, and tempted to settle in England by the offer of the bishopric of Rochester. But not deeming the Church of England as yet sufficiently reformed he rejected the application, and continued to labour as a humble missionary until the accession of Mary; and the persecution which followed obliged him, in 1554, to escape to France.

In the following year he ventured to return to Scotland; but his preaching occasioned such a stir in Edinburgh that he was cited to appear before a clerical tribunal to be tried as an heretic. He attended the summons; but justly apprehensive of consequences, and warned by former acts of treachery, the friends of Knox accompanied him in such numbers that his terrified judges failed to appear, and he continued undisturbed a little longer, when he was once more obliged to leave the country.[1] Upon his departure the clergy renewed their citation; and after a mock trial condemned him to the flames, and solemnly burned him in effigy at the cross of Edinburgh. But Knox himself was safe in Geneva, abiding his time, which arrived in May, 1559, when the religious contest was about to be decided by other weapons than those of reasoning and ridicule.

The Scottish nobles who afterwards were known as the "lords of the Congregation," were well aware of the strength which Knox would impart to their cause from his well-tried energy, talents, and popular reputation, and accordingly they invited him to return and co-operate with them, pledging themselves to hazard their lives and fortunes in the establishment of the reformation in Scotland. He complied with the call; and thus, at the advanced age of fifty-four, and with a constitution naturally weak and impaired by many hardships, John Knox may be properly said to have commenced that task for which his whole life had been a period of training. Perhaps there

[1 Judging with all charity, it must be admitted that while his writings had all the impassioned zeal, his conduct betrayed some want of the ardent courage, of the martyr.—TYTLER.]

is no record in history of any individual who began a great national work so late in life and yet accomplished so much. The mere return of Knox to Scotland was the trumpet-signal for the commencement of action.[i]

THE REGENT AND THE REFORMERS

Since the death of Cardinal Beaton there had been no attempt to turn the force of the existing laws against the growth of heresy. Hamilton the archbishop of Saint Andrews, though said to lead a life too irregular for a churchman, was more gentle and moderate than his predecessor, Beaton; and the queen-mother was too prudent and too well acquainted with the state of Scotland and the temper of the people to engage of her own accord in a struggle with so powerful a sect as the reformers, who now assumed the name of the Congregation. But when her daughter became queen of France the celebrated duke of Guise and the cardinal of Lorraine urged upon their sister the regent the absolute duty and necessity of rooting out the Scottish heresy. For this they had more reasons than mere zeal for the Catholic religion, though theirs was of the warmest temperature.

Mary of England died November 17th, 1558; and the land had again adopted the Protestant faith under her sister Elizabeth. The Catholics were not disposed to consider this great princess as a legitimate sovereign, but rather as the adulterous daughter of Henry VIII by Anne Boleyn his concubine, for whose sake he had broken the bonds of matrimony with Queen Catherine, and cast away the filial obedience due to the see of Rome. Failing Elizabeth, Mary queen of Scotland was heir of England in right of her grandmother Margaret, the sister of Henry VIII. In the eyes of all true Catholics, she had not only a contingent but an immediate claim to succeed her namesake in the government. This title offered the most splendid visions to the two brothers of the house of Guise, who aimed at nothing less than subjecting England itself to the sway of their niece by means of the English Catholics, a numerous and powerful body.

But this could only be accomplished by gaining for the Scottish queen the credit of a faithful nursing-mother of the church, in destroying that branch of the great northern heresy which had raised its head in the kingdom of Scotland. She could not with consistency claim the character of a sound Catholic, a person likely to re-establish Catholicism in England while the exercise of the reformed religion was publicly permitted in the realm which was properly her own.

Mary's mother the queen-regent was therefore against her better judgment urged to pick a quarrel with the reformers in Scotland, and she involved herself by the attempt in a train of consequences which poisoned all the future tranquillity of her regency and her life. The pretext was taken from some insults offered by the Protestants to the images of the Catholic faith, and particularly to Saint Giles, patron of the metropolis, whose effigy was first thrown into the North Loch, and then burned.

To chastise this insolence various among the most noted popular preachers were summoned to appear before the queen-regent and the bishops and to undergo their trial as authors of the sedition. The preachers resolved to attend; and that they might do so with safety they availed themselves of a custom in Scotland (a right barbarous one) by which a person accused was wont to appear at the bar with as many friends as were willing to stand by him and defend his cause. The time was propitious; for a band of western gentlemen, zealous Protestants, were returning homeward from military services on the

border and willingly appeared in arms for the protection of their pastors. They were in vain charged by proclamation to depart from the city. On the contrary they assembled themselves and with little reverence forced themselves into the queen's presence, then sitting in council with the bishops.

Chalmers of Gadgirth, a bold and zealous man, spoke in the name of the rest: "Madam, we know that this proclamation is a device of the bishops and of that bastard (the primate of Saint Andrews) that stands beside you. We avow to God that ere we yield we will make a day of it. These idle drones oppress us and our tenants, and now they seek the lives of our ministers, and our own. Shall we suffer this any longer? No, madam, it shall not be." As he concluded, every man put on his steel bonnet. The queen-regent was compelled to have recourse to fair words and entreaties, for little less was to be apprehended than the present massacre of the Roman Catholic churchmen. But by the queen's discharging the proclamation, and using gentle and kind words to Gadgirth and his companions, the danger was averted for the present.

The Scottish Protestants saw their advantage, and were encouraged to further boldness. They made a popular tumult by attacking a procession of churchmen which paraded through the streets of the city. The images, which the insurgents termed Dagon and Bel, were dashed to pieces in contempt and derision: as for the churchmen, we may take John Knox's word,[g] "that there was a sudden affray amongst them; for down goeth the crosses, off goeth the surplices, round caps, and cornets with the crowns; the grayfriars gaped, the blackfriars blew, the priests panted and fled, and happy was he who first got to the house, for such a sudden fray came never among the generation of antichrist within the realm before."

This was the wild proceeding of a rabble; but an association and bond entered into by the principal persons of the Congregation, bound them to defend their ministers, and assert the rights of hearing and preaching the Gospel.[c]

THE FIRST COVENANT: THE LORDS OF THE CONGREGATION (1557 A.D.)

On the 3rd of December, 1557, that memorable bond or covenant was drawn up which henceforth united the Protestants under one great association which was subscribed to immediately by their principal supporters, and could not be deserted without something like apostasy. It described in no mild or measured terms the bishops and ministers of the Romish church as members of Satan, who sought to destroy the gospel of Christ and his followers, and declared that they felt it to be their duty to strive in their Master's cause even unto death—certain as they were of victory in him. For this purpose t declared that they had entered into a solemn promise in the presence of God and his Congregation, to set forward and establish with their whole power and substance his blessed Word—to labour to have faithful ministers—to defend them at the peril of their lives and goods against all tyranny; and it concluded by anathematising their adversaries, and denouncing vengeance against all the superstition, idolatry, and abominations of the papal church.

This bond, which was drawn up at Edinburgh, received the signatures of the earls of Glencairn, Argyll, Morton, Lord Lorne, Erskine of Dun, and many others. It was evidently an open declaration of war against the established religion; toleration and compromise were at an end, and their next step showed that the Congregation—for so the reformers now named themselves—were determined to commence their proceedings in earnest. They

passed a resolution declaring "that in all parishes of the realm the common prayer (by which was meant the service book of Edward VI) should be read weekly, on Sunday and other festival days, in the parish churches, with the lessons of the Old and New Testament, conformed to the book of common prayer; and that if the curates of parishes be qualified they shall be caused to read the same;" but if they refuse, then the most qualified in the parish were directed to supply their place. It was resolved at the same time that "doctrine, preaching, and interpretation of the Scripture be used privately in quiet houses, avoiding great conventions of the people thereto, until such time as God should move the prince to grant public preaching by true and faithful ministers."

These resolutions the lords of the Congregation proceeded to put into execution in such places as were under their power. The earl of Argyll encouraged Douglas, his chaplain, to preach openly in his house; other barons imitated his example; an invitation was addressed to Knox (November, 1558), requesting his immediate presence amongst them, and a deep alarm seized the whole body of the Roman clergy.

They represented, not unreasonably, the declarations of the Congregation and their subsequent conduct as acts bordering upon treason; the Roman faith, they said, was still the established religion of the state, it enjoyed the sanction of the law, and the protection of the sovereign, and it was now openly attacked, and attempted to be subverted by a private association of men who, although no ways recognised by the constitution, had assumed the power of legislation. To what this might grow it was difficult to say, but it was impossible to view so bold a denunciation of the national religion without apprehension and dismay.

These remonstrances were addressed to the queen-regent at that critical season when the marriage between her daughter and the dauphin, although proposed in the Scottish parliament, had not been fully agreed to. It was necessary for her to manage matters warily with the principal nobles, and she expressed a steadfast disinclination to all extreme measures against the Congregation. The archbishop of St. Andrews also, a prelate whose character partook nothing of cruelty, though his morals were loose and depraved, addressed an admonitory letter to Argyll, persuading him to dismiss his heretical chaplain, promising to supply his place with a learned and Catholic instructor, complaining of the reproaches to which his ecclesiastical lenity had exposed him, and insinuating that repeated provocations might compel him, as the spiritual guardian of the church, to adopt a severer course (March, 1558). Nor was it long before this severity was experienced, although there seems good ground for believing that the prelate was innocent of having instigated it.[e]

MARTYRDOM OF MYLN: THE PARTIES IN ARMS

The first to suffer was a priest over eighty years old, Walter Myln (or Mill), who had adopted the doctrines of the reformers and been condemned as a heretic in Beaton's day. He had however escaped, and now felt encouraged to resume his preaching. He was seized and condemned at St. Andrews. The clergy found him guilty, but there was difficulty in securing a secular judge to sentence him. This was at last secured, and he was burned April 28th, 1558. He perished with great courage.[a]

"As for myself," said he, "I am fourscore and two years old and cannot live long by the course of nature, but a hundred better shall rise out of the

ashes of my bones, and I trust in God I am the last that shall suffer death in Scotland for this cause." And his prophetic wishes were fulfilled: he was the last in that country of the army of martyrs [until the martyrs to Episcopacy in the reign of James II].

This cruel and iniquitous execution was viewed by the people with horror and excited the utmost indignation in the leaders of the Congregation. They remonstrated in firm terms to the queen-regent, and when this princess assured them that she was no party to such sanguinary proceedings their whole animosity was directed against the clergy. Emissaries commissioned by the reformers travelled through the country, exposing the superstition, wickedness, and injustice of such conduct; many of the lesser barons and the greater part of the towns joined the party; a majority of the people declared themselves ready to support the cause, and the Protestant lords presented an address to the dowager, in which they claimed redress at her hands "of the unjust tyranny used against them by those called the estate ecclesiastical."[e]

Mary of Lorraine's government continued to be still further embarrassed by the zeal with which her brothers of Lorraine continued to press in the most urgent manner the adoption of violent measures against the Protestants. In compliance with instructions from France the queen, forgetful of the violent scene with Chalmers of Gadgirth, again summoned the Protestant preachers to appear before a court of justice to be held at Stirling on the 10th of May, 1559. Again the zeal of the Congregation convoked a species of insurrectionary army to protect their ministers, which assembled at Perth, then animated by the preachings of John Knox. The queen-regent foresaw the danger which impended, and a second time appeared to retreat from her purpose, and engaged to put a stop to the prosecution of the ministers.

Through the whole eventful scene the subtlety of the queen-dowager made it manifest that she adopted and acted upon the fatal maxim that no faith was to be kept with heretics. The Protestants had no sooner dispersed their levies than the queen caused the actions against their preachers to be anew insisted on; and upon the non-appearance of the parties cited, sentence of outlawry was pronounced against them.

The Protestants were incensed by this duplicity of the queen; and after a vehement discourse by John Knox against the idolatry of the popish worship, and a casual brawl which followed betwixt an impudent priest and a petulant boy, the minds of the auditors were so much inflamed that they destroyed, first the church in which the sermon had been preached, and then the other churches and monasteries of Perth, breaking to fragments the ornaments and images, and pillaging the supplies of provisions which the monks had provided in great quantity.

The queen in the mean time had drawn together her French soldiery, and still more deeply irritated by the late proceedings of the multitude prepared to march upon Stirling, and from thence to Perth, before the lords of the Congregation could assemble their vassals. But she had to deal with prudent and active men, who were not willing a second time to be cheated into terms which might be kept or broken at the regent's pleasure. They assembled their forces so speedily that they could with confidence face Mary of Lorraine and her army, though above seven thousand strong. Still, the principal Protestant nobles thought it best to come to an agreement with the queen-regent rather than hurry the nation into a civil war. They agreed to admit Mary of Lorraine into Perth on condition that her French troops should not approach within three miles of the city; that no one should be prosecuted on account of the recent disturbances, and that all matters in debate between

the government and the lords of the Congregation should be left to the consideration of parliament. No sooner, however, had this treaty been adjusted than the queen broke its conditions by displacing the magistrates of Perth and garrisoning the town with six hundred men. She endeavoured to palliate this breach of faith by alleging that these troops did not consist of native Frenchmen, but of Scotsmen under French pay. Far from receiving this evasion as a good argument the earl of Argyll and Lord James Stuart retired to St. Andrews (June 3rd), and were there met by the earl of Menteith, the laird of Tullibardine, and other professors of their religion.

Although in an archiepiscopal see, and threatened by the primate that if he ventured to ascend his pulpit he should be saluted with a shower of musket-balls, John Knox boldly preached before the Congregation and animated their resolution of defending their freedom of conscience. As it appeared plain that the violation of the treaty of Perth would once more put the lords of the Congregation in arms, the queen on her part endeavoured to seize an advantage by superior alacrity. She was again disappointed, although she early put her troops, now amounting to about three thousand men in the pay of France, into motion against St. Andrews, whither the principal reformers had retreated.

The lords of the Congregation boldly determined to meet the queen-mother in the field; and though they set out from St. Andrews with only one hundred horse, yet ere they had marched ten miles they were joined by such numbers as enabled them to remonstrate with the queen rather than to petition for indemnity. Mary of Lorraine again resorted to the duplicity with which she was but too familiar. She obtained a pacification, but it was only on the condition that she should transport her French soldiery to the southern side of the firth; and she agreed to send commissioners to St. Andrews to settle on conditions of peace. The Frenchmen were accordingly withdrawn for the time; but, with her usual insincerity, the queen altogether neglected to send the commissioners, or take any steps for the establishment of a solid composition.

The consequences were that the Congregation resumed arms a third time and forcibly occupied Perth, June 24th. From thence they advanced in triumph to the capital, the people, particularly the citizens of the burghs which they occupied, eagerly seconding them in the work of reformation; especially in the destruction of monasteries and the defacing the churches by destroying what they considered the peculiar objects of Roman Catholic worship. The queen-mother gave way to the torrent and retreated to Dunbar June 29th, to await till want of money and of provisions should oblige the lords of the Congregation to disperse their forces.

This period was not long in arriving. The troops of these barons consisted entirely of their vassals, serving at their own expense. When the provisions they brought with them to the camp (which never at the utmost exceeded food for the space of forty days) were expended, they had no means of keeping the field, and considered the campaign as ended. The burghers had their callings to pursue, and however zealous for religion, were under the necessity of returning to their own residences when days and weeks began to elapse. These causes so soon diminished the army of the Congregation that the queen-regent advancing with her compact body of mercenary troops might have taken Edinburgh by storm, had it not been for a third treaty, patched up indeed and acceptable to neither party, but which each was willing to receive for a time rather than precipitate the final struggle.

The articles of convention were that the lords of the Congregation should



JOHN KNOX PREACHING BEFORE THE LORDS OF THE CONGREGATION IN THE CATHEDRAL OF ST. ANDREWS, 1559

(After the painting by Sir David Wilkie, R.A., in the Tate Gallery, London)

[1559 A.D.]

evacuate Edinburgh to which the queen-regent should return, but that she should not introduce a French garrison there. The Protestants agreed to abstain from future violation of religious houses; while the queen mother consented to authorise the free exercise of the Protestant religion all over the kingdom, and to allow that in Edinburgh no other should be openly professed. These terms were reluctantly assented to on both sides. The Protestants were desirous that the French troops, the principal support of the queen-regent's power, should be removed out of the kingdom; while Mary of Lorraine on the other hand was secretly determined to augment their number and place them in a commanding position.

She was the rather determined on following the violent policy suggested by the brothers of Guise, because the death of Henry II, July 10th, and the accession of Francis and Mary to the throne had rendered the queen's uncles all-powerful at the court of France.

A thousand additional soldiers having arrived from France in July, the queen-regent, in conformity with the policy which she had adopted, employed them in fortifying as a place of arms the sea-port of Leith. The lords of the Congregation remonstrated against this measure; but their interference was not attended to. On the contrary the queen-regent, influenced by the dangerous counsel of her brothers the princes of Lorraine, shut herself up in the newly-fortified town and haughtily disputed the right of the nobility to challenge her prerogative to establish her residence where she would, and to secure it by military defences when she thought proper.

THE LORDS OF THE CONGREGATION DEPOSE THE REGENT AND RECEIVE MONEY FROM ELIZABETH

The civil rights of the Scottish nation as well as their religious liberties were now involved in the debate; and the lords of the Congregation were joined by the duke of Chatellerault, and other noblemen who continued Catholics. Both parties, having convoked an assembly as numerous and powerful as a Scottish parliament, united in the decisive step of passing an act in October, by which, under deep professions of duty to the king and queen, they solemnly deprived the queen-regent of her office as having been exercised inconsistently with the liberties and contrary to the laws of the kingdom.

Among the nobles who thus lifted the banner of defiance against the highest established authority of the kingdom, the chief was Lord James Stuart [later famous as the earl of Moray] called at this time the prior of St. Andrews, a natural son of King James V, and a half-brother, consequently, of Mary Stuart. If it had so chanced that this eminent person had possessed a legitimate title to the crown of Scotland, it would probably have been worn by him with much splendour. As it was, he was thrown into circumstances in which, as we shall see, high ambition encouraged by tempting opportunity proved too strong for the ties of gratitude and family affection, and ultimately brought a man of great talents and many virtues to an early and a bloody grave.

His strong mind had early received with conviction the reformed doctrines, and he was distinguished among the Protestant lords by his zeal, sagacity, and courage; so that though the earl of Arran (duke of Chatelherault, and formerly regent) had again returned to the side of the lords of the Congregation, and was complimented with the title of chief of their league, yet the general confidence of the party was reposed in the wisdom, courage, and integrity of the

prior of St. Andrews. Argyll, Glencairn, and others, the associates of this distinguished person, were, like himself, men of courage and sagacity and full of that species of enthusiasm which is inspired by an enlarged sphere of thought and action, and by the sense of having thrown off the fetters of ecclesiastical bondage.

The lords of the Congregation were not long in discovering, that in the task of besieging a fortified town like Leith, defended by veteran and disciplined troops, they had greatly over-rated their own strength. A still greater difficulty arose from the want of money to pay and maintain an army in the field. The lords of the Congregation resolved upon invoking the assistance of England, the only neighbour of power and wealth whose alliance or countenance could counterpoise that of France.

The cause of the Reformation had been espoused and defended by Queen Elizabeth, whose right to the crown and whose title to legitimacy depended upon her father Henry's having disowned the authority of the church of Rome. Indeed, if she herself had not seen her danger from the queen of Scots' title being set up in preference to her own, the princes of Lorraine had, with arrogance peculiar to their house, called her attention to the subject by making open pretence to the throne of England on behalf of their niece Mary of Scotland.

Money had been struck in France bearing the arms of England; proclamations had been made in the names of Francis and Mary as king and queen of that country, as well as of France and Scotland; and an open and avowed claim to the crown of England was brought forward in Queen Mary's behalf by every mode short of a direct challenge of Elizabeth's title. The English Catholics were known to be favourable to these views. It was natural, therefore, that Elizabeth, whose birth and title of succession were thus openly impugned by the princes of Lorraine, should foster and encourage those Scottish insurgents who were in arms to dispossess their sister the queen-regent of the government of Scotland. Accordingly, though accustomed to act with great economy, she was readily induced to advance considerable sums to the lords of the Congregation, by which assistance they were enabled to form the siege of Leith.

Their undertaking was at first very unfortunate. A large sum of the subsidy [£1,000] furnished by Queen Elizabeth fell into the hands of the earl of Bothwell, whose ill-omened name now first appears in history, and who had adopted the faction of the queen-mother. Two skirmishes, in which the Protestants were defeated, filled the besiegers with consternation: they renounced their enterprise precipitately and retreated from Edinburgh, November 25th, to Stirling with fallen hopes and an army diminished by desertion. But Knox encouraged them by his fulminations from the pulpit: he sternly upbraided the hearers with their confidence in the arm of flesh, and promised them victory as soon as they should humble themselves to acknowledge the power of the Divine Disposer of events. The eloquence of this extraordinary and undaunted preacher was calculated to work on the stubborn and rough men to whom it was addressed.

The lords of the Congregation resumed their purpose of resistance to the last, and resolved to despatch William Maitland of Lethington, one of the most distinguished statesmen of his time, to show the queen of England the pressure of the circumstances under which they laboured. The great reputation which Lethington enjoyed as a statesman did not exceed his real abilities; and his judicious remonstrances easily persuaded the sagacious Elizabeth to grant the succours required by his constituents.

ENGLISH AND SCOTCH TROOPS FIGHT SIDE BY SIDE

In the mean time the queen-regent of Scotland, who had received some additional assistance from France and was in expectation of a much larger force, resolved to press the moment of advantage before the power of England could be put in motion. A body of French infantry and a considerable party of horse, amounting altogether to about four thousand men, were sent into Fife, the most civilised part of Scotland, and where the inhabitants were most devoted to the Protestant faith, to punish the rebellious and to destroy the power of the barons of that district. The invaders passed by the bridge of Stirling, and then marched eastward along the firth of Forth, burning and wasting the villages and gentlemen's houses with which the shores are thickly studded. This was not done without much resistance and retaliation.[1]

The two armies continued for several days to move along the coast; the flames of towns and villages marking the progress of the French, and the sudden and vigorous charges of the Protestants interrupting from time to time the work of devastation, when the sight of a gallant navy of ships of war sailing up the firth of Forth attracted the attention of both parties, January 23rd, 1560. D'Oysel, the French general, concluded that they were the fleet expected from France, and in that belief made his soldiers fire a general salute. But he was soon painfully undeceived by the capture of two of his own transports which sailed along the shore to supply his men with provisions, and presently after this act of decisive violence the fleet showed English colours.

D'Oysel attempted a retreat to Stirling by a dangerous march in the opposite direction. The Scots had broken down a bridge over the Devon hoping to intercept the enemy's return; but the French, well acquainted with the duties of the engineer, threw over a temporary bridge composed of the roof or timbers of a church, which afforded them the means of passage. They effected with difficulty their retreat to Stirling and from thence to Lothian. The critical arrival of the English fleet being considered as an especial interference of Providence in the Protestant cause, gave new courage to the lords of the Congregation, who assembled forces on every side.

The English land army, amounting to six thousand men under Lord Grey de Wilton, now entered Scotland agreeably to the engagement of Elizabeth, and united their forces with those of the Protestants. The French troops retired into Leith, March the 29th, and prepared to make good their defence in hopes of receiving succour from France. The town was instantly blockaded by the English fleet on the side of the sea, and beleaguered on the landward side by the united armies of Scotland and England.

The eyes of all Britain were bent on this siege of Leith which the English and Scottish, now for the first time united in a common cause, carried on with the utmost perseverance, whilst the French defended themselves with such skill and determination as was worthy the character they bore of being the best troops in Europe. They were, indeed, defeated at the Hawkhill, near Loch End, where the Scottish cavalry charged them with great fury and gained considerable advantage; but the garrison of Leith shortly after avenged themselves by a successful sally, April 14th, in which they killed double the number they had lost at the Hawkhill. On this occasion it became evident that the English, who had not lately been engaged in any great national war, had in some degree lost the habit of discipline. The attack on the be-

[1 In the words of Knox, "the earl of Argyll and Lord James "for twenty and one days they lay in their clothes; their boots never came off; they had skirmishing almost every day; yea, some days from morn to even."]

siegers found their lines carelessly watched; and the ground where they opened their trenches being unfit for the purpose, argued inexperience on the part of the engineers.

The loss which they had sustained taught the English greater vigilance and caution; but so intimately were the French acquainted with defensive war that the siege advanced very slowly. At length a breach was effected, and an assault both terrible and persevering was made on the town May 7th. The ladders, however, which were prepared for the occasion proved too short for the purpose, and the besiegers were finally repulsed with great loss [eight hundred dead and wounded]. The English were at first depressed by this repulse; but they were encouraged to continue the siege by the duke of Norfolk, commanding in the northern counties of England with the title of lieutenant. He sent a reinforcement of two thousand men, with an assurance that the besiegers should not lack men so long as there were any remaining between Tweed and Trent. The siege was renewed more closely than ever, with reliance rather on famine than force for reducing the place. But the garrison endured without murmur the extremity of privation to which they were reduced, and continued to maintain the defence of Leith with the most undaunted firmness.[1]

DEATH OF MARY OF LORRAINE; PEACE DECLARED (1560 A.D.)

Whilst the affairs of Scotland were in this unpropitious condition Mary of Lorraine, whose misrule had been the cause of these civil hostilities, died in the castle of Edinburgh, June 10th, 1560. It was justly said that her talents and virtues were her own; her errors and faults the effect of her deference to the advice of others, and especially of her aspiring brothers.

Her death was speedily followed by proposals of peace from France. In managing a difficult negotiation, the princess of Lorraine employed Monluc bishop of Valence and the Sieur de Randan, men of consummate talent. The removal of the foreign troops was agreed on July 6th; for the French government now desired their presence at home as much as the Scots wished their absence. The fortified places of Leith, Dunbar, and Inchkeith were to be surrendered, and the fortifications destroyed. It was made a condition that no foreign forces should be introduced into Scotland without consent of parliament. The administration of government was vested in a council of twelve persons, of whom seven were to be named by the king and queen and the other five by parliament. An indemnity was stipulated for whatever violences had been committed by either party during the civil war. On the matter of religion it was declared that the estates should report to the king and queen their opinion on that matter; and it was agreed that the parliament should be convoked without further summons.

A treaty was at the same time made between France and England, by which Francis and Mary recognised in the fullest manner the claim of Elizabeth to the English crown, and agreed that Mary, in time to come, should neither assume the title nor bear the arms of England. By this pacification, which was called the Treaty of Edinburgh, the civil wars of Scotland were conducted to a termination highly favourable to the cause of the Protestant religion, and very different from what seemed at first probable.

[1 Brantôme] says that a seal was put on the reputation of a soldier who could say that he had taken part in this gallant defence of Leith.]

THE PARLIAMENT OF 1560

The Scottish parliament never assembled in such numbers or had affairs of such weight before them, August 3rd, 1560; but the most pressing and important business was a petition from the principal Protestants, comprehending the chief lords of the Congregation, desiring and urging the parliament to adopt a formal manifesto against the errors and corruption of the church of Rome, the exorbitance of its power and wealth and its oppressive restrictions on the liberty of conscience. The parliament with little hesitation adopted the declaration, that the domination of the church of Rome was an usurpation over the liberties and consciences of Christian men; and, to make their grounds of dissent from its doctrines still more evident, they promulgated a confession of faith in which they renounced, in the most express terms, all the tenets by which the church of Rome is distinguished from other Christian churches, and disowned the whole authority of the Roman pontiffs, and the hierarchy of their church.

The entire system of ecclesiastical government, both in doctrine and practice, which had existed for so many centuries and been held inviolably sacred, was by these enactments utterly overthrown and one altogether new adopted in its stead. The worship of Rome so long that of the kingdom and of all Europe was at once denounced as idolatrous; and following one of Rome's worst tenets, secular punishments were menaced against those who continued to worship according to the manner of their fathers. The celebration of mass was punished in the first instance by banishment, in the second by a forfeiture of goods and corporal punishment, in the third by death itself.

It is remarkable that the acts of parliament authorising these great and radical changes in the religion and church government of the country passed without the slightest opposition on the part of the Roman Catholic churchmen, bishops, and mitred abbots, who had still retained seats in the Scottish parliament. They were confounded and overawed by the unanimity with which the nobility, gentry, and burgesses united in these innovations, and all might hope that the propositions approved in parliament had every chance of falling to the ground by the king and queen refusing their consent.

Neither did they in that respect calculate falsely. Sir James Sandilands, lord St. John, being sent to announce the proceedings of this reforming parliament to Francis and Mary, was very coldly received at the court of France, and the ratification of its statutes which he sought to obtain was positively refused. The princes of Lorraine on the other hand, by their insolent carriage towards the envoy, by their general expressions of resentment, by the levy of troops, and their employing Lord Seton and other active agents in Scotland to draw together those who still favoured the Catholic cause, intimated their purpose that the war should be rekindled in Scotland in the next spring by the invasion of a French fleet and army.

But these intentions were cut short by the sudden death of Francis II, who had acted as much under the influence of his beautiful wife as she herself, their niece, had under that of the princes of Lorraine. Charles IX, the brother and successor of Francis, was entirely governed by the counsels of his mother, who, jealous of the ascendency which Mary had acquired over her deceased husband, avenged herself now that she had the power in her hands by so many marks of slight and contempt that the younger queen-dowager, overwhelmed with the reverse of fortune, retired entirely from the court and took up her residence in solitude at Rheims.

PRESBYTERIANISM ESTABLISHED

The Scottish Protestants were rejoiced at the timely change which destroyed all possibility of their plans of reformation being disturbed by the power of France, and proceeded with full assurance of success to complete the model of their church government. The tenets of the celebrated Calvin respecting ecclesiastical rule were selected, probably because they were considered most diametrically opposite to those of Rome. This form of church government had been established in the city of Geneva where John Knox and other reformed teachers pursued their theological studies, and it was earnestly recommended by them to the imitation of their countrymen. This modification of the reformed religion differed in its religious tenets but little from that of the Lutherans, and still less from that which was finally adopted in England.

But the Presbyterian system was, in its church government, widely distinguished from that of all countries which, renouncing the religious doctrines of the Roman clergy, had retained their hierarchy, whether in whole or in part. Invented in a republican country the Presbyterian government was entirely unconnected with and independent of the civil government of the state, and owned no earthly head. The church was governed in the extreme resort by the general assembly of the church, being a convocation of the clergy by representation, together with a certain number of the laity, admitted to sit and vote with them as representing the Christian community under the name of lay elders.

In the original sketch of the Scottish church discipline provision was made for certain persons named superintendents who were intrusted, as their name implies, with the spiritual power of bishops. A digest of the forms of the church called the Book of Discipline[1] was willingly received and subscribed to by the readers of the Congregation January 15th, 1561, the lay reformers offering no objection to anything which the preachers proposed, whether respecting the doctrines of the church or the forms by which it was to be governed.[c]

Through its different courts every doubtful case was so thoroughly sifted that a satisfactory result was generally obtained, and an error in doctrine, however subtle, could scarcely escape undetected and unannounced. This fact was distinctly stated by King James himself to an English ecclesiastic who was expressing his wonder that so seldom heresy had troubled the good people of Scotland. "I'll tell you how, man," replied this royal solver of difficulties, with more than his wonted wisdom: "if it spring up in a parish, there is an eldership to take notice of it; if it be too strong for them, the presbytery is ready to crush it; if the heretic prove too obstinate for them, he shall find more witty heads in the synod; and if he cannot be convinced there, the general assembly, I'll warrant you, will not spare him."

As the Scottish reformers were aware that the general neglect of ecclesiastical discipline in the Romish church had been a fruitful source of its crimes and the principal cause of its downfall, their chief care was to restore the apostolic rule to its primitive importance. "As no commonwealth," they said in their preamble, "can flourish or long endure without good laws and sharp execution of the same, so neither can the kirk of God be brought to

[1 Hume Brown *f* calls this "the most interesting and in many respects the most important of public documents in the history of Scotland."]

purity, neither yet retained in the same, without the order of ecclesiastical discipline, which stands in reproving and correcting of the faults which the civil sword either doth neglect or may not punish."

Its impartial character and universal application were also thus stated: "To discipline must all the estates within the realm be subject, as well the rulers as they that are ruled; yea, and the preachers themselves, as well as the poorest within the kirk." It was upon these just but stringent principles that they specified the offences which lay within the cognisance of the church courts, and the penalties with which they should be visited. And truly the labour to be encountered was not a small one. The old Roman hierarchy, still struggling for the mastery, was to be suppressed; its abettors were to be watched and coerced; and the religious rites, as well as superstitious observances naturalised among the people during a course of centuries, and converted by such usage into a portion of their domestic and festive life, had to be eradicated. And even this was not the worst.

The ferocity, sensuality, and lawlessness of a community whose desperate recklessness in crime had made them the wonderment and byword of Europe, were to be superseded by the strict rule of a Christian life, and a walk and bearing consistent with those religious privileges to which they laid claim. In all this we may read a full apology for the excessive strictness with which the early Scottish church was ruled according to her First and Second Books of Discipline. We wonder at and occasionally we denounce their excessive severity; but we should previously take into account the state of society for which they legislated, and the prevalence of those offences which they condemned and punished. We should also call to mind the immense moral change which this strict ecclesiastical legislation effected in so short a period of time upon the Scottish character and habits. How different were the people of the seventeenth century in Scotland from those of the sixteenth!

This reformation, as it so greatly differed from that of other countries, had also its origin in peculiar circumstances. In Germany the sovereign princes, and in England a despotic king, threw themselves into the front of the movement and were thus enabled to impart to it that monarchical character which Protestantism has retained in these two countries. In Scotland, on the contrary, the Reformation commenced among the people and was carried onward not only independent, but often in spite of the royal authority. It was natural, therefore, that it should possess throughout an essentially democratic or republican character.

Its first champions were the inferior barons and clergy by whom the danger was braved and the battle fought; and it was only when the cause was popular and promised to be successful that the higher nobility unfurled their banners and assumed the leadership of the conflict. This was done when the only choice that remained to them was to be the leaders of such a national rising or its victims. Had they resisted or even stood still they would have been borne down and crushed beneath that resistless popular movement, which was now a stronger element of the national character than the old cherished feudalism or even the pride of national independence.

Scarcely, however, had the Scottish Reformation been impersonated in its kirk than the hostility of such selfish supporters began most distinctly to manifest itself. The Roman church being overthrown, an immense portion of the wealth of the country would revert to the common treasury and might be made available for public purposes. These, as contemplated by Knox and

his brethren, were the maintenance of the clergy, the establishment of schools and colleges, and the support of the poor.[1]

But such a scheme of allotment was odious to the nobility, who looked upon the wealth of the overthrown church as so much plunder which should fall to the strongest hand; and accordingly a scramble for church lands and revenues commenced among them, in which the disinterested scheme of the reformer was laughed to scorn and all but utterly defeated.

The poor, with whom Scotland more than any other country at this time abounded, were left to their shifts as before, so that until the union of the two kingdoms in 1706, Scotland continued to be a land overrun and eaten up with paupers. Such also was the fate of that splendid scheme of national education which Knox so ardently contemplated. He had already seen and announced the large intellectual character of his countrymen and the development of which it was susceptible; and anticipating from this a happy futurity for Scotland he had pleaded for the establishment of a well-endowed university in every city, and an academy in every town. But the stinted educational institutions were left just as the Reformation had found them; and those pupils who were dissatisfied with such a scanty training were still obliged to repair to the colleges of France, Holland, and Italy.

But it was in the miserable allowance for the support of the new national church that the avaricious spirit of the men in power was chiefly manifested. As the reformed ministers had at first lived upon their own private resources or upon the benevolence of their flock, and as they increased so rapidly that the six ministers which the church could muster in 1560 had grown into two hundred and fifty-two in 1567, an application was made to the privy council for the support of a regular clergy in all time coming. The arrangement made on this occasion by the council was that the ecclesiastical revenues should be divided into three parts, of which two should be given to the ejected papal clergy and the third part be divided between the court and the Protestant ministers. In this way the two-thirds given to the papal ecclesiastics, which was to last only during their lives, was finally absorbed by the nobles, who, on the death of the incumbents, appointed creatures of their own to the livings, of which they themselves drew the revenues.

As for the remaining third which was to be divided between the court and the Protestant ministers, it is easy to surmise how the latter body were likely to fare in a money contest with the former. The officers appointed by the privy council who, under the title of the "court of modification," were to divide this third into two portions, and allot to each minister a stipend according to the circumstances in which he was placed, were so anxious to gratify the queen and lords, and so careless of the interests of the clergy, that the latter received a most inadequate allowance, which was also most grudgingly and irregularly paid.

Such was the commencement of that poverty of the Scottish kirk which has continued with little modification to the present day. On this unfair partition of the ecclesiastical revenues John Knox might well exclaim, as

[1 Maitland of Lethington asked with a sneer, whether the nobility of Scotland were now to turn hod-bearers, to toil at the building of the kirk. Knox answered with his characteristic determination that he who felt dishonoured in aiding to build the house of God would do well to look to the security of the foundations of his own. But the nobles finally voted the plan to be a "devout imagination, a well-meant but visionary system, which could not possibly be carried into execution." At a later period the parliament were in a manner shamed into making some appointment for the clergy, payable out of the tithes which either remained in the hands of the bishops and abbots of the Scottish church, or had fallen into the hands of lay impropriators.c]

he did: "If the end of this order, pretended to be taken for the sustentation of the ministers, be happy, my judgment fails me! I see two parts freely given to the devil, and the third part must be divided between God and the devil. To these dumb dogs the bishops, ten thousand is not enough; but to the servants of Christ, that painfully preach the gospel, one hundred marks must suffice! How can that be sustained?"

The bishops, as they had not been formally deprived by parliament, still retained their sees at the Reformation, and their successors continued to be appointed; but as such an order was incompatible with the nature of a Presbyterian church, the general assembly soon began to labour for its suppression and utter extinction. In 1574 it was therefore enacted that the jurisdiction of bishops should not exceed that of superintendents. In 1576 the assembly declared the title of bishop to be common to every one that had a particular flock over which he had an especial charge. In the year following they ordained that all bishops should in future be called by their own names instead of by those of their dioceses. In 1580 they unanimously voted Episcopacy to be unscriptural and unlawful; and in 1592 the Presbyterian form of the government of the church by general assemblies, provincial synods, presbyteries, and kirk-sessions, received the full sanction of parliament.

But every step thus won was a struggle against the court and the ruling powers. Such was especially the case when James VI ascended the Scottish throne. The arbitrary spirit of this royal pedant and polemic and his principles of king-craft naturally made him the enemy of a church so independent as that of Scotland, while his prospects of the English crown made him desirous to identify the churches of both kingdoms that he might reign over them with undisputed pre-eminence. "The bishops will govern the church and I the bishops," was the favourite sentiment he expressed, and the purpose for which he wrought in all his subsequent efforts to evert the whole system of Presbyterian polity and establish Episcopacy in its room.[i]

VANDALISM OF THE REFORMERS

The fabric of the Roman church having now been destroyed, unless in so far as its ruins afforded refuge to abbots *in commendam*, lay impropriators, and other titles given to such nobles as had enriched themselves at the expense of the establishment, the reformers were resolved to destroy those splendid monuments of ancient devotion which, in their eyes, had incurred condemnation from having been the scene of a false or idolatrous worship. The work was intrusted to the agents of the zealots among the party, who found ready assistance everywhere from a disorderly rabble to whom devastation was in itself a pleasure. The basest covetousness actuated their superiors, who frequently lent their countenance to the destructive proceedings for the sake of the paltry gain which could be derived from the sale of the sacred vessels, bells, lead, timber, and whatever of the other materials could be turned to profit. Thus, by the blind fury of the poor and the sordid avarice of the higher classes, "abbeys, cathedrals, churches, libraries, records, and even the sepulchres of the dead," says the eloquent Robertson,[h] "perished in one common ruin."

It is said John Knox himself justified this unlimited destruction by the noted saying, "Pull down the nests and the rooks will fly off!" an expression, the politic meaning of which could only apply to the cloisters of the monks and friars. Other ill-instructed preachers gave encouragement to devastation by quoting the examples afforded in the Old Testament of the destruc-

tion of places in which idolatrous rites had been used: a manifest misapplication of Scripture, and one which pushed to its conclusion would have seemed to warrant an exterminating war against those who adhered to the old religion, as well as against the destruction of sacred buildings.

The ruin of the Scottish ecclesiastical buildings was, however, almost universal. The citizens of Glasgow alone set an example of rational moderation in Scotland. The mechanics of that city, under command of their deacon, took arms to resist the destruction of their venerable cathedral, at the same time offering their permission and assistance to destroy whatever could be made the object of idolatrous worship, but insisting that the edifice itself should be left uninjured.

THE RETURN OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS (1561 A.D.)

Having thus entirely new-modelled the system of church government and of national worship, the parliament of Scotland resolved to recall from France the descendant of their monarchs, whose connection with that country was broken off by the death of her husband; naturally supposing that Mary, alone and unsupported by French power, could not be suspected of meditating any interruption to the new order of religious affairs so unanimously adopted by her subjects.

With this view James Stuart, the lord prior of St. Andrews, the queen's illegitimate brother and a principal agent in all the great changes which had taken place since the commencement of the regency of Mary of Lorraine, was despatched to Paris to negotiate the return of his royal sister. The Catholics of Scotland sent an ambassador on their own part: this was Lesley, bishop of Ross, celebrated for his fidelity to Mary during her afflictions, and known as an historian of credit and eminence. He made a secret proposal on the part of the Catholics that the young queen should land in the north of Scotland and place herself under the guardianship of the earl of Huntly, who, it was boasted, would conduct her in triumph to the capital at the head of an army of twenty thousand men and restore, by force of arms, the ancient form of religion.

Mary refused to listen to advice which must have made her return to her kingdom a signal for civil war, and acquiesced in the proposals delivered by the prior of St. Andrews, on the part of the parliament. The young queen took this prudent step with the advice of her uncles of Guise, who, fallen from the towering hopes they had formerly entertained, were now chiefly desirous to place her in her native kingdom, without opposition or civil war, in which the proposals of the bishop of Ross must have immediately plunged her.

In 1561 Mary set sail for the country in which she was to assume a crown entwined with many thorns. Elizabeth had refused her a safe-conduct, and it is said that the English ships of war had orders to intercept her. The widowed queen of France took a lingering and painful farewell of the fair country over which she had so lately reigned, with expressions of the deepest sorrow. A mist hid her galleys from the English fleet, and she arrived safely at Leith on the 19th of August.

Her subjects crowded to the beach to welcome her with acclamations; but the preparations made for her reception had been too hasty to cover over the nakedness and poverty of the land. The queen, scarcely nineteen years old, wept when she saw the wretched hackneys, still more miserably accoutred, which were provided to carry her and her ladies to Holyrood, and

[1561 A.D.]

compared them in her thoughts to the fair palfreys with brilliant housings which had waited her commands in France.

The circumstance of the queen differing from the greater part of her subjects in religion was not, however, forgotten; and it seems very early to have been considered as a crime on the part of Queen Mary by the more zealous of her Protestant subjects that she did not at once and for ever relinquish the Catholic religion in which she had been bred and against which, in all probability, she had never heard a single word of argument till the first moment she touched Scottish ground. It seems to have occurred to no one that a sincere conversion could only be the result of argument and instruction, and that a hasty change of her early faith could only have indicated that the young queen was altogether indifferent on a subject so serious.

Her zealous subjects, whose hatred to popery had become a passion, tried the effect of reproaches and menaces upon the young queen, without waiting for the slower course of argument and persuasion. Pageants were presented before her, calculated to throw dishonour and reproach on the religion which she professed; and shows, made for the ostensible purpose of honouring the queen, were so conducted as to cast derision on the Catholic worship.

As Mary made her solemn entry into Edinburgh she was conducted under a triumphal arch, when a boy came out of a hole, as it were from heaven, and presented to her a Bible, a psalter, and the keys of the gates, with some verses, now lost, but which we may be sure were of a Protestant tendency. The rest of the pageant exhibited a terrible personification of the vengeance of God upon idolaters; and Korah, Dathan, and Abiram were represented as destroyed in the time of their idolatrous sacrifice. The devisers of this expressive and well-chosen emblem intended to have had a priest burned on the altar (in effigy, it is to be hoped) in the act of elevating the host; but the earl of Huntly prevented that completion of the pageant. These are the reports of Randolph, envoy of England, who was present on the occasion, and who seems to have felt that by such proceedings the Protestants were acting too precipitately and overshooting their own purpose.

These were but innuendoes of the dislike felt towards the queen's religion: the following incidents showed plainly that the more violent reformers were determined that their sovereign should not enjoy that toleration for which they themselves had not many years since been humble petitioners. The lord James when he went over to France had been warned by the preachers that to permit the importation of one mass into the kingdom of Scotland would be more fatal than an army of ten thousand men. It is probable, however, that he did not hesitate to promise that the queen should have the free exercise of her religion, and she prepared accordingly to take advantage of the stipulation.

But when on the Sunday after Mary's landing preparations were made to say mass in the royal chapel the reformers said to each other, "Shall that idol the mass again take place within this kingdom?—it shall not." The young master of Lindsay, showing in youth the fierceness of spirit which animated him in after-life, called out in the court-yard of the royal palace, that "the idolatrous priest should die the death according to God's law." The lord James with great difficulty appeased the tumult and protected the priests, whose blood would otherwise have been mingled with their sacrifice. But unwilling to avow an intention so unpopular, he was obliged to dissemble with the reformers; and while he allowed that he stood with his sword drawn at the door of the chapel, he pretended that he did not do so to protect the

priest, but to prevent any Scottish man from entering to witness or partake in the idolatrous ceremony.

It was immediately after this riot and the display of the insulting and offensive pageant before mentioned that the young queen had the first of her celebrated interviews with John Knox, in which he knocked at her heart so rudely as to cause her to shed tears. The stern apostle of Presbytery was, indeed, unsparing of rebuke, without sufficiently recollecting that previous conviction is necessary before reproof can work repentance, and that unless



MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS
(1542–1587)

he had possessed powers of inspiration or the gift of working miracles he could not have by mere assertion converted a Catholic from the doctrines which she had believed in from her earliest childhood. Yet Knox afterwards expressed remorse that he had dealt too favourably with the queen, and had not been more vehement in opposing the mass at its first setting up; according to the opinion of those who thought that a sovereign may and ought to be resisted in an idolatrous form of worship, or, in other words, excluded from the tolerance which her subjects claim as their dearest privilege.

Tumults arose at Stirling on the same score of the queen's private worship: but though Mary felt the injury and expressed her sense of it by weep-

ing and sorrowing, yet she wisely passed it over, and trusted to the influence of her brother, who, by his great interest among the wiser sort of the reformers, by proclamations banishing the monks and friars, and other popular steps in favour of the reformed religion, procured a reluctant connivance at the celebration of the Catholic rites in the chapel royal. Mary, indeed, employed her brother as her first minister in all affairs, and especially in restoring quiet on the borders, where he executed many freebooters, and left England no cause of complaint.

The intercourse of Mary with that country had always stood upon a delicate and doubtful footing. Elizabeth was desirous that the Treaty of Edinburgh in 1560, which ended the war of the Reformation, should be formally ratified, particularly in respect of that article by which the queen of Scotland and her late husband had agreed to lay down, and never again to assume, the royal titles or arms of England. If Mary had complied with this clause without restriction, it would have been a virtual resignation of her right of succession to England through her grandmother, Margaret, daughter of Henry VII; a sacrifice which Queen Elizabeth was in no respect entitled to demand, nor Queen Mary disposed to grant. Lethington offered to ratify the clause of renunciation, if it were limited to Elizabeth's lifetime, which was all that was or could have been intended by the original treaty. But on the point of her successor Elizabeth was always desirous to preserve an affected obscurity, and to insist on entertaining any discussion involving that topic was to give her at all times the highest offence. Her ministers, therefore, were pertinacious in demanding that Queen Mary should resign in general terms all right whatever to the crown of England, without restriction either as to time or circumstances. While their envoys were engaged in these discussions, the two queens preserved a personal correspondence, in which high-flown and flighty professions of friendship and sisterly affection served to cloak, as is usual in such cases, the want of cordiality and sincerity which pervaded the intercourse of two jealous females, each suspicious of the other.[c]

The reign of Mary Stuart and her immortal rivalry with Elizabeth of England have already been treated with such fulness in the chapters of English history devoted to this period, that only a bare outline of this fascinating drama will be given here. A figure of great importance was Mary's half-brother James, later made earl of Moray.

MARY STUART AS QUEEN AND PRISONER

The friendship between Mary and the earl of Moray which had been strained by religious differences, broke completely on the question of her marriage, for in spite of his bitter resistance she married a Catholic. Queen Elizabeth had not only refused to declare Mary Stuart her successor—a step which it was claimed would have ended their feud—but she proposed that her Scottish rival should marry her discarded lover, the earl of Leicester. Mary declined the suggestion, and on July 29th, 1565, married Lord Darnley, son of the exiled Catholic earl of Lennox, who had lately returned to Scotland. Darnley was the grandson of Henry VIII's sister Margaret, and was next to Mary herself in the English succession.

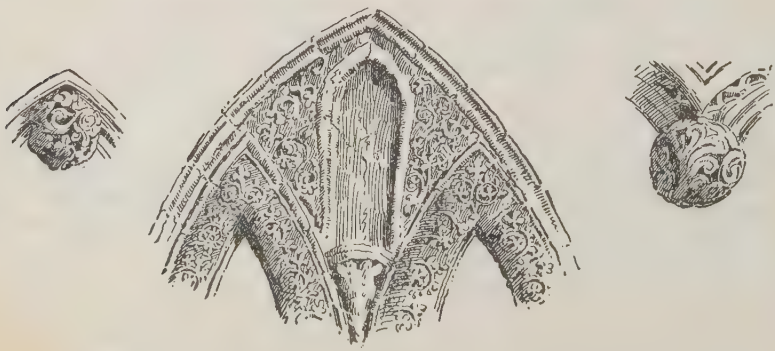
This marriage so strengthened the Catholic elements and consolidated the loyalists that the earl of Moray was forced into exile with various other nobles, and Mary with characteristic vigour crushed in their inception various Protestant uprisings by means of a swift armed excursion called the Roundabout (or Chaseabout) Raid. Her union with Darnley seems to have been

at first a love-match as well as a triumph of state-craft, but her love speedily died in the face of his viciousness and weakness. She refused to grant him the royal title, and gave the Italian musician Rizzio, or Riccio, the post of chief adviser, and as Darnley claimed, of lover as well.

With Darnley's encouragement, a plot against Rizzio's life was entered into by Moray, Lennox, Morton, Ruthven, Lindsay, and others, and Rizzio was dragged from the very presence of Mary and slain March 9th, 1566. Moray and other exiles returned now, but the queen patching up a temporary truce with her cowardly husband fled to Dunbar where she gathered strength enough to frighten the exiles back to retirement. June 19th, 1566, the queen gave birth to a son who became James I of England after a series of dramatic events.

Mary had naturally nothing but contempt and hatred for her weak and vicious husband, and her impressionable heart fell under the sway of the even more vicious yet bold and resolute earl of Bothwell, who had befriended her at the time of Rizzio's murder. The assassination of Darnley on February 10th, 1567, and Mary's marriage with Bothwell, May 15th (though Bothwell was openly accused of her husband's murder), horrified all Scotland, and the degree of Mary's complicity still constitutes one of the mysteries of history. As both sides of the case have been fully recounted in our history of England it need not be reopened here.

So great was the revulsion of feeling in Scotland that Mary and her husband fled and raised an army which was met by the troops of the lords to whom Mary surrendered June 15th, 1567, on condition that Bothwell be allowed to escape. Bothwell left the country forever. Mary, brought back to Edinburgh a captive, was hooted and jeered by her subjects, and compelled to abdicate in favour of her son, James VI, with the earl of Moray as regent, July 24th, 1567. He returned from England to take control. The Hamiltons, however, so hated him that they took up Mary's cause and enabled her to demand the restoration of her crown. The issue was decided with finality in the battle of Langside, May 13th, 1568. Mary hopelessly defeated and in despair of her very life determined to seek refuge with her arch-enemy, the queen of England. Her subsequent detention, the conference concerning her guilt in the murder of Darnley in which her brother Moray appeared as her accuser, and her long imprisonment are all to be found at length in the record of Elizabeth's reign. We shall concern ourselves now only with the affairs of Scotland after the election of Moray to the regency.[a]





MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS BEING REMOVED TO LOCH LEVEN

(From the painting by James Drummond)



CHAPTER XI

CROWN AGAINST KIRK

JAMES VI (1567–1625 A.D.)

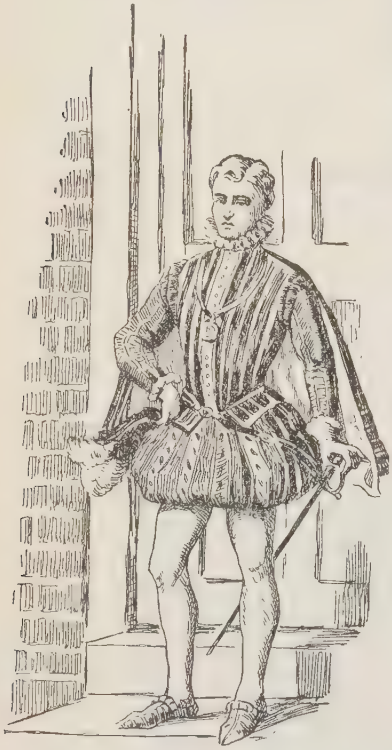
> The history of Scotland from the Reformation assumes a character not only unlike that of preceding times, but to which there is no parallel in modern ages. It became a contest, not between the crown and the feudal aristocracy, as before, nor between the asserters of prerogative and of privilege, as in England, nor between the possessors of established power and those who deemed themselves oppressed by it, as is the usual source of civil discord, but between the temporal and spiritual authorities, the crown and the church—that in general supported by the legislature, this sustained by the voice of the people. Nothing of this kind, at least in anything like so great a degree, has occurred in other Protestant countries—the Anglican church being, in its original constitution, bound up with the state as one of its component parts, but subordinate to the whole; and the ecclesiastical order in the kingdoms and commonwealths of the Continent being either destitute of temporal authority or at least subject to the civil magistrate's supremacy.—HENRY HALLAM.[b]

THE REGENCY OF MORAY (1567–1570 A.D.)

MARY STUART, like Baliol, disappears personally from the field of Scottish history; but her life in exile, unlike his, was spent in busy plots to recover her lost throne. It became clear as time went on that she placed her whole reliance on the Catholic minority and foreign aid; even in prison she was a menace to Elizabeth and ready to plot against her as an enemy. But the Protestant party increased in Scotland until it became a majority almost representative of the whole nation; even her own son when he came to hold the sceptre, little inclined as he was to accept the Presbyterian principles, regarded her as a revolutionary element fortunately removed. By her will, confirmed by her last letters, she bequeathed the crown of Scotland and her claim to that of England to Philip II. The letters contain this modification

only, that her son was to have an opportunity of embracing the Catholic faith under the guardianship of Philip to save his own throne. There was no such reservation as regards that of England. The Armada, from whose overthrow date the fall of Spain and the rise of Britain as the chief European power, was due to the direct instigation of Mary Stuart.

Meantime, in Scotland four regencies rapidly succeeded each other during the minority of James. The deaths by violence of two regents, Moray and Lennox, the suspicion of foul play in the death of the third, Mar, and the end scarcely less violent because preceded by a trial of the fourth, Morton, mark a revolutionary period and the impossibility of the attempted solution by placing the government in the hands of the most powerful noble. Hereditary royalty, not the rule of the aristocracy, was still dominant in Scottish politics, and a regency was an experiment already disparaged in the preceding reigns.



Costume of Time of Lord Darnley

Moray, said Sir J. Melville,[c] "was and is called the good regent," mingling with this praise only the slight qualification that in his later years he was apt to be led by flatterers, but testifying to his willingness to listen to Melville's own counsels. This epithet bestowed by the Protestants, whose champion he was, still adheres to him; but only partisans can justify its use. He displayed great promptness in baffling the schemes of Mary and her party, suppressed with vigour the border thieves, and ruled with a firm hand, resisting the temptation to place the crown on his own head. His name is absent from many plots of the time. He observed the forms of personal piety—possibly shared the zeal of the reformers, while he moderated their bigotry.

But the reverse side of his character is proved by his conduct. He reaped the fruits of the conspiracies which led to Rizzio's and Darnley's murders. He amassed too great a fortune from the estates of the church to be deemed a pure reformer of its abuses. He pursued his sister with a calculated animosity which would not have spared her life had this been necessary to his end or been favoured by Elizabeth. The mode of production of the casket letters and the false charges added by Buchanan,[d] "the pen" of Moray, deprive Moray of any reasonable claim to have been an honest accuser, zealous only to detect guilt and to benefit his country. The reluctance to charge Mary with complicity in the murder of Darnley was feigned, and his object was gained when he was allowed to table the accusation without being forced to prove it. Mary remained a captive under suspicion of the gravest guilt, while Moray returned to Scotland to rule in her stead, supported by nobles who had taken part in the steps which ended in Bothwell's deed.

Moray left London on the 12th of January, 1569. During the year between his return and his death several events occurred for which he has been censured,

[1569–1570 A.D.]

but which were necessary for his security—the betrayal of the duke of Norfolk and of the secret plot for the liberation of Mary to Elizabeth; the imprisonment in Lochleven of the earl of Northumberland, who after the failure of his rising in the north of England had taken refuge in Scotland; and the charge brought against Maitland of Lethington of complicity in Darnley's murder. Lethington was committed to custody, but rescued by Kirkcaldy of Grange, who held the castle of Edinburgh, and while there "the chameleon," as Buchanan[d] named Maitland in his famous invective, contrary to the nature of that animal, gained over those in the castle, including Kirkcaldy. Moray was afraid to proceed with the charge on the day of trial, and Kirkcaldy and Maitland became partisans of the queen. The castle was the stronghold of the queen's party—being isolated from the town and able to hold out against the regent who governed in the name of her son.

It has been suspected that Maitland and Kirkcaldy were cognisant of the design of Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh to murder Moray, for he had been with them in the castle. This has been ascribed to private vengeance for the ill-treatment of his wife; but the feud of the Hamiltons with the regent is the most reasonable explanation. As he rode through Linlithgow Moray was shot (the 23rd of January, 1570) from a window by Hamilton, who had made careful preparation for the murder and his own escape. Moray was buried in the south aisle of St. Giles cathedral, Edinburgh, amid general mourning. Knox preached the sermon, and Buchanan furnished the epitaph, both unstinted panegyrics.

His real character is as difficult to penetrate as that of Mary. It is easy for the historian to condemn the one and praise the other according to his own religious or political creed. It is nearer truth to recognise in both the graces and talents of the Stuart race, which won devoted followers, but to acknowledge that times in which Christian divines approved of the murder of their enemies were not likely to produce a stainless heroine or faultless hero, indeed necessitated a participation in deeds which would be crimes unless they can be palliated as acts of civil war. Let us absolve, if we can, Moray and Mary of Darnley's blood. It remains indisputable that Mary approved of Moray's assassination, and that Moray would have sanctioned Mary's death.[g]

Hume Brown[e] says: "The work accomplished by Moray has in large degree been overshadowed by the work of Knox, whose character and achievement were of a kind to make a wider appeal to the popular imagination. Yet of the two men it was Moray who indubitably did the most to insure the success of the Scottish Reformation."

Froude says of Moray: "When the verdict of plain human sense can get itself pronounced, the good regent will take his place among the best and greatest men who have ever lived. His lot had been cast in the midst of convulsions where, at any moment, had he cared for personal advantages, a safe and prosperous course lay open to him; but so far as his conduct can be traced, his interests were divided only between duty to his country, duty, as he understood it, to God, and affection for his unfortunate sister. France tried in vain to bribe him, for he knew that the true good of Scotland lay in alliance and eventual union with its ancient enemy. When his sister turned aside from the pursuit of thrones to lust and crime, Moray took no part in the wild revenge which followed. He withdrew from a scene where no honourable man could remain with life, and returned only to save her from judicial retribution. Only at last when she forced upon him the alternative of treating her as a public enemy or of abandoning Scotland to anarchy and ruin, he took his

final post at the head of all that was good and noble among his countrymen, and there met the fate which from that moment was marked out for him."[f]

THE REGENCIES OF LENNOX AND MAR (1570–1572 A.D.); THE DEATH OF KNOX

Moray was succeeded in the regency by Lennox, Darnley's father, the male nearest of kin to the future sovereign, but really the nominee of Elizabeth. His brief term of office was marked by the renewal of the English war under Sussex and other generals, which made the queen's cause again the more popular. Lennox, another victim of violence, was slain (the 3rd of September, 1571) in a hasty attack by one of the Hamiltons on Stirling, from which Morton, the real head of the Protestant party, who at first had been taken and threatened with the same fate, barely escaped. Mar, who had all along held the custody of the young king, was now chosen regent and held the post for a year, when he died, October, 1572. During his regency the civil war between the queen's and the king's party continued. An English intrigue was carried on with great mystery, and never brought to a point, by Randolph and Killigrew to deliver Mary to the regent that she might be tried within her own dominions.

On the death of Mar, Morton, who had been the most powerful noble during the last regency, at length reached the object of his ambition by being elected regent. On the day of Morton's election, October 24th, 1572, Knox died. If we condemn his violent language and bitter spirit, it is just to remember that he lived during the red heat of the struggle between Rome and the Reformation, and died before the triumph of the latter in Scotland was secure. He had felt the thongs of the galleys and narrowly escaped the stake. The massacre of St. Bartholomew, August 27th, 1572, spread consternation throughout Protestant Europe just before his last illness. Mary and Philip of Spain were still plotting for the destruction of all he held vital. His scheme for the reformation of the church and application of its revenues was in advance not of his own time only. He contemplated free education for children of the poor who really required such aid—a graduated system of parish schools, burgh schools, and universities, which would have forestalled the most recent educational reform. While he introduced Presbyterian government by kirk-sessions, presbyteries, synods, and general assembly, and opposed even a modified Episcopacy, he saw the advantage of the superintendence of districts by the more learned and able clergy. While he insisted on the preaching of the Word and the administration of the sacraments in the vulgar tongue, his liturgy shows his favour for forms of public prayer. Knox's first wife was English, and two of his sons took orders in the church of England. Scottish Presbyterianism had not yet been hardened by persecution into a hatred of prelacy as bitter as that of popery. It meant separation from Rome, but inclined to union with England, and the question of the form of church government was still open.[g]

FROUDE'S ESTIMATE OF KNOX

No grander figure can be found, in the entire history of the Reformation in this island, than that of Knox. Cromwell and Burghley rank beside him for the work which they effected, but, as politicians and statesmen, they had to labour with instruments which soiled their hands in touching them. In purity, in uprightness, in courage, truth, and stainless honour, the regent

Moray and our English Latimer were perhaps his equals; but Moray was intellectually far below him, and the sphere of Latimer's influence was on a smaller scale. The time has come when English history may do justice to one but for whom the Reformation would have been overthrown among ourselves; for the spirit which Knox created saved Scotland; and if Scotland had been Catholic again, neither the wisdom of Elizabeth's ministers, nor the teaching of her bishops, nor her own chicaneries, would have preserved England from revolution. His was the voice which taught the peasant of the Lothians that he was a free man, the equal in the sight of God with the proudest peer or prelate that had trampled on his forefathers. He was the one antagonist whom Mary Stuart could not soften nor Maitland deceive; he it was that raised the poor commons of his country into a stern and rugged people, who might be hard, narrow, superstitious, and fanatical, but who nevertheless were men whom neither king, noble, nor priest could force again to submit to tyranny. And his reward has been the ingratitude of those who should most have done honour to his memory.[f]

CARLYLE'S ESTIMATE OF JOHN KNOX

In the history of Scotland I can find properly but one epoch; we may say, it contains nothing of world-interest at all but this Reformation by Knox. A poor barren country, full of continual broils, dissensions, massacrings; a people in the last state of rudeness and destitution; hungry fierce barons, not so much as able to form any arrangement with each other *how to divide* what they fleeced from these poor drudges; but obliged to make of every alteration a revolution; no way of changing a ministry but by hanging the old ministers on gibbets; this is a historical spectacle of no very singular significance! Bravery enough, I doubt not; fierce fighting in abundance: but not braver or fiercer than that of their old Scandinavian Sea-king ancestors *whose* exploits we have not found worth dwelling on! It is a country as yet without a soul: nothing developed in it but what is rude, external, semi-animal. And now at the Reformation, the internal life is kindled, as it were, under the ribs of this outward material death.

This that Knox did for his Nation we may really call a resurrection as from death. It was not a smooth business; but it was welcome surely, and cheap at that price, had it been far rougher. On the whole, cheap at any price—as life is. The people began to *live:* they needed first of all to do that, at what cost and costs soever. Scotch Literature and Thought, Scotch Industry; James Watt, David Hume, Walter Scott, Robert Burns: I find Knox and the Reformation acting in the heart's core of every one of these persons and phenomena; I find that without the Reformation they would not have been. Or what of Scotland? The Puritanism of Scotland became that of England, of New England. A tumult in the High Church of Edinburgh spread into a universal battle and struggle over all these realms—there came out, after fifty-years struggling, what we all call the "*Glorious* Revolution," a *Habeas-Corpus* Act, Free Parliaments, and much else!

He is the one Scotchman to whom, of all others, his country and the world owe a debt. He has to plead that Scotland would forgive him for having been worth to it any million 'unblamable' Scotchmen that need no forgiveness! He bared his breast to the battle; had to row in French galleys, wander forlorn in exile, in clouds and storms; was censured, shot at through his windows; had a right sore fighting life; if this world were his place of recompense he had made but a bad venture of it.

For one thing, I will remark that this post of Prophet to his Nation was not of his seeking; Knox had lived forty years quietly obscure before he became conspicuous. He had reached the age of forty; was with the small body of Reformers who were standing siege in St. Andrews Castle, when one day in their chapel the preacher after finishing his exhortation to these fighters in the forlorn hope said suddenly that there ought to be other speakers, that all men who had a priest's heart and gift in them ought now to speak—which gifts and heart one of their own number, John Knox the name of him, had. Poor Knox was obliged to stand-up; he attempted to reply; he could say no word; burst into a flood of tears and ran out. It is worth remembering that scene. He was in grievous trouble for some days. He felt what a small faculty was his for this great work. He felt what a baptism he was called to be baptised withal. He "burst into tears."



MARY STUART
(1542–1587)

Our primary characteristic of a Hero, that he is sincere, applies emphatically to Knox. It is not denied anywhere that this, whatever might be his other qualities or faults, is among the truest of men. With a singular instinct he holds to the truth and fact; the truth alone is there for him, the rest a mere shadow and deceptive nonentity. However feeble, forlorn, the reality may seem, on that and that only *can* he take his stand.

He is an instance to us how a man, by sincerity itself, becomes heroic: it is the grand gift he has. We find in Knox a good honest intellectual talent, no transcendent one; a narrow, inconsiderable man, as compared with Luther: but in heartfelt instinctive adherence to truth, in *sincerity*, as we say, he has no superior; nay, one might ask, What equal he has? The heart of him is of the true Prophet cast. "He lies there," said the Earl of Morton at his grave, "who never feared the face of man." He resembles, more than any of the moderns, an Old-Hebrew Prophet. The same inflexibility, intolerance, rigid, narrow-looking adherence to God's truth, stern rebuke in the name of God to all that forsake truth: an Old-Hebrew Prophet in the guise of an Edinburgh Minister of the Sixteenth Century. We are to take him for that; not require him to be the other.

Knox's conduct to Queen Mary, the harsh visits he used to make in her own palace, to reprove her there, have been much commented upon. Such cruelty, such coarseness fills us with indignation. On reading the actual narrative of the business, what Knox said, and what Knox meant, I must say one's tragic feeling is rather disappointed. They are not so coarse, these speeches; they seem to me about as fine as the circumstances would

permit! Knox was not there to do the courtier; he came on another errand. Whoever, reading these colloquies of his with the Queen, thinks they are vulgar insolences of a plebeian priest to a delicate high lady, mistakes the purport and essence of them altogether. It was unfortunately not possible to be polite with the Queen of Scotland, unless one proved untrue to the Nation and Cause of Scotland. A man who did not wish to see the land of his birth made a hunting-field for intriguing ambitious Guises, and the Cause of God trampled underfoot of Falsehoods, Formulas and the Devil's Cause, had no method of making himself agreeable! Knox was the constitutional opposition-party in Scotland: the Nobles of the country, called by their station to take that post, were not found in it; Knox had to go, or no one. The hapless Queen—but still the more hapless country, if *she* were made happy!

They blame him for pulling-down cathedrals, and so forth, as if he were a seditious, rioting demagogue: precisely the reverse is seen to be the fact in regard to cathedrals and the rest of it, if we examine! Knox wanted no pulling-down of stone edifices; he wanted leprosy and darkness to be thrown out of the lives of men. Tumult was not his element; it was the tragic feature of his life that he was forced to dwell so much in that.

Withal, unexpectedly enough, this Knox has a vein of drollery in him, which I like much in combination with his other qualities. He has a true eye for the ridiculous. His *History* with its rough earnestness is curiously enlivened with this. When the two Prelates entering Glasgow Cathedral quarrel about precedence, march rapidly up, take to hustling one another, twitching one another's rochets, and at last flourishing their crosiers like quarter-staves, it is a great sight for him everyway! Not mockery, scorn, bitterness alone; though there is enough of that, too. But a true, loving, illuminating laugh mounts up over the earnest visage; not a loud laugh, you would say; a laugh in the *eyes* most of all. An honest-hearted, brotherly man; brother to the high, brother also to the low; sincere in his sympathy with both. He had his pipe of Bordeaux, too, we find in that old Edinburgh house of his a cheery, social man, with faces that loved him!

They go far wrong who think this Knox was a gloomy, spasmodic, shrieking fanatic. Not at all: he is one of the solidest of men. Practical, cautious, hopeful, patient; a most shrewd, observing, quietly discerning man. In fact, he has very much the type of character we assign to the Scotch at present: a certain sardonic taciturnity is in him; insight enough, and a stouter heart than he himself knows of. He has the power of holding his peace over many things which do not vitally concern him; but the thing which does vitally concern him, that thing will he speak of—and in a tone the whole world shall be made to hear: all the more emphatic for his long silence.

This Prophet of the Scotch is to me no hateful man! He had a sore fight of an existence; wrestling with Popes and Principalities; in defeat, contention, life-long struggle; rowing as a galley-slave, wandering as an exile. A sore fight; but he won it. "Have you hope?" they asked him in his last moment, when he could no longer speak. He lifted his finger, "pointed upwards with his finger," and so died. Honour to him! His works have not died. The letter of his work dies, as of all men's; but the Spirit of it never.[h]

BEGINNING OF THE REGENCY OF MORTON (1572 A.D.)

Morton possessed all Moray's faults in an exaggerated degree, many of his talents, but few or none of his virtues. He was ambitious, but his ambition was of that sordid kind that is sullied by avarice; and he was willing to

stoop lower yet to win the favour of Elizabeth than Moray himself would have bowed. As a judge, he was accessible to bribery; as a soldier, he was a stranger to mercy; and it was from his name that those skirmishes, in which prisoners were regularly executed on both sides, were called "The Douglas Wars."

Morton showed how much he was the devoted servant of England, by delivering up to Elizabeth the banished earl of Northumberland, a nobleman to whom he had been personally obliged during his residence in England, and who was beheaded at York in 1572, for his rebellion in 1569. What rendered the regent's treachery more infamous was his acceptance of a reward in money for this service.

In the meantime Scotland bled at every vein. In the west Lord Claud Hamilton with infinite courage and zeal continued to uphold the sinking cause of Queen Mary. In the south, Buccleuch and Farniherst maintained the same side. In the north, Sir Adam Gordon, a son of that earl of Huntly who was killed in the battle of Corrichie, made war in the queen's behalf with distinguished success. Grange defended the castle of Edinburgh with his characteristic intrepidity. But notwithstanding the efforts of her adherents, the queen's cause declined in Scotland in every quarter, save Aberdeenshire. At length Huntly and the duke of Chatelherault consented to a treaty of peace, concluded at Perth the 23rd of February, 1573. By this treaty they agreed to acknowledge the authority of the king and the regent, and confessed the illegal character of all that they had done in the name of the queen. On the other hand, they and their followers were promised indemnity and remission of such dooms of forfeiture as had been launched against them. The adherents of the queen in other parts of Scotland acceded to this capitulation; and thus the banner of Mary sunk on all sides, save where it continued to float over Edinburgh castle.

The dauntless intrepidity of Kirkcaldy of Grange might have held out that strong fortress against all the force which the regent could muster within Scotland, ill supplied as it was with the means and skill necessary to carry on sieges. But, in conformity with her proclamation, Elizabeth sent Sir William Drury with a formidable train of artillery to assist in reducing the castle. Kirkcaldy held out with firmness worthy of his high military reputation, till his walls were breached and shattered, his provisions expended, the well choked with ruins and inaccessible, and the artillery silenced. At the last extremity he surrendered the place to Sir William Drury on a general promise of favourable terms. In this the English general had undertaken for more than he could make good. By Elizabeth's orders Sir William Drury saw himself obliged to surrender his prisoners to the vindictive regent. Morton caused the gallant Kirkcaldy and his brother to be executed at the cross of Edinburgh; and Maitland of Lethington, so long the sharer of his counsels, would have experienced as little mercy had not he taken poison and died, according to the expression of Melville,[c] "in the Roman manner."

With the melancholy fate of Kirkcaldy, one of the boldest and most generous warriors, and Maitland, perhaps the most subtle and accomplished politician in Europe, we may conclude the history of Queen Mary's reign, since from that period no subject acknowledged her as sovereign.

The kingdom of Scotland, exhausted both in property and population, might have enjoyed a state of repose similar to the stupefaction of an exhausted patient, had it not been disturbed by the arbitrary and oppressive actions of the regent. Though affecting zeal for the Protestant doctrines, he disobliged the church of Scotland by a device which he had invented to

secure in the hands of a secular nobility the lands and revenues of the Catholic clergy. For this purpose he nominated to the archbishopric of St. Andrews a poor clergyman named Douglas, taking his obligation to rest satisfied with a very small annuity out of the revenues of the see, and to account for the residue to his patron, the regent himself. This class of bishops, instituted for the purpose of cloaking some powerful lay lord in the enjoyment of the emoluments of the see, was facetiously called Tulchan[1] prelates; and both the clergy and their hearers execrated Morton's avarice, which had introduced the simoniacal practice.[i]

THE FALL OF MORTON, AND ACCESSION OF JAMES VI (1578 A.D.)

Morton, now without a rival, restored order in the borders, and when an encounter occurred between the English and Scottish borderers, called the Raid of the Redswyre [or Reidswire, July 7th, 1575] his prudence prevented it becoming a national conflict. He appointed a commission for the reform of the law—a far-sighted scheme, often attempted but always stopping short of success, to codify the law, which several continental states, notably Denmark, about this period engaged in. But while all seemed to favour Morton, there were undercurrents which combined to procure his fall. The Presbyterian clergy were alienated by his leaning to Episcopacy, and all parties in the divided church by his seizure of its estates. Andrew Melville, who had succeeded to the leadership of Knox, was more decided than Knox against any departure from the Presbyterian model, and refused to be won by a place in his household. His expensive buildings at Dalkeith, which got the name of "the lion's den," roused the jealousy of the nobles. The arrogance of his favourites exceeded his own. The commons were disgusted by a depreciation of the coinage. The powerful earl of Argyll—incensed by the recovery from his wife, the widow of Moray, of some of the crown jewels—and Athol, a Stuart and Roman Catholic, united with Alexander Erskine, governor of Stirling, who now had the custody of the young king, in a league which received so much support that Morton bent before the storm and offered to resign.

The king, whose education had been forced by Buchanan, now barely twelve years of age, nominally assumed the government, March 12th, 1578, but was directed by a council of nobles headed by Athol as chancellor. Morton surrendered the castle of Edinburgh, the palace of Holyrood, and the royal treasures, retiring to Lochleven, where he busied himself in laying out gardens. But his ambition could not deny itself another stroke for power. Aided by the young earl of Mar he got possession of Stirling Castle and the person of the king. Civil war was avoided only by the influence of Bowes, the English ambassador. A nominal reconciliation was effected, and a parliament at Stirling introduced a new government. Morton, who secured an indemnity, was president of the council, but Athol remained a privy councillor in an enlarged council with representatives of both parties. Shortly afterwards Athol died of poison, it was said, and suspicion pointed to Morton.

His return to power was brief, and the only important event was the prosecution of the two Hamiltons, the abbots of Arbroath and Paisley, who still supported Mary and saved their lives by flight to England.

[1] When a cow had lost her calf it was customary to flay the calf and stuff its skin with straw, that, being placed before the mother, it might induce her to part freely with her milk. This was called a Tulchan, and its resemblance to the stipendiary bishops introduced by Morton is sufficiently evident.

The struggle with the Presbyterian clergy continued. The Second Book of Discipline had been presented to the king before he assumed office, and although the general assembly in 1580 condemned Episcopacy absolutely, parliament did not sanction the condemnation.

The final fall of Morton came from an opposite quarter. In September, 1579, Esmé Stuart, Lord d'Aubigny, the king's cousin, came to Scotland from France, gained the favour of James by his courtly manners, and received the lands and earldom of Lennox, the custody of Dumbarton Castle, and the office of chamberlain. One of his dependents, Captain James Stuart, son of Lord Ochiltree and brother-in-law of Knox, had the daring to accuse Morton at a meeting of the council in Holyrood of complicity in the murder of Darnley, and he was at once committed to custody. Some months later Morton was condemned by an assize for having taken part in that crime, and the verdict was justified by his confession that Bothwell had revealed to him the design, although he denied participation in its execution. He was executed by the Maiden—a guillotine he had himself brought from England—on the 2nd of June, 1581.

THE SWAY OF LENNOX AND ARRAN

From December, 1580, to August, 1582, the government was in the hands of Lennox and Stuart, now captain of the guard—a small force which the estates had reluctantly allowed the king to protect his person. Their jealousy threatened but never reached an open rupture. Stuart was rewarded by the gift first of the tutory, then of the earldom of Arran in April, 1581. Lennox was created duke, a title seldom granted in Scotland. Their aim, carefully concealed by nominal adherence to the Protestant faith, appears to have been the association of Mary with her son in the government, a breach with England, the renewal of the league with France, and the restoration of the Roman church. The nobles, bribed by office or the spoils of the church, were men of too feeble character to resist, but the Presbyterian ministers were made of stronger metal. Illegal banishment of the contumacious clergy and arbitrary orders of council were followed by a rising against Episcopacy. The proclamation of an extraordinary itinerant court of justice—to be held by Lennox at Edinburgh on the 27th of August—precipitated a *coup d'état*.

The Ruthven Raid (*August 22d, 1582*)

The principal conspirators were the earls of Gowrie[1] and Mar, the master of Glammis, the lords Oliphant, Boyd, and Lindsay, the abbot of Dunfermline, secretary of state, and others who had been formerly allied with Morton and the English faction.

The time selected for executing this scheme was that which the king had chosen to enjoy the amusement of hunting in the country of Athol, so well suited for that sport. His favourite ministers did not attend him on this occasion. When, therefore, James returned from Athol towards the low country with a small train of his household servants it was natural that Gowrie should invite him to his castle of Ruthven, which lay in the king's road. James had no sooner arrived at Ruthven than his suspicions were awakened by the concourse of armed men who surrounded the castle.

[1] He was son of that lord Ruthven who played the principal part in Rizzio's murder, and who was so little affected with remorse for his share in that tragedy, that on his death-bed he spoke with great coolness of "the slaughter of David."

[1582–1583 A.D.]

The principal persons concerned in the enterprise entered James' bedroom in a body and delivered to him a petition or remonstrance, setting forth that they, the king's faithful subjects, had for the space of two years suffered such false accusations, calumnies, oppressions, and persecutions, by means of the duke of Lennox and of the person who assumed the title of earl of Arran, that like insolence and enormities had never been heard of in Scotland. Their manifesto further stated that their persecution was felt by the whole body of the commonwealth, but chiefly by the ministers of the Gospel, and the true professors thereof; and that while men who had been attached to his majesty's service during his youth were, though the king's best subjects, driven into banishment, and many of those who remained were subjected to partial prosecutions and oppression, and while all of them were grossly calumniated, and violently excluded from the presence of the sovereign, they saw with indignation that papists and notable murderers were, on the other hand, daily called home from deserved exile, and either restored to such property as they had before enjoyed, or compensated by gifts out of the estates of the king's faithful subjects.

The same remonstrance charged Lennox and Arran with involving the king in plots and confederacies with the pope, the king of Spain, and the French papists, and with the bishops of Glasgow and Ross, the adherents of his mother, Queen Mary, by whom he was urged to effect her freedom from imprisonment, and associate her with himself in the royal authority.

After vain expostulation the king burst into tears. "Let him weep," said Glammis fiercely: "better children weep than bearded men [better bairns greet than bearded men]." These words sunk deep into the king's heart; and though generally of a placable disposition, the insult which they contained was never forgotten or forgiven.

For the present, however, James was compelled to submit to his fate, and to subscribe and issue a proclamation declaring his purpose, by his own free consent, to remain for some time in the province of Strathearn with such lords as were then around him. When the news of this change of ministry, as it may be called—for such rude violence was in Scotland the frequent mode for transferring political power—reached the two favourites against whom it was chiefly levelled, each of them behaved in a manner indicative of his character. The earl of Arran, as daringly rash as he was unprincipled and ambitious, rode headlong towards Ruthven Castle. He was not permitted, of course, to approach the person of the king, but on the contrary made prisoner, and thrown into a dungeon. The protection of the earl of Gowrie who was destined, it would seem, to save the life of him who finally brought his head to the block, occasioned the favourite to be detained prisoner, and his life preserved, to be a principal author of future state commotions.

The duke of Lennox, without making any attempt to restore the state of administration which had been altered by the enterprise now popularly called the raid[1] of Ruthven, capitulated and endeavoured to obtain liberty to return to court. This was refused, he was commanded to leave Scotland and at length returned to France by the way of London. Trouble of mind brought on a fever in May, 1583, which terminated his life at Paris. He died, declaring his sincere adherence to the Protestant faith, and refusing the succours of the Catholic church, in contradiction to the calumnies which had such general circulation in Scotland.[i]

[1] Raid signifies properly an inroad of a predatory character. But the Scottish applied it generally to any multitude assembled in arms for a violent purpose.

JAMES CLAIMS CHURCH SUPREMACY; THE BLACK ACTS (1584 A.D.)

The government was for ten months in the hands of a new council, of which Gowrie as treasurer was the head. There was no parliament, but a convention at Holyrood, October 9th, ratified the consequences of the raid of Ruthven [restored the thirds to the church, and revived the laws against the papists]. A declaration was extorted from the king condoning his capture, but James, no longer a boy, chafed under the tutelage of the Protestant nobles and the admonitions of the Protestant ministers. In June of the following year he escaped from Falkland to St. Andrews, which was held by Colonel Stewart. Arran was recalled, August 5th, 1583, the raid of Ruthven declared treason, Gowrie executed, and the chief Protestant lords banished. Melville and other ministers found it necessary to fly to England. A parliament, May 22nd, 1584, confirmed the supremacy of Arran, who was created chancellor, and the forfeiture of the chief persons implicated in the Ruthven raid.[g]

The king's authority over all persons, and in all cases whatsoever, was formally confirmed. "The declining his majesty's judgment and that of the council, in whatsoever matter, was," says Spottiswoode,[j] "declared to be treason. The impugning the authority of the three estates, or procuring the innovation or diminution of the power of any of them, was inhibited under the same pain. All jurisdictions and judicatures, spiritual or temporal, not approved of by his highness and the three estates were discharged, and an ordinance made that none of whatsoever function, quality, or degree, should presume, privately or publicly, in sermons, declamations, or familiar conferences, to utter any false, untrue, or slanderous speeches to the reproach of his majesty, his council, and proceedings, or to the dishonour, hurt, or prejudice of his highness, his parents and progenitors, or to meddle with the affairs of his highness and estate, under the pains contained in the acts of parliament made against the makers and reporters of lies." The church of Scotland was by these sweeping enactments [called "the Black Acts"] totally altered in its constitution and privileges. A change which we must regard in a very different light, if we consider the privileges which they claimed theoretically, or look at their practical effects.

In the first point of view there appears no political wisdom in rendering a body like the clergy, set apart for duties inconsistent with the bustle of active life, the depositaries of a nation's liberty, otherwise than in matters of religious doctrine and conscience. But though such a charge was an anomaly, it was still more essential to the liberties of the nation that a power of reminding the subjects of their rights and the rulers of their duty should exist somewhere, than that it should be lodged in those hands which might be theoretically preferred as the most expedient and best. The Scottish parliament were indeed, in theory, the natural and proper guardians of the people's freedom.[i]

A commission was granted to Patrick Adamson, archbishop of St. Andrews, and other bishops for trying ecclesiastical causes, and a form of judgment was established for depriving ministers of their benefices for worthy causes. A declaration[1] was required to be subscribed by all beneficed men—ministers,

[[1] A letter has been discovered which shows the strong but secret Catholic feelings of James. Martin Hume[k] gives it in his *Spanish State Papers*, and it was written apparently on James' personal authority from Holyrood, February 19th, 1584, directly to the pope. It makes a frank appeal for papal support and promises "to satisfy your Holiness on all other points, especially if your Holiness aids me in my great necessity." It throws a garish light on the duplicity of the king.]

[1585 A.D.]

readers, masters of colleges and schools—acknowledging their submission to the king and obedience to their ordinary bishop or superintendent appointed by him under pain of forfeiture. A few subscribed unconditionally, others with the qualification, "according to the Word of God"; but a large number declined and suffered the penalty.

Early in 1585 Adamson issued a paper declaring the king's supremacy in matters ecclesiastical, defending the restoration of bishops, and announcing the king's intention that the bishops should hold synods twice a year, that general assemblies should be allowed provided they had his sanction, but that no jurisdiction was to be exercised by presbyteries. This document, which cut at the root of the Presbyterian system and was a formal declaration in favour of the royal supremacy and Episcopacy, was met with vehement protests by Melville and the exiled ministers.

Meantime a series of intrigues went on between the English and Scottish courts. Elizabeth, while ostensibly favouring the exiles, disliked their political principles. James and Arran, instead of leaning on the papacy as Mary did, had shown signs of accepting a solution of the problem of church government more like that of England than of Geneva. There was here ground for a compromise of the religious controversy which political reasons made so desirable. Accordingly, Lord Hunsdon, a favourite courtier of Elizabeth, met Arran near Berwick in the autumn, when it was arranged that the master of Gray, then a follower of Arran and personal favourite of James, should go to London in October. At his instance Elizabeth removed the banished Scottish lords and ministers from Newcastle to London. But Gray was playing his own game, and his suggestions that these lords might return to Scotland, and that the alliance with England should be carried out by their aid and his own influence independently of Arran, were taken up by the queen, who had no personal liking for Arran, and ultimately effected. Elizabeth sent Wotton to Scotland, who won the confidence of James to whom he promised a pension of £5,000 a year, and while openly negotiating with Arran secretly plotted with Gray for his downfall. A mutual league between England and Scotland against the Catholics, called the "bond anent the true religion," was agreed to by a convention of estates in July, 1585.

THE ALLIANCE WITH ELIZABETH (1585 A.D.)

This was a turning-point in the life of James and in the history of Scotland. The choice was made between France and England, Romanism and Protestantism. It was not likely to be reversed when with Elizabeth's declining years the crown of England was thrown into the balance. The day before the conclusion of the treaty Arran was at the request of Elizabeth's envoy put in strict ward, under the pretext that he had been privy to the death of Lord Russell, son of the earl of Bedford, in a border fray, and he only escaped at the price of his estates and honours.

In November the banished lords—Angus, Mar, the master of Glammis—returned, and along with them the two Hamiltons; and aided by Gray, they seized the person of the king and the castle of Stirling, and assumed the government. The alliance with England was finally ratified at Berwick by Randolph. James, at the instigation of Gray, wrote a harsh letter to his mother; and at the instance of Elizabeth he allowed George Douglas, who had been concerned in Darnley's murder, to return to Scotland. The exiled Protestant ministers were restored to their livings; but James was resolute in maintaining Episcopacy and enforcing the laws against all who denied the royal supremacy.

Adamson was, indeed, forced by a general assembly to disclaim any authority as archbishop not allowed by God's Word, and an act was passed again dividing Scotland into presbyteries, but the king refused to subject the bishops to their jurisdiction.

Mary, deserted by her son, now allowed herself through her immediate confidants, especially her secretaries, Nau and Curle, to take an active though secret part in the Jesuit plots which embraced both Scotland and England in their ramifications. Her trial at Fotheringay could have had but the one result, as described in our history of England. The execution (February 8th, 1587) of Mary naturally roused the anger of the Catholic powers and some indignation in Scotland, which James professed to share; yet he did nothing but expostulate. In truth, his own crown was threatened by the same enemies. Mary had disinherited him in favour of Philip of Spain, unless he adopted the Catholic faith.

The defeat of the Spanish Armada by the sovereign and people of both countries was felt to be a providential deliverance. Nothing could have served better to efface the memory of Mary and extinguish pity for her fate.[a]

SCOTLAND AND THE ARMADA (1588 A.D.)

In the present crisis, when the Spanish invasion was expected at any moment, James weighed in most careful balance the two policies of an English or a Spanish alliance. He finally decided to cling to England, and so declared himself in terms that implied no previous doubt.[a] Universal preparations were made for resistance in case the Spaniards should attempt to land in Scotland. There was a general muster through the realm. Watches were placed at all the sea-ports, beacons erected, and every means taken to prepare the most effectual defence against the apprehended invasion. In the mean time love of the old religion, or desire for new changes by which they might profit, had associated a few of the Scottish lords into a faction favourable to Spain, and formidable from the rank and power of those whom it included. The earls of Huntly, Errol, and Crawford, and Lord Maxwell, were all Catholics.

Maxwell had retreated to Spain in discontent, and at this crisis returned with the purpose of assisting the Spanish king's enterprise by making an insurrection in Scotland. He went suddenly, therefore, to the west border, and began to assemble his forces; but James, placing himself at the head of a body of troops, made a rapid movement into Nithsdale, where he dispersed the forces of Maxwell, took him prisoner, and seized upon his castles.

With the exception of these nobles, Scotland in general showed the firmest determination to support the king. A bond of association was entered into for the maintenance of true religion and defence of their lawful sovereign. This association was signed with emulous alacrity by subjects of every rank, and was the model upon which the celebrated League and Covenant in the reign of Charles I was afterwards founded, though for very different purposes.

The fate of the Invincible Armada in 1588 is generally known. Persecuted by the fury of the elements, and annoyed by the adventurous gallantry of the English seamen, it was driven around the island of Britain, meeting great loss upon every quarter, and strewing the wild shores of the Scottish Highlands and isles with wreck and spoil. James, though in arms to resist the Spaniards, had such resistance been necessary, behaved generously to considerable numbers whom their misfortunes threw upon his shores. Their wants were relieved, and they were safely restored to their own country.

The fate of one body of these unfortunate men is strikingly told by the

reverend James Melville,[l] whose graphic diary has been published.[1] He describes at some length the alarm caused by the threatened invasion, and its effects. "Terrible," he says, "was the fear, piercing were the preachings, earnest, zealous, and fervent were the prayers, sounding were the sighs and sobs, and abounding were the tears at the fast and general assembly at Edinburgh, where we were credibly told sometimes of their landing at Dunbar, sometimes at St. Andrews, and again at Aberdeen and Cromarty."

On a sudden these rumours were dispelled by the account that a shipful of Spaniards were arrived in Melville's own harbour of Anstruther. The minister hastened to meet them, and found himself in presence of Don Juan de Medina, a commodore of twenty vessels. He was a reverend man of tall stature, a grave and silent countenance, great beard, and so humbled by his condition that in bowing to the clergyman he swept his shoe with his sleeve. His tale was most melancholy. They had been shipwrecked upon the Fair Isle between Orkney and Shetland, had experienced the utmost extremity of hunger and cold, had after some weeks of misery hired a bark from Orkney, and were now come to entreat protection from the king of Scotland.

He and his men were accordingly treated with honourable kindness by the people of Anstruther. Melville procured for the Spaniards' information a printed account of the dispersion of the Armada, and their numerous losses in the north seas. He burst into tears and wept bitterly. Having set forth on his return to his own country, the noble Castilian found a ship belonging to the town of Anstruther under arrest at Cadiz. He instantly undertook a journey to court to labour for her discharge, and reported to his monarch his high sense of the Scottish hospitality. The vessel being liberated he showed great kindness to the crew, and dismissed them with many commendations to the good people of Anstruther. "But," concludes Melville,[l] very naturally, "we thanked God with our hearts that we had seen them among us in that form."

Thus passed over in Britain that dreadful period of 1588, which the astrologers, whom chance had for once guided to a veracious prediction, had distinguished as the "marvellous year."

THE "SPANISH BLANKS"

When the danger was over, Elizabeth no longer evinced any thought of making good the liberal promises made to the king of Scots by her envoy while matters were yet doubtful.

The Catholic lords themselves, though much disconcerted by the failure of the Armada, continued to negotiate with the prince of Parma, soliciting him for a body of six thousand auxiliaries, by means of whom, added to their own followers, they proposed to make him master of Scotland, and enable him to enter England with a triumphant army. Huntly, Crawford, and Errol were the chief persons in this conspiracy; but they were joined by Francis, earl of Bothwell, a turbulent and ambitious man, who alone of the Scotch Protestant nobility had advised a war with England, and even engaged soldiers to follow him in it at his own expense. Their correspondence with the prince of Parma being discovered to Elizabeth in 1592, she commanded Sidney to lay the letters before the king of Scotland. [Their papers were eight blank sheets, according to Burton,[m] signed by the conspirators and later to have been filled with promises to support an invasion.] The guilty noblemen

[1] He was a clergyman, and must be carefully distinguished from Sir James Melville,[c] the statesman often quoted. His diary has been published by the Bannatyne Club of Edinburgh.

were condemned to imprisonment; but King James, who was not willing to encounter the odium of the Catholic party lest it should interfere with his claim of succession to the throne of England, and who might in his heart desire to reserve some power in Scotland itself to balance the violent Protestant party acting under the instigation of preachers always unfavourable to him and his family, released the rebellious earls after a short confinement.[1]

They testified their thankfulness for his clemency, first, by an attempt to seize his person, which was disconcerted by the precautions of the chancellor; secondly, by an open rebellion in the north of Scotland. The king marched against them with an army hastily collected; and the rebels, unable to withstand the royal forces, dispersed their troops, and submitted to James' clemency. Once more they were committed to prison, once more to experience the lenity of their sovereign, who took an opportunity again to release them, in consequence of his marriage.[1]

JAMES' MARRIAGE; HIS GROWING AUTOCRACY IN THE CHURCH

The fall of Gray, who had been tried and condemned in 1587 for treachery during his English embassy and for correspondence with Catholic princes, had left James, now of full age, without what was almost a necessity to his weak nature—a favourite, though Sir John Maitland, a younger brother of Lethington, was secretary and exercised the chief influence in the government. Advantage had been taken of the royal majority to pass in 1587 an act annexing to the crown all church lands under certain limited reservations. But, as all prior grants to lay impropriators were saved, and the king was still allowed to grant feus of church lands, the nobles and landed gentry really profited most by this measure, which gave a parliamentary title to their estates derived from the church and the hope of future spoils. The act was accompanied by a general revocation of all gifts made during the king's minority or by Mary after her accession. Another statute of constitutional importance renewed, and for the first time carried into effect, the law of James I, by which the lesser barons in the counties were excused from personal attendance and allowed to send representatives to parliament. This was a check on the nobles who had hitherto almost exclusively attended and ruled parliament. It was the first and only large deviation of the Scottish parliament from the feudal model of the *curia regis*.

Projects for the king's marriage had been on foot at an earlier period; but at last the choice fell upon Anne of Denmark. Elizabeth opposed the match; but James, perhaps tempted by the offer to surrender the Danish claim to Orkney and Shetland, perhaps also not unwilling to show he could choose for himself, was married to Anne by proxy, August 20th, 1589. Anne set sail for Scotland, but was driven back by a storm. Accordingly James himself went to claim his bride, when the actual marriage was at once celebrated at Copenhagen, where he spent the winter. It was a political advantage both to the king and to Scotland to form a connection with a kingdom which, though small, stood comparatively high at that time in Europe, and was completely independent both of England and of France.

After the king's return, May, 1590, the Presbyterian party was in the ascendant. It has been doubted whether the favour shown to it by James

[1] The discovery of James' letter to the pope and other secret state papers prove that James himself hoped to gain by the Spanish invasion, and hesitated long before throwing his lot in with Elizabeth. His protection of the Catholic earls was therefore, in a real sense, the protection of accomplices in a plot which he had begun but deserted.]

at this time was genuine, but without reason. He had been married, and the queen was crowned, May 17th, by Robert Bruce, a leading minister, for whom he had a personal liking. Shortly before going to Denmark James had published a tract interpreting the Apocalypse in the well-known Protestant sense. Notwithstanding the failure of the Armada, the air was still full of Jesuit intrigues and Spanish plots.

At no moment of his life was James less inclined towards the English form of the Reformation, which he described in a celebrated speech as retaining the superstition of the mass "without the liftings." A severe blow was given to Episcopacy in Scotland by Archbishop Adamson, shortly before his death, retracting in a published confession his writings against Presbyterianism. In 1592 parliament, led according to James Melville[1] by Maitland, now Lord Thirlestane and chancellor, re-established Presbyterian church government. General assemblies were to meet once a year, and provincial assemblies or synods, presbyteries, and sessions were confirmed. The act of 1584 conferring jurisdiction on bishops was rescinded, but there was no formal abrogation of the office. The assembly had asked for the repeal of the Act of Annexation of 1587, but this was not conceded. The landed interests were too powerful to allow of the Reformed church receiving the patrimony of its predecessor. Shortly after the termination of the parliament the discovery of the plot of "the Spanish blanks," already described, had showed that the danger of a Catholic rising and foreign invasion was real. The conspiracy proved abortive, as we have seen, and two of its chief promoters (Huntly and Errol) left Scotland; on their return three years later they publicly renounced Catholicism and conformed to the Protestant faith.

From the king's majority to his accession to the English throne his relations to the nobles on the one hand and to the Presbyterian party, led by the ministers, on the other, require to be kept in view as giving the key to a singularly confused and changing course of events. After the death of Thirlestane in 1595, the king had to rely on his own counsel, of the value of which he had an overweening opinion. He had studied the theory of kingcraft and wrote the *Basilicon Doron* expounding it. He fancied that he really governed, while he was in fact drawn this way or that by the contending forces which emerged in this revolutionary epoch. In spite of occasional displays of resolution, his character was at bottom weak. It was the destiny which conducted him to the English throne that saved him from the dangers of his situation in Scotland.

BOTHWELL: THE OCTAVIANS

A nobleman who, although only connected by his mother with Mary's Bothwell, seemed to inherit the reckless daring of his predecessor in the title, thrice attempted and once (July 24th, 1593) for a short time succeeded in seizing the royal person and assuming the reigns of government. But James, who was not without adroitness in baffling plotters by arts similar to their own, escaped from his custody. Towards the Catholic lords his policy was not to proceed to extremities, but to keep them in hand as a counterpoise to the extreme Protestant party.

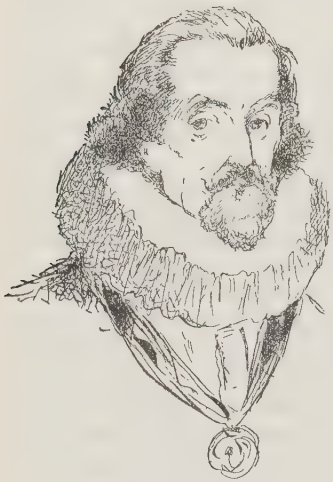
He prudently allowed the finances to be managed after Thirlestane's death in 1596 by a committee, appointed January 8th, called from its number the Octavians, on which both Catholics and Protestants acted—Seton, afterwards Lord Dunfermline, the president of the session, and Lindsay of Balcarres being the leading members. With their advice James set himself against any measures which the Protestant ministers proposed for the restoration or

increase of the revenues of the church. It was this critical point of money, the assertion of the royal supremacy in spiritual matters, and the favour the king showed to the Catholics which led to the quarrel between him and the ministers. At a convention of the estates at Falkland, and then more strongly as one of a deputation sent by the ministers from Cupar, Andrew Melville, in the spirit and manner of Knox, made his well-known speech to "God's silly vassal" on the two kingdoms and the two kings.[g]

ANDREW MELVILLE REBUKES THE KING, SEPTEMBER, 1596

The king angrily charged that meeting with being seditious, and accused them of stirring up alarm in the country when none was needed. Andrew Melville kindled at the king's charge of sedition against the brethren. Taking the king by the sleeve, and addressing him with the epithet of "God's silly vassal," he thundered in his ears to the following effect:

"Sir, we will humbly reverence your majesty always, namely, in public; but we have this occasion to be with your majesty in private, and you are brought into extreme danger both of your life and of your crown, and with you the country and kirk of God is like to be wrecked for not telling the truth and giving you a faithful counsel. We must discharge our duty, or else be enemies of Christ and you; therefore, sir, as divers times before, so now I must tell you that there are two kings and two kingdoms. There is Christ and his kingdom the kirk, whose subject King James VI is, and of whose kingdom he is not a king, nor a head, nor a lord, but a member; and they whom Christ hath called and commanded to watch over his kirk and govern his spiritual kingdom have sufficient authority and power from him so to do, which no Christian king nor prince should control nor discharge, but fortify and assist, otherwise they are not faithful subjects to Christ. Sir, when you were in your swaddling clouts, Christ reigned freely in this land in spite of all his enemies.



JAMES VI OF SCOTLAND
(1566-1625)

"The wisdom of your counsel, which is devilish and pernicious, is this—that you may be served with all sorts of men to come to your purpose and grandeur, Jew and Gentile, Papist and Protestant. Because the ministers and Protestants in Scotland are too strong, and control the king, they must be weakened and brought low by stirring up a party against them, and the king, being equal and indifferent, both shall be fain to flee to him; so shall he be well settled. But, sir, let God's wisdom be the only true wisdom: this will prove mere and mad folly; for his curse cannot but light upon it, so that in seeking both you shall lose both; whereas, in cleaving uprightly to God, his true servants shall be your true friends, and he shall compel the rest, counterfeitly and lyingly, to serve you, as he did to David."

We can imagine with what feeling Elizabeth or her father would have listened to such sentiments, and enforced in such a fashion; but the arguments were nothing more than the legitimate consequences of an ecclesiastical

polity which James himself had recognised; and as for the blunt mode in which his attention had been solicited, it was too much in accordance with the simple fashions of a Scottish court to excite either wonder or alarm. While Elizabeth, therefore, would have called for her guards, or Henry VIII shouted for the executioner, James only listened quietly, as to an expected lesson, although this was but a part of the harangue, and "demitted them pleasantly," declaring his ignorance of the return of the popish lords. All this courtesy, however, on the part of the king was but an empty show."

Although James, frightened by this vehement language, made promises that he would do nothing for the Catholic lords till they had made terms with the church, it was impossible that a quarrel whose roots were so deep as to the limits of the royal authority and jurisdiction in matters ecclesiastical could be appeased. Neither party to it could see how far each overstepped the bounds of reason. The king was blind to the right of freedom of conscience which Protestantism had established as one of its first principles. Melville and the ministers were equally blind to the impossibility of any form of monarchy yielding to the claim that the members of an ecclesiastical assembly should use the name of Christ and the theory of his headship over the church to give themselves absolute power to define its relations to the state.

Other occasions quickly arose for renewing the controversy. A violent sermon by Black at St. Andrews gave a favourable opportunity to James of invoking the jurisdiction of the privy council, and the preacher was banished north of the Tay. Soon afterwards a demand made on the king in consequence of a sermon of another minister, Balcanquhal, and a speech of Bruce's —the king's former favourite—that he should dismiss the Octavians, led to a tumult in Edinburgh, December 17th, 1596, which gave James a pretext for leaving the town and removing the courts of justice to Linlithgow.[1] Supported by the nobles, he returned on New Year's Day, 1597, received the submission of the town, levying a severe fine before he would restore its privileges as a corporation, and withholding from it the right of electing its own magistrates or ministers without the royal consent.

Emboldened by this success, James now addressed himself to the difficult problem of church and state. He did not yet feel strong enough to restore Episcopacy—perhaps had not quite determined on that course. The ingenious scheme—due to Lindsay of Balcarres—was invented of the introducing representatives of the church into parliament without naming them bishops. This would have the twofold effect of diminishing the authority of the general assemblies and of conferring on parliament a competency to deal with matters ecclesiastical.

Parliament in 1597 passed an act that all ministers promoted to prelacies (*i.e.*, bishopries or abbacies) should have seats in parliament, and remitted to the king with the general assembly to determine as to the office of such persons in the spiritual policy and government of the kirk. Accordingly James summoned successive assemblies at Perth and Dundee, where there were two sessions in 1597, and finally at Montrose, in 1600, selecting those towns in order to procure a good attendance from the north, always more favourable to royalty and Episcopacy and less under the influence of the Edinburgh clergy. By this and other manœuvres he obtained some concessions, but not all that he desired. It was the Gowrie conspiracy (the 5th

[1 Hume Brown calls this "a turning point in the reign of James VI. By his astuteness and pertinacity he turned the tumult of the day to so good account that he gradually attained to a degree of authority over all classes of his subjects, such as had been acquired by no previous ruler of Scotland."]

of August, 1600) whose failure gave him the courage and the ground for finally abandoning the Presbyterians and casting in his lot with the bishops. Repeated investigations at the time and since cannot be said to have completely cleared up the mystery of this outrage.[g]

THE PUZZLE OF THE GOWRIE CONSPIRACY (1600 A.D.)

The correspondence of Essex with King James VI was certainly amongst the causes which prevented his restoration to the favour of Elizabeth. The harshness with which he was treated in the autumn of 1600 was a natural consequence of the indignation of the English government at the proceedings of James. At a convention of the Scottish estates, in June of that year, the king proposed that a tax should be levied for the purpose of asserting his claim to the succession to the crown of England. This demand met with the most strenuous resistance. Amongst those who led the opposition was the young earl of Gowrie, who had recently returned from the court of Elizabeth. The king was furious against his parliament. They had laughed at his notion of raising money to make a conquest of England; and altogether refused to give him more than 40,000 pounds Scots. After this Essex was informed that James had a party in England, and intended not to wait for the queen's death. The mutual ill-will that subsisted at this time between James and Elizabeth has led to the belief, resting upon very insufficient foundation, that what is called the Gowrie plot may be traced to the contrivance of the English queen.

The facts which are commonly related are briefly these: On the morning of the 5th of August, 1600, James was going forth from his palace at Falkland to hunt, when Alexander Ruthven, the younger brother of Gowrie, desired to speak with him privately. He whispered something about an unknown man having found a pot of gold; and the treasure, which was in Gowrie House, at Perth, might be seen by the king if he would come thither without his attendants. The scent of gold was irresistible to James. After the chase he rode off to Perth with young Ruthven; but he was ultimately joined by his attendants. James dined alone [the dinner seems to have been poor and late, indicating lack of preparation]. After dinner Gowrie, with James' suite, went into the pleasure garden.

Alexander Ruthven then told the king it was now time to go and look at the gold. They went together through various apartments, Ruthven locking the doors as they passed along. At length they reached a small round room; and then Ruthven, removing a curtain, disclosed a portrait of his father, and asked James who murdered him. [He seized a dagger from Henderson, a mysterious stranger found in the room.] He held the dagger to the king's breast and said that if he made any attempt to open the window or to cry out the dagger should be in his heart. Young Ruthven left the king alone with Henderson. James appealed to Henderson for protection. Ruthven, soon returning, ran upon the king and attempted to bind him.

A desperate struggle ensued, in which James managed to reach the window and cry out for help. Lennox and the other courtiers in the garden saw the king's flushed face at the window, as he uttered the cry of "Treason!" Some rushed up the great staircase, but found the door locked. Ramsay, one of the suite, remembered a back stair; and reaching the door of the round chamber dashed it open, and found the king still struggling with Ruthven. Ramsay stabbed the youth, who was quickly despatched by others who came up the turnpike-stair. Gowrie himself, with his servants, having seen the

dead body of his brother, rushed frantically to the gallery where some of the attendants of James were assembled, and was quickly slain. The populace in the streets of Perth were roused to madness when they heard of the deaths of the two Ruthvens; and they cried to the king as he looked out, "Come down, thou son of Signor Davie; thou hast slain a better man than thyself." Some of the preachers of the kirk maintained that the king conspired against the Gowries, and not the Gowries against the king; and this belief was by no means confined to the Presbyterian ministers.[o]

Three friends and servants of the earl of Gowrie who had assisted him in his battles with the king's retinue and were afterwards officious and active in the tumult, were tried, condemned, and executed, protesting with their last breath they knew nothing about the transactions of the day further than that they took part with their master. Viewed in every light, the conspiracy seemed to the public one of the darkest and most extraordinary which ever agitated the general mind; and it cannot be wondered that very different conclusions were formed concerning it. The king was particularly touched in point of honour in making good his own story, but experienced no small difficulty from the mystery which hung over the bloody incident. Faction and religious prejudice lent their aid to disturb men's comprehension of what was in itself so mystical.

Many doubted the king's report altogether, and conceived it more likely that the brothers should have fallen by some deceit on the part of the king and court, than that they should have attempted treason against the life or liberty of the sovereign in circumstances so very improbable. Many of the clergymen particularly continued to retain most absolute incredulity upon the subject; and he was thought no bad politician who found an evasion by saying that he believed the story because the king told it, but that he would not have given credit to his own eyes had he seen it.

The ministers of Edinburgh were peculiarly resolute in refusing to give avowed credit to the king's account of the conspiracy, and took the most public measures to show their incredulity. The council having required them to return solemn thanks from their pulpits for the deliverance of James, they excused themselves, saying that they had no acquaintance with the particulars of the danger which the king was said to have escaped. An order for a solemn and public thanksgiving on a day fixed was then sent forth, and the divines who should scruple to perform the duty of the day were threatened with banishment. Most of the recusants submitted after some altercation. All the clergy at length submitted to the king's pleasure, except the reverend Robert Bruce. He was banished for his incredulity and repaired to France.

The parliament, by giving the fullest credit to the king's account of the incident, may be supposed to have designed to console him for the incredulity of the clergy. They heard the witnesses upon the trial, and not only pronounced sentence of forfeiture against the deceased brothers, but disinherited their whole posterity and proscribed the very name of Ruthven. Honourable rewards and titles were bestowed on Sir Thomas Erskine, Sir John Ramsay, and Sir Hugh Harris, who had been the instrument of James' preservation. Alms were dispersed, and every other means adopted which could impress upon the people the reality of the king's danger and the sincerity of his gratitude to Heaven for a providential deliverance. But it is an observation of Tacitus that one of the misfortunes of princes is that conspiracies against them are not believed until they are carried into fatal effect. A considerable party in James' kingdom, thinking, perhaps, better of his audacity and worse of his morals than either the one or the other deserved, still refused to

believe that the king's danger had been real, or the death of Gowrie and his brother on the memorable 5th of August excusable.

Their arguments rested upon the string of improbabilities of which it is impossible to divest the story, and which, indeed, can be refuted only by opposing to them the greater difficulties which attend the embracing a different solution.[i] Like the mystery of Mary Stuart's complicity in Darnley's murder, it becomes the more puzzling the more it is studied, and every theory is confronted with objections based on common sense and human nature. James was a notorious liar, and his own evidence is of little value uncorroborated. On the other hand, the motives for so elaborate and bloodthirsty a falsehood are hard to explain. Yet Louis A. Barbé,[p] who made a recent special study of the affair, declared the story to have been almost wholly a fabrication of the king's.[a]

JAMES VI BECOMES JAMES I OF ENGLAND

James had to assume the English crown before Episcopacy could really be restored. This crisis of his career was not long delayed. Already Elizabeth's death was being calculated on, and her courtiers from Cecil downwards were contending for the favour of her heir. She died on March 24th, 1603, and James was at once proclaimed her successor in accordance with her own declaration that no minor person should ascend her throne but her cousin, the king of Scots. Leaving Edinburgh on the 5th of April, James reached London on the 6th of May, being everywhere received with acclamation by the people.

Thus peacefully at a memorable epoch in the history of Europe was accomplished the union of south and north Britain. Often attempted in vain by conquest, it was now attained in a manner soothing the pride of the smaller country, without at first exciting the jealousy of the larger, whose interest was, as Henry VII prophesied, sure to predominate. To James it was a welcome change from nobles who had threatened his liberty and life, and from ministers who withstood his will and showed little respect for his person or office, to the courtier statesmen of England trained by the Tudors to reverence the monarch as all but absolute, and a clergy bound to recognise him as their head.

To Scotland, a poor country, and its inhabitants, poor also but enterprising and eager for new careers, it opened prospects of national prosperity which, though not at once, were ultimately realised. It was an immediate gain that border wars and English and French intrigues were at an end. This more than counterbalanced the loss of the court, a loss which probably favoured the independent development of the nation. For the present no change was made in its constitution, its church, or its laws. The Reformation had continued the work of the War of Independence. Scotland no longer consisted only of the prelates, the nobles, and the landed gentry. The commons, imperfectly represented in parliament by the burghs, not yet wealthy enough to be powerful, had found a voice in the assemblies of the church and leaders in its ministers and elders.

At this point in the treatment of some historians the history of Scotland ends. Juster views now prevail. Neither the union of crowns nor of parliaments really closes the separate record of a nation which retained separate laws, a separate church, a separate system of education, and a well-marked diversity of character. But a great part of the subsequent history of Scotland is necessarily included in that of Great Britain, and has been treated under

England. Considerations of space and proportion make it necessary that what remains should be told even more rapidly than that narrative of what preceded the accession of James to the English throne.

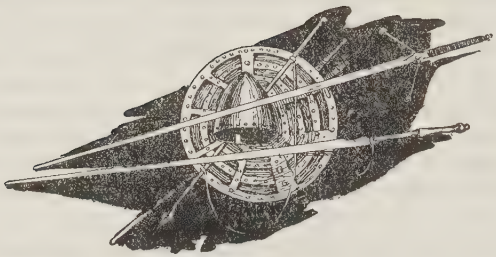
CULTURE OF THE PERIOD; DRUMMOND AND NAPIER

In learning the nation had rather retrograded than advanced, owing to that struggle in defence of its beloved church by which its whole time and energies were fully occupied. The distinguished Scottish characters of this period were therefore men of action rather than contemplation; and they are to be found in the public arena where great events were at issue, rather than the closet or the college. From this general criterion, however, two illustrious exceptions occurred in the cases of Drummond of Hawthornden and Napier of Merchiston.

Sir William Drummond was born on the 13th of December, 1585. His family seat of Hawthornden, now a place of pilgrimage to admiring tourists, was a fitting birthplace and home for a poet; while his studies, which were chiefly devoted to the writings of the great authors of Greece and Rome, elevated his taste and refined his language beyond those of his contemporaries, not merely in Scotland but of England also. His sonnets, especially, were the admiration of the age on account of their purity of style and melody of versification, so that he has been justly compared to the best of his Italian models. His reputation as a poet, by the publication of several of his verses, and especially of *A Cypress Grove*, which was printed at Edinburgh in 1616, so widely diffused his poetical reputation that, only two or three years after, Ben Jonson resolved to pay a visit to their author; and this he accomplished in his own rough, bold fashion by a journey on foot of four hundred miles over moor and mountain, and among a people still dreaded as barbarians. The chief poetical works of Drummond were sonnets, madrigals, and religious poems, which during his lifetime were printed upon loose sheets and were not collected until 1656, seven years after his death, when they were published in one volume.

The other distinguished Scot of this period—John Napier of Merchiston, inventor of the *logarithms*—has secured for himself a name as imperishable as the invention upon which it is founded. He was born in 1550, and although aggrandised with the title of baron, which in England was one of nobility, in Scotland it indicated nothing more than a laird, whose ancestors had held the power of *fossa et furca* within their own small domain. Little is known of the earlier part of his life, except that he studied in the university of St. Andrews and afterwards travelled on the Continent. On returning to Scotland his life was so studious and recluse, and his evening walks so lonely, that the country people eyed him at a distance and with fear, as a magician, or at least as something "not canny"; and to this he afforded some grounds by the nature of his studies, several of which bordered on the miraculous. The chief of these were the discovery of concealed treasures by the divining rod, and the invention of a warlike machine for the defence of Christendom that would destroy thirty thousand Turks by a single volley. The same love of the wonderful incited him to the study of the future, but in this he confined himself to the Revelation of St. John, upon which he published a *Commentary* in 1593. It was not, however, till 1614 that he burst upon the world in his true scientific character, by the publication of his *Book of Logarithms;* and in a short time this useful discovery, by which the most laborious and abstruse calculations were simplified into short, easy processes, was hailed

as one of the most valuable benefits that had ever been rendered to science. Still prosecuting these important investigations, he published in 1617 directions for the processes of multiplication and division by small graduated rods, which from their inventor were afterwards called "Napier's Bones." In the same year he died at Merchiston Castle.[n]





CHAPTER XII

THE GRADUAL UNION WITH ENGLAND

[1603–1707 A.D.]

The admirers of Edward I of England seemed to suppose the most significant title they could place upon his tomb was *Malleus Scotorum*, "the hammer of the Scots." But, although it may be true that the hammer often breaks in pieces what may be opposed to it, this is not always so; and however unintentionally, the War of Independence proved to be the furnace, and Edward himself the hammer, by means of which the peoples inhabiting north Britain came to be welded together into solid iron, as the Scottish nation—the nation whose significant and appropriate mottoes have ever since been, *In Defence; Nemo me impune lacessit.* Hence there was produced one of the most remarkable nationalities perhaps ever witnessed: a nationality that not only asserted itself, during three hundred years of separation and antagonism, but has continued to survive and make itself felt after other three centuries of union with a people greater and more numerous, in spite of an absent court, government, and legislature, and all the provincialising influences thence arising. —William Burns.[b]

The reign of James in England and his efforts to combine Scotland with it by a process of what has more recently been termed "benevolent assimilation," have been fully discussed in our history of England. The efforts to form a political coalescence were opposed by both races with all their inveterate aversion to each other. His religious problem was a triple one in that England was Episcopal, Ireland Catholic, and Scotland Presbyterian. By the parliament of 1612, however, James procured the revival of the act of 1592, which established Episcopacy in Scotland in spite of an opposing majority.

James visited Scotland but once (in 1617), after an absence of fourteen years. On this visit he procured the adoption of the English service by the Five Articles of Perth in 1618. The parliament of 1621 altered the mode of electing the lords of the articles, who monopolised the privilege of bringing in

bills, so that they were now completely under the influence of the bishops whom the king appointed. This step increased still further the dominance of the crown over the Scottish parliament, a progress towards despotism that came very curiously from so pusillanimous a creature as James. At his death, March 27th, 1625, the pleasantest memorial of his reign was the encouragement of colonisation, notably the "plantation" of the Hebrides by a body of gentlemen from Fife known as undertakers; and of Ulster in Ireland, by Scotch farmers whose posterity still preserves a Scottish dialect and the Presbyterian form of worship.

SCOTLAND UNDER CHARLES I; THE CIVIL WAR

The accession of James' son, Charles I, brought to the throne another monarch of towering pride and incommensurate strength. For years he held no parliament in Scotland, save for the formal adjournments of 1628 to 1633. Charles also continued to insist on the thrusting of Episcopacy down the Scottish throats. In 1633 he went in person to Scotland, taking with him the ill-advising and ill-fated Archbishop Laud.[a]

In spite of the opposition of a convention of the estates, which nearly ended in bloodshed, the king carried out the resumption of tithes for the benefit of the clergy from their lay impropriators. The revocation in 1625 of all the grants in prejudice of the crown, whether before or after the act of annexation of 1587, was superseded by a new measure, ratified by parliament in 1633, declaring the terms on which the tithes might still be acquired and valued by the heritors. Few measures have been of greater importance in their bearing on Scottish history. The revocation alienated the nobles and landed gentry, who dreaded that when so much had been, still more might be, taken from their profits in the Reformation. The new valuation left the parochial clergy in the position of a poor class, with interests antagonistic to the gentry, whose income was diminished whenever the ministers attempted to raise their scanty stipends.

The loyalty for which the Scots had been distinguished had received a shock by the removal of the court, and this was a second and more serious blow. Yet when Charles came to Edinburgh and received the crown at Holyrood (June 18th, 1633) he was well received. The disaffection still lay beneath the surface. Although the Five Articles of Perth were not rigidly enforced, all the court could do was done to introduce the most obnoxious—the practice of kneeling at the communion, which Presbyterians deemed a relic of the mass.

The question of a liturgy was not allowed to rest. It was brought before the Scottish bishops in 1629; their draft was submitted to Laud, who detecting in it low-church doctrine as to baptism and traces of Knox's *Book of Common Order*, refused his approval and advocated the introduction of the English prayer-book, by which uniformity would be secured. Though this was not yet attempted, Charles took the same view as the zealous and ambitious churchman who was now his guide in ecclesiastical matters. Edinburgh was created a bishopric. The parliament over which Charles presided passed thirty-one acts, "not three of which," says a contemporary, but were most "hurtful to the liberty of the subject."

About a year after Charles left Scotland the trial of Lord Balmerino, which grew out of the acts of this parliament, gave the first impulse to the Scottish revolution. That nobleman, who had possessed a copy of a petition protesting against the acts then carried, was tried under the old acts against "leasing-

making"[1] or sedition, and condemned by a majority of one upon a single charge—that of not revealing the petition and its author (March, 1635).

Although Charles respited the capital sentence, the condemnation deeply stirred the people, who saw almost the only mode of constitutional redress, that by petition, declared illegal and an act capable of innocent interpretation treated as a heinous crime. Before the trial the appointment of Spotswood as chancellor, the first ecclesiastic who held the office since the Reformation, and the admission of nine bishops to the privy council, increased the disaffection. In 1636 the *Book of Canons*, ratified by the king the year before, was published at Aberdeen, containing the most distinct assertion of the royal supremacy and a complete Episcopal organisation.

At last on Sunday, the 23rd of July, 1637, the much-dreaded liturgy, the use of which had been enjoined by the *Canons* and announced on the preceding Sunday, was introduced in the service of St. Giles cathedral, Edinburgh. For the most part a transcript of the English prayer-book, it deviated slightly in the direction of the Roman ritual.[a]

The riotous scenes attending the effort to force this book on Scotland; the activity of Traquair, a member of the privy council; the organisation of the committees known as "the tables," from the table in the parliament house where they met; the writing and signing of the Covenant or "defence of the true religion as reformed from popery," on March 1, 1638, by the nobles, the clergy, and the multitude, amid scenes of immense excitement; the assembly of Glasgow which declined to be dissolved by the king's orders—all these happenings must be sought in our history of England.

The Glasgow assembly condemned the books of the *Canons* and the *Ordinances;* deposed the bishop on charges of immorality; asserted that Episcopacy had been finally abjured in 1580; and revived the Presbyterian form of ecclesiastical government. The appeal to arms and the success of the covenanters under their general, Alexander Leslie, led to the Pacification of Berwick, June 18th, 1639, by which church government was to be left to assemblies. The first of these was held August 1st, at Edinburgh, and a free parliament met August 20th to pass an act of oblivion, and abolish Episcopacy, restore the old mode of electing the lords of the articles, and diminish the absolutism of the crown. The indignant king adjourned the parliament without approving its acts. But his hands were so full of his own English parliament disputes that after hesitating over a proffered French alliance the Scots felt strong enough to act alone. Leslie led the covenanters into England and forced the truce of Ripon (September 2nd, 1640), by which a subsidy was to be paid the Scotch troops whom the English parliament permitted to hold the northern district.

Charles now, on Montrose's advice, decided to appease Scotland and visited Edinburgh in August, 1641, presiding over a parliament whose restoration of Presbyterianism and other reforms he ratified.[a]

The lords of the articles were in future to be elected by each of the three estates separately, the burghs taking the place of the bishops; the court of high commission was abolished; arbitrary proclamations were prohibited; the officers of state and the judges were to be chosen with the advice of parliament; and, following an English bill, parliament was to meet every third year. During his stay in Scotland occurred "the incident"—still spoken of as mysterious by historians, some of whom liken it to the English inci-

[1 Vaughan speaks of "that foul blot in the history of Scottish legislation—the law against 'leasing-making,' which exposed a man to the punishment of death if convicted of speaking disrespectfully concerning the king or the persons belonging to his government."]

dent of the arrest of the five members. Argyll and Hamilton had led the party which carried all the measures of this parliament. Montrose had been committed to the castle by the estates before the arrival of Charles on a charge of plotting against Argyll by false accusations to the king. From his prison he renewed his charges against both Argyll and Hamilton, whom he accused of treason. Charles about this time unwisely attended parliament with an unusual guard of five hundred men, which gave Hamilton and Argyll a pretext for asserting that their lives were in danger and to quit Edinburgh. They soon returned and a favourable committee of investigation let the matter drop. Argyll was now more powerful than ever. In November the king returned to London, which became during the next year the centre of the events which led to the Civil War.

The progress of the Civil War belongs to the English history. Here only the part taken by the Scots can be stated. They were now courted by king and English parliament alike. The campaign of 1642-1643 under Essex proved indecisive, and the English parliament sent commissioners headed by Sir Henry Vane to Edinburgh in the autumn of 1643, who agreed to the Solemn League and Covenant, already accepted by the Scottish assembly and parliament, and now ratified by the English parliament and the assembly of divines at Westminster.

This memorable document, whose name showed its descent from the national covenant, bound the parties to it "to preserve the Reformed church in Scotland, and effect the reformation of that in England and Ireland in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government according to the Word of God and the example of the best Reformed churches." But the alliance with the Scottish covenanters did not produce the advantage expected from it. The victory of Marston Moor was due to Cromwell and his Ironsides, who were Puritans and Independents. The Scots, who formed the centre of the parliamentary army, were repulsed.

Next year Montrose, in the brilliant campaign on which his military fame rests, made a formidable diversion in the Highlands, but the fruit of all his victories was lost by his defeat at Philiphaugh (the 13th of September, 1645) by Leslie. Meantime Charles had lost the battle of Naseby, and next year was forced to take refuge at Newark with Leslie, whom he had created earl of Leven. As the result of his surrender he ordered Montrose, who was again raising the royalists in the Highlands, to lay down his arms; and the Scottish army in England, no longer on good terms with the parliament, returned to Newcastle that, being nearer home, it might dictate the terms of its services.

Here it remained eight months, during which a strenuous attempt was made to force Charles to accept the Covenant. Alexander Henderson argued the matter with him in a singularly temperate correspondence. But the king was bound to Episcopacy by hereditary sentiment and personal conviction. Another negotiation was going on at the same time between the Scottish army and the English parliament for arrears of pay. On January 30th, 1646, they surrendered the king to the English commissioners, the question of pay having been settled by the receipt of £200,000 a few days before and a like sum a few days after that date. There was no express condition which bound the two circumstances together, but their concurrence cannot have been accidental.[a]

This is the famous incident in which the Scots were said to have "sold their king." Charles, now a prisoner, turned for help to the Scottish parliament over which Hamilton held chief sway. By an engagement at Newport

he promised that the League and Covenant, the Westminster confession, and entire Presbyterianism should be affirmed by a parliament with his approval, for three years at least, till a new form of worship could be agreed upon. The covenanters who agreed to this were called the "Engagers." Meanwhile the English parliament was at odds with the army under Cromwell. The Engagers under Hamilton marching to relieve the English parliament were beaten by Cromwell at Preston, August 17th, 1648, and Hamilton made prisoner.

This encouraged the faction of Argyll, opposed to the Engagers, to assume control and march on Edinburgh in the dash known as the Whiggamore Raid—a whiggamore, or whig, being a large horsewhip; from this word some historians have derived the party name of whig. The estates under the influence of the raiders annulled the Engagement, and by the Act of Classes removed all its partisans from office. Charles I was shortly afterwards executed in England, and Hamilton perished on the block soon after, March 9th, 1649.

SCOTLAND RALLIES TO CHARLES II; THE COMMONWEALTH IN POWER

The Presbyterians could not now, however, follow in the path of Cromwell, but proclaimed Charles II as king and sent a commission to him at the Hague in 1649, where they found Montrose in his retinue. He promised to maintain Presbyterianism, the Covenant, and the Confession of Faith in Scotland, but would not extend them to England and Ireland, which displeased the commission. Such a treaty was at last agreed upon, however, May 9th, 1650, and Charles II landed in Scotland June 23rd. Meanwhile the brilliant Montrose had taken up arms, but suffered capture and a cruel execution, as described in our history of England.

Cromwell now invaded Scotland and, though nearly defeated by David Leslie, seized a brief opportunity at Dunbar and gained a complete victory, September 3rd, 1650. Charles, chafing under the strict regimen of the Presbyterians, absconded, but this so-called "Start" was such a fiasco that he returned and swallowed the most insulting allusions to his family, whereupon the crown was placed on his head by Argyll at Scone, January 1st, 1651.

Under the stimulus of a proposed invasion of England the loyalist Engagers, now called the "Resolutioners," combined with the covenanters, though a faction of so-called "Remonstrants" or "Protestors" broke away from the alliance. From this split rose two parties—the established Presbyterian church and the seceders or dissenters, each of whom claimed to continue "the true church" through their long feuds. Cromwell defeated the coalesced armies, however, at Worcester, and Charles II, after wandering about in disguise, escaped to France.[a]

Scotland offered more resistance; but Monk, whom Cromwell had left in command, stormed Dundee and terrified the other towns into submission. Although a nominal union was proclaimed, and Scotland was allowed members in the English parliament, it was really governed as a conquered country. In 1653 the general assembly was summarily dissolved by Colonel Cotterel.

Next year Monk was sent by the protector to quell the royalist risings, under the earl of Glencairn and afterwards under Middleton, a soldier of fortune. Monk, as usual, carried out effectually the work he was sent to do. He also dispersed the general assembly, which made another attempt to sit. Strong forts were built at Leith, Ayr, Inverness, and Glasgow, and Monk with an army of ten thousand men garrisoned the country.

A council of state, containing only two Scottish members, was appointed, but matters of importance were referred to Cromwell and his English council. The administration of justice was committed to four English and three Scottish judges in place of the court of sessions, with the view of introducing English law. In the church the Presbyterian form of service and the system of presbyteries and synods were allowed to continue, but the stipends of ministers depended on their being approved by a commission appointed by Cromwell. Free trade and an improved postal system between the two countries were established.

In all departments of government there was vigour and the spirit of reform, so that it was admitted even by opponents that the eight years of Cromwell's usurpation were a period of peace and prosperity.[1] There was undoubtedly one exception. The taxation was severe. A land-tax of £10,000 a month, afterwards reduced to £6,000, and levied upon the value rent under a valuation of Charles, far exceeded any subsidy before granted to the crown. Customs and also excise duties, recently introduced from England, were diligently levied; so also were the rents of the crown and bishops' land. Altogether it was estimated that a revenue of £143,000 was collected in Scotland. But this had to be supplemented by an equal sum from England to meet an expenditure of £286,000. As nearly the whole was spent in Scotland, and the burden of taxation fell on the upper classes, the nation generally did not feel it so much as might have been expected.

It was a maxim of Cromwell's policy to improve the condition of the commons, and in one of his last speeches he claimed in memorable words to have effected this in Scotland. In this respect the commonwealth and protectorate continued the political effect of the Reformation. The commonalty for the first time since the War of Independence acquired a consciousness of its existence and hope for the future. Cromwell, like former powerful rulers, aimed at uniting Scotland with England, but his proposals in this direction were premature.

To Barebones' Parliament (1653), which met after the dissolution of the Long Parliament, five Scottish members were summoned, there being one hundred and thirty-four from England, Wales, and Ireland. By the Instrument of Government and an ordinance following it, Scotland was granted thirty, while England had four hundred members; but only twenty Scottish attended the parliament of 1654, and care was taken by Monk that they should be men attached to Cromwell's interest. When in his second parliament in 1656 he tried the experiment of a house of lords, three Scotsmen were summoned, the quota of members to the commons remaining as before. This, like his other parliaments, was speedily dissolved.

On the death of the protector his son Richard was proclaimed his successor in Scotland as well as in England, and thirty members were again returned to the new parliament, which, however, was almost immediately afterwards dissolved. The Restoration soon followed, though in Scotland there was no need of it, for Charles II was already king. However beneficial the rule of Cromwell may be deemed, it had a fatal defect in the eyes of a people proud of their freedom. It was imposed and maintained by force. His death and the restoration of the ancient line of kings were looked on as a deliverance from oppression.

[1] Burnet's words are famous: "There was good justice done, and vice was suppressed and punished; so that we always reckon those eight years of usurpation a time of great peace and prosperity." And there was a saying, "A man may ride all over Scotland with a switch in his hand and a hundred pounds in his pocket, which he could not have done these five hundred years."]

THE RESTORATION; THE DRUNKEN PARLIAMENT

The hopes of the Scots from Charles II were doomed to speedy disappointment. So far from being grateful for the support they had given him in adversity, he looked back with disgust, as his grandfather had done, on the time when he was under the yoke of the Presbyterian ministers. Cromwell had shown the possibility of governing Scotland by military force and of raising a considerable revenue from it; and Charles took advantage of both lessons.

From this date rather than from the earlier or later union Scottish history assumes a provincial character; Scotland was governed without regard to its interest or wishes according to the royal pleasure or the advice of the nobles who for the time had the ear of the king. The power of the clergy had been broken by Cromwell's policy and their own divisions. The party of the Resolutioners or moderate Presbyterians, some of whom now leaned to Episcopacy, and the party of the Remonstrants were still irreconcilable, and their mutual hatred rendered the task of government easier. For the first two years after the Restoration the government of Scotland was in the hands of Middleton, who had been created an earl. The measures of retaliation were few but signal.[d]

The parliament which met at Edinburgh on the 1st of January, 1661, has been honoured with the name of "the drunken parliament." Burnet[e] says: "It was a mad, roaring time, full of extravagance; and no wonder it was so, when the men of affairs were almost perpetually drunk." In England, the passions of the cavaliers were less fierce, and were held more in subjection by the obvious danger of provoking another civil war. In Scotland, the dominant party had no thought beyond that of keeping its opponents under its feet. Argyll, as the great leader of the covenanters, was now to offer the satisfaction of his head for the fall of his rival, Montrose. Upon the restoration of Charles, Argyll had hastened to London to offer his homage to the king. He was arrested, and then sent to Scotland, to be brought to trial for his alleged offences. When questioned before the parliament he pleaded the amnesty of 1651, and the English government determined to admit the plea. He was then accused of having received a grant from Cromwell, of having aided the English invaders, and of having sat in Richard Cromwell's parliament, and voted for a bill which abjured the rights of the Stuarts to the crown. The fate of Argyll was sealed when a packet arrived from England, containing letters from him to Monk, inimical to the king and favourable to Cromwell. To produce such private letters against an old associate in the same cause was as base in Monk as it was infamous in the parliament to be moved by such treachery to Argyll's condemnation. He was sentenced to be beheaded within forty-eight hours. He accepted the fate with courage and resignation. At the same time Guthrie, a Presbyterian minister, violent and uncompromising in his opinions, was put to death as an example to the clergy.[f]

Early in 1661 parliament passed the act of supremacy, by which the king was made supreme in all matters, ecclesiastical as well as civil; and the oath of allegiance, by which the denial of that supremacy was visited with the penalties of high treason. In this way all for which the nation had been contending for years was prostrated by a single stroke, and an ample ground prepared for the persecutions which afterwards ensued. But even this headlong career was not fast enough for Middleton's parliament, as it was usually called, which generally transacted business after a debauch, and while their heads were still reeling with intoxication; and, tired of abrogating, one by

one, the acts of former Scottish parliaments for the liberties of the church and the subject, they at last proceeded to sweep them away by wholesale. This was done by what was called the Rescissory Act, which decreed that all the proceedings devised and established for reformation, between the years 1638 and 1650, were rebellious and treasonable, including the Solemn League and Covenant itself, and the memorable Assembly of Glasgow in 1638, in which Episcopacy had been overthrown.

Resolutions so mad and so despotic were the inevitable precursors of martyrdom, for they could only be confirmed by shedding the best blood of the country. In August, 1661, a letter from the king was received by the Scottish council, in which Charles, after denouncing the national Presbyterian polity as inconsistent with a monarchic government, thus briefly announced his sovereign purpose: "Wherefore we declare our firm resolution to interpose our royal authority for restoring the Church of Scotland to its right government by bishops, as it was before the late troubles." When the apostate, James Sharp, had sold his brethren and his church to their enemies, and been guerdoned with the archbishopric of St. Andrews, which made him primate of Scotland, it was easy to guess the nature of this "right government by bishops" and whether it would be worthy of the name.[g]

THE NEW CLERGY AND THE PERSECUTIONS OF THE OLD

Sharp's example was followed by other ministers of the same party. But the majority and all the remonstrants stood firm; three hundred and fifty were deprived of their livings, each of which became a centre of disaffection towards the government, while their attachment to the Covenant was every day strengthened by persecution. The Covenant, and the Solemn League and Covenant were declared unlawful oaths, and all persons speaking or writing against the royal supremacy in matters ecclesiastical were incapacitated from office.

Middleton had the immediate responsibility for these measures, and the condemnation and forfeiture of the new earl of Argyll, whose estates he coveted, under the old law against leasing-making increased the hatred with which he was regarded. His fall was due to an attempt to supplant his rival Lauderdale by the Act of Billeting, under which the Scottish parliament named by ballot twelve persons with Lauderdale at their head as incapable of holding public office. This and other acts were carried out without the previous consent of Charles; Lauderdale persuaded Charles that his personal authority was in danger, and Middleton was called to court and sent as governor to Tangier, where he soon after died. The earl of Rothes was now appointed commissioner, but the chief influence was in the hands of Lauderdale, who continued to act as Scottish secretary in London.

The change in its rulers brought no relief to Scotland.[d] To supply this unexpected and astounding blank with a new clergy, was now the difficulty of the bishops; and accordingly raw uneducated lads, and other characters still more unfit by their moral disqualifications, were thrust into the vacant charges. "They were the worst preachers I ever heard," is the candid confession of Burnet;[e] "they were ignorant to a reproach, and many of them were openly vicious. They were a disgrace to their orders and the sacred function, and were, indeed, the dregs and refuse of the northern parts. Those of them who arose above contempt or scandal, were men of such violent tempers that they were as much hated as the others were despised."

In the mean time the dispossessed clergy became more formidable in their

wanderings than they could have been in their peaceful homes. Their sincerity had been tested and proven; and everywhere among the people, by whom they were regarded as martyrs, they were certain to find willing and enthusiastic followers. Conventicles and field-meetings, therefore, became the order of the day; and in such a country as Scotland it was easy to find places for these proscribed assemblies which espionage could not easily discover, or armed violence approach with safety. Those almost inaccessible swamps and rock-girdled recesses, among which national liberty had found a shelter in the days of Wallace and Bruce, were now the meeting-places of those children of the Covenant, who could no longer enter a church without abjuring the principles for which they were ready to sacrifice their all.

To break up these conventicles was now the aim of the Scottish statesmen and bishops; and while troops of horse and foot were employed for the purpose, those wretched clergymen who had been thrust into the places of the ejected became the scouts and spies of the persecutors, and led them on to the place of onslaught. The land was laid under military execution; the soldiers were irresponsible judges, who tried and punished in their own savage fashion; and when their unfortunate victim was spared from death or torture, it was only that he might be beggared by fines or wasted by imprisonment.[1]

THE TYRANNIES UNDER SHARP, BURNET, AND LAUDERDALE

In 1664, the parliament being dissolved, a Court of [High or] Ecclesiastical Commission moved from place to place over the country, diffusing terror wherever it came. Sharp, the evil genius of Scotland at this period, was the parent of this commission, which consisted of nine prelates and of a certain number of lay functionaries. Its principles of proceeding betrayed a contempt of law and justice to which it is not easy to find a parallel except in the history of the Inquisition. The slightest expression of the popular feeling was magnified into a formidable conspiracy against the church and state; the prisons were crowded with victims; the most ruinous penalties were imposed; and so useless was evidence or defence, that multitudes of innocent persons suffered themselves to be outlawed rather than fall into the hands of a tribunal which seemed to exist but for the purpose of giving full play to the worst passions of human nature. At length, the lay commissioners began to blush for the conduct of the ministers of religion, and by gradually withdrawing from the sittings of the court they put an end to its existence in the second year from its formation.

Unhappily the goading oppressions of the ecclesiastical commission court were succeeded by the less endurable tyranny of the soldiery. The military spread themselves over the west of Scotland, and were quartered everywhere upon the persons convicted of absenting themselves from their parish church. The exactions, the insolence, and the manifold oppressions which were thus sent home to the hearths of obnoxious persons were such as could not be long continued without producing insurrection, or completely crushing the party subject to them. The fines which Middleton had levied upon alleged delinquents a little before his removal from office were now exacted with the greatest rigour for the purpose of making additions to the military force; and to make room for the large class whose indigence left them exposed to no other form of punishment, multitudes who had been committed to prison by the late ecclesiastical commission were sent as convicts to Barbadoes.

When this course had been pursued between two and three years, a partial

insurrection broke out. It originated, as frequently happens in such cases, in local accident, and was marked to its close by an absence of the concert necessary to success. The numbers of the insurgents never exceeded two thousand, and the fears which their early successes diffused were allayed by their memorable defeat on the Pentland hills. Military tyranny was then followed by military executions. The bishops, particularly Sharp, and Burnet the archbishop of Glasgow, reproved the tardy humanity of their order, and of the military officers. Twenty of the prisoners taken at Pentland were executed at Edinburgh, and thirty-five before their own doors in other parts of the country. Many were put to the torture to discover the secrets of an enterprise which owed its origin to an accident falling like a spark on the prepared temper of the people. The court at length sent an order to put an end to these sanguinary proceedings; but Sharp and Burnet withheld the document until they had numbered McKail [or M'Kail], a young preacher of great reputation among the covenanters, with their victims.

McKail[1] was put to the torture; the instrument employed was the boot, which was of iron, and was made to crush the leg by means of wedges. The prisoner sustained the barbarous pressure until the bone was broken; and when led to the scaffold he exclaimed, with the enthusiasm which had often produced its powerful effect upon his followers, "Farewell, thou sun and moon! the world and all its delights, farewell! Welcome God my Father! welcome Christ my Redeemer, welcome glory and eternal life! welcome death!" The utterance of these sentiments, with the aid of a fine voice and much natural dignity of manner, is said to have called forth tears from all who heard them.

But even now the cup was not full. Dalziel and Drummond, in whom the chief military command was vested, exceeded in their severities those who had preceded them. They introduced military execution into the west, and in a temper to be expected from men who are described as of a brutal character, inured to cruelty in the service of Russia. In the words of Laing,[b] "Some were put to the sword or executed on the highway without a trial; others were tortured with lighted matches fastened to their fingers, to extort confession; and among the atrocities imputed to Dalziel, a son was executed because he refused to discover his father; a woman accessory to the escape of her husband was tortured to death.

"The soldiers were indulged in every species of excess. Rapes, robberies, and murders were committed with impunity, and the prisoners arrested on suspicion were stripped and thrust into crowded, contracted, and unwholesome gaols. Instead of penalties, a sufficient number of soldiers were quartered on recusants to ruin or eat them up in a single night. The clergy, instead of interceding for the people, abetted the crimes of the military, with whom they associated, aided or directed their violence, connived at their escapes, and amidst calamities productive of a transient conformity, rejoiced at the golden age which the church enjoyed. The western counties were subject for seven months to every species of military outrage, till the appearance of the Dutch fleet in the Forth recalled the troops to the protection of the coast."

While the conduct of the military and of the clergy was characterised by so much tyranny and cruelty, it will not be supposed that the courts of justice were kept pure. It was one of the most ancient and unquestionable provisions of the law of Scotland that no party should be condemned in his absence, or

[1 M'Kail was the first martyr of the Covenant as Wishart had been of the Reformation.—MACKAY, *a*]

be deprived by outlawry of a legal trial on his appearance in court. But that the property of the more opulent delinquents, who had many of them escaped the hands of their persecutors, might be seized, the officers of state prevailed upon the judges to declare that the judiciary court might proceed to try and condemn all traitorous persons who refused to make their appearance. In this manner one of the most valuable securities of Scottish law was abolished, and by this means the estates of fifty-five gentlemen passed into the hands of Dalziel and Drummond, and of the members of the administration, the sufferers being sentenced to be executed whenever they should be apprehended.

In order that the power of the government might be augmented at pleasure and made to embrace, as occasion might demand, almost any extent of severity, it was agreed that the statute imposing the oath of supremacy, and requiring an abjuration of the Covenant, should not include any specified penalty, but that in this case, as in some others of no less importance, the form and measure of punishment should be left to the discretion of the ministers of the crown. The effect of this arbitrary policy was to expose offenders to the fear of every sort of oppression. The punishment usually inflicted in such cases was servitude in the West Indian plantations, which generally proved a lingering death.

After the fall of Clarendon, and the disastrous issue of the Dutch war, the government of Scotland became much less intolerant, and in civil affairs was conducted with much more equity and wisdom. The two archbishops, Sharp and Burnet, were dismissed to their episcopal duties, and commanded to abstain from meddling with state matters.

This milder administration lasted about three years. But towards the close of 1669 the government began to resume much of its former temper. Lauderdale became the husband of the countess of Dysart, a most dangerous woman, who acquired a complete ascendency over him. Lauderdale, after much effort, had succeeded in obtaining a place in the cabal administration; and in the hope of commending himself effectually to the favour of the king and of his advisers, he procured the passing of two acts in the Scottish parliament which promised to place the affairs both of church and state in that kingdom more than ever at the disposal of the crown.

The first of these acts declared the external government of the church to be an inherent right of the crown, and gave to the decisions of the sovereign concerning all ecclesiastical matters, meetings, and persons, when recorded and published by the privy council, the force of laws. This was at the moment when the secret treaty with France, designed to overthrow the Protestant religion in Great Britain, was in progress, and when the expectation of its success was the most sanguine. With this first act was a second, which established an army of twenty-two thousand men in Scotland, empowered to march under the direction of the privy council of that kingdom to any part of the British dominions, as the honour or safety of the king might require.

At the same time the laws against conventicles, particularly against those held in the fields, and which were become the most common, were rendered more severe. The penalties incurred by a field preacher were confiscation and death; his hearers, if apprehended, were subject to double fines, and punished as convicted of sedition; and fines, imprisonment, and transportation were rigorously inflicted on those who refused to furnish information upon oath against their relations and friends. It should be remembered that the Presbyterians, towards whom all this severity was exercised, were at least three-fourths of the nation. The effect, as might have been expected, was to convert the field meetings into armed assemblies.

Lauderdale became a duke; his profusion had scarcely any limit; his duchess rendered everything venal; and his government, after having been characterised for some time by a comparative equity and mildness, became in all respects the most insolent and tyrannical that Scotland had ever witnessed. The nobility who did not much exceed a hundred in number were mostly poor, and too generally obsequious in all things to those who happened to enjoy the royal favour. The courts of justice were so corrupt as to have no sort of hold on the esteem or confidence of the people; while the members of the privy council were known to be the mere creatures of the minister. His rapacity and that of the men who in various capacities acted with him appeared to have no end. His salary was 16,000*l.*; he received in donations nearly double that amount, beside large sums from other sources, especially from the feudal claims of the crown in matters of wardship and marriage, and in the shape of fines imposed on religious grounds.

In the latter form Athol, the justice-general, exacted nearly two thousand pounds in one week. The wife of a gentleman had attended a field-meeting, and a youth from school had accompanied her, and both were obliged to compound for 1,500*l.* Ten gentlemen in the shire of Renfrew, and these not the most considerable persons of their class, were amerced to the amount of 30,000*l.* These fines, in fact, were farmed like any other source of revenue; and Lauderdale often insulted the sufferers with his unfeeling jests while in the act of plundering them. In the meanwhile the commerce of the country suffered greatly, in part from certain of the duties laid upon imports and exports, and in part from a number of monopolies introduced for the benefit of the minister and his friends.

Encouraged by the strong feeling of disaffection to the government both in England and Scotland, the Scottish parliament in 1673, to the great surprise and indignation of Lauderdale, demanded that a redress of the national grievances should precede the granting of a supply. Lauderdale resorted to the usual means of intimidation. But the body of the nobility and gentry now arrayed against him, led by the duke of Hamilton, and strengthened by the deep feeling of the people, proved too formidable to be subdued by such expedients. Lauderdale adjourned the parliament for two months, and the leaders of the discontented nobles were invited to court, where they were assured by the king that the matters of which they complained were left to be dealt with as should appear best to the parliament.

It was now the depth of winter, and the severity of the season had destroyed a third of the sheep and cattle; but Hamilton and his colleague, the earl of Tweeddale, hastened back with their welcome tidings to Edinburgh. Soon after their arrival the deception which had been practised upon them became manifest. The parliament was assembled, but only to be immediately adjourned and afterwards dissolved by letters from the king. This proceeding excited great indignation. Hamilton and Tweeddale prayed to be again heard by the king; and Charles replied that he was willing to receive any communication from the dissatisfied in writing; but so comprehensive were the tyrannical provisions of the Scotch law of leasing-making, and so strong was the conviction of Hamilton and his friends that the government was disposed to put those provisions into the fullest requisition against them, that no man could venture to attach his name to any written statement of the public grievances.[1] In the end the misguided monarch succeeded not

[1 The king could not wholly justify the acts of his minister. "But," says Burnet,[e] "when May, the master of the privy purse, asked him in his familiar way what he thought now of his Lauderdale, he answered, as May himself told me, that they had objected many

only in confirming the duke in his offices, but in removing Hamilton and some other opponents of the obnoxious minister from their places in the council.

The oppressions of the past were in consequence renewed, and in some respects exceeded. The people of Edinburgh were a special object of jealousy. The city was denied the right of electing its own magistrates, and placed in the hands of one Ramsay (a tool of the duke's) as provost. Nobles and gentlemen known as the opponents of the minister, were driven from their homes one after another, and their residences converted at pleasure into garrisons for the suppression of conventicles. Persons suspected of disaffection found themselves exposed to fines or imprisonment on the most trivial and unjust pretences, and no form of perjury was too base to be admitted as the means of convicting such parties.

LETTERS OF INTERCOMMUNING (1675 A.D.)

In the train of these occurrences followed the practice of issuing forms of prosecution known but too well through Scotland in that age under the name of "letters of intercommuning," 1675, by which accused parties, failing to make their appearance when summoned, were declared outlaws; and all persons who should minister relief to them, or hold any sort of intercourse with them, were made to be partakers of their offences. It is calculated that at this time there were not less than seventeen thousand persons whose attendance at conventicles or absence from church had brought the evils of persecution upon them in forms more or less oppressive.

These letters, after the example of the *Aquæ et ignis interdictis* of the Roman law, concluded thus: "We command and charge all our lieges and subjects that none presume to receive, supply, or intercommune with any of the aforesaid our rebels, nor furnish them with meat, drink, house, harbour, or victuals, nor any other thing useful or comfortable to them; nor have intelligence with them by word, writing, message, or otherwise, under the pain of being reputed and esteemed act and part with them in the crime aforesaid, and to be pursued therefore with all rigour." [They have also been compared to the boycott.]

That the fervid temper of the Scottish people might be goaded to the utmost, documents were issued by the government, under the title of "bonds of peace," which required landlords to become responsible, not merely for their own families but for those of their tenants, and made them accountable to the magistrate even for the servants, whether belonging to their own households or to those of persons renting their property, who should be convicted of holding intercourse with intercommuned persons, of attending conventicles, or of absenting themselves from the services of their parish church. This monstrous stretch of tyranny was not to be submitted to, and the parties concerned not only refused to place themselves under the yoke prepared for them, but, while professing to lament the manifest increase of conventicles, ventured to suggest that, so long as the persons frequenting such assemblies continued to meet and separate peaceably, the best method of dealing with the alleged evil would probably be to leave it to its course.

damned things that he had done against them, but there was nothing objected that was against his service: such are the notions that many kings drink in, by which they set up an interest for themselves, in opposition to the interest of the people." Hume terms the opinion of the king "a sentiment unworthy of a sovereign." It was a sentiment worthy of a captain of banditti.—KNIGHT.]

This display of patriotic firmness and of political wisdom was interpreted as an act of rebellion. The west of Scotland, though without the slightest appearance of disorder, was declared to be in a state of open revolt; and at the command of the king a large body of English soldiers marched upon the devoted country; forces from Ireland landed at the same time on different points, and an army of six thousand Highlanders spread themselves, in the temper of rude banditti, over the fairest portion of the kingdom. Those who still refused to enter into the proposed "bonds" were everywhere plundered and insulted. All men saw that the object of the government was to goad them into acts of violence,[1] in order that their chains might be fastened upon them with some show of justice, and every one seemed to task his powers of endurance to the utmost in the hope of defeating this pitiless device of the oppressor. Not only were these wrongs inflicted; all complaint under them was prohibited.

It was in violation of this prohibition that a body of the Scottish nobility and gentry repaired to the court of England, resolved that the condition of their bleeding country should be known in that quarter. In the mean while the popular party in England spoke of the measures adopted in Scotland as those which, if unchecked, would of course be meted out in due time to England. At length the complaints from Scotland, strengthened by more alarming appearances in England, so far prevailed that Charles issued orders for the recall of the English and Irish regiments; the Highlanders returned, laden with spoil, to their native hills, and the recent measures were suspended.

The nobles and gentlemen from Scotland having laid their complaints before the king, Danby and the duke of York laboured to defend the conduct of Lauderdale. In conclusion, the nobles were required to state their grievances in writing. This they professed themselves willing to do, but prayed for a promise of indemnity against the law of leasing-making should their language admit of being interpreted as containing matter of accusation against any member of his majesty's privy council. This reasonable demand was not complied with, and the refusal sufficed to make these injured persons fully sensible of the snare which had been laid for them. Their declining in these circumstances to sign a statement of their grievances was set forth by the king as evidence that their matters of complaint were too trivial to admit of their being committed to writing; and in a letter dated the next day, Charles expressed his unqualified approval of all that had been done by Lauderdale and his coadjutors.

In the mean while the duke, availing himself of the absence of his opponents from Scotland, assembled a parliament in Edinburgh, which by dint of treachery, threatenings, and bribes, proved subservient in all respects to his wishes. Five thousand additional troops were quartered on the people. In the west and south the soldiery converted private houses into garrisons, or roamed at large in search of conventicles, committing violence of every description with impunity. New functionaries of the most arbitrary temper were appointed to secure a more rigorous enforcement of the laws, and were stimulated in the exercise of their authority by the promise of half the amount exacted as fines. Thus, in the affairs of Scotland at that time, as in all similar proceedings, each step in the progress of tyranny increased the resentment of its victims.

[1 It appears to have been the design of Lauderdale, who still governed Scotland absolutely through the privy council (no parliament having been summoned since 1674), to force the Scots to rebel. "When I was once saying to him," relates Burnet,[e] "Was that a time to drive them into a rebellion?" "Yes," said he, "would to God they would rebel that he might bring over an army of Irish papists to cut their throats."]

THE MURDER OF ARCHBISHOP SHARP

This succession of measures had produced their natural effect, irritating the people almost to madness, when a memorable act of violence occurred which placed the oppressors and the oppressed more than ever at issue. It has appeared that Sharp, who deserted his Presbyterian brethren at the restoration and who was afterwards raised to the archbishopric of St. Andrews, became chargeable from the time of his apostasy with innumerable acts of perfidy and cruelty towards his former friends. He had done more than any other man towards rendering his country one of the most injured and unhappy in the history of modern Europe.

It happened at this juncture that one Carmichael, a commissioner of the archbishop's, had made himself exceedingly odious among the people of Fife by his cruelties towards them on the charge of frequenting conventicles. Women, children, and servants, it is said, were put to the torture by his orders, that they might be compelled to make known the concealment of their husbands, parents, and masters. Nine intercommuned persons, whose apprehension was sought by such means, met in their place of secrecy and resolved to avenge themselves on Carmichael by seizing his person, and possibly putting him to death. Search was made for him near Magus Muir, a few miles distant from St. Andrews, but in vain; and the fugitives were in the act of separating when information reached them that the archbishop himself was approaching.

By these injured and misguided men the coming of the prelate at such a moment was interpreted as a call from heaven to execute judgment on the great delinquent, in the place of the commissioner. For this purpose they commenced their attack upon the chariot in the most desolate part of the moor. Several shots were fired into it without effect. They then forced open the door, and dragged the object of their resentment forth from the arms of his daughter to the ground. They reminded their trembling victim of the falsehood, perjury, and blood to be laid to his account; and declaring they had no private ends to be answered by his death, but those of public justice only, they plunged their weapons into his body, heedless of the screams and entreaties of his daughter, and left him a corpse in the highway. No person, we presume, will attempt to justify this deed. Its effect on posterity has been to awaken sympathy in favour of a man who would otherwise have been regarded by every just and humane mind with an almost unmixed feeling of disgust.[c]

THE INSURRECTION OF 1679; THE TEST ACT AND THE "KILLING TIME" OF 1681

This severity provoked a rising in the west. A small party led by Hamilton—a youth educated by Bishop Burnet at Glasgow, who had joined the covenanters—burned at Rutherglen the statutes and acts of privy council on the anniversary of the restoration, and being allowed to gather numbers defeated Graham of Claverhouse at Loudon Hill (the 1st of June). The duke of Monmouth, the favourite natural son of Charles, sent with troops from England to suppress the rising, gained an easy victory at Bothwell Bridge (the 22nd of June). His desire was to follow it up by a policy of clemency, and a new indulgence was issued, but its effect was counteracted by Lauderdale. All officers, ministers, and landowners, as well as those who had taken part in the rising and did not surrender within a short space, were excepted

from the indulgence. Several preachers were executed, and many persons sent to the colonies, while fines and forfeitures multiplied.

A new and fiercer phase of the rebellion[1] was originated by Cargill and Cameron, two preachers who escaped at Bothwell Bridge, and assembling their followers at Sanquhar, published a declaration renouncing allegiance to Charles as a perjured king. They were soon surprised and Cameron was killed, but Cargill continued to animate his followers—called the "Society men," or Cameronians—by his preaching, and at a conventicle at Torwood in Ayrshire excommunicated the king, the duke of York, Lauderdale, and Rothes.

James, the duke of York, who had become a Roman Catholic during his residence abroad, was now sent to Scotland, partly to avoid the discussion raised by his conversion as to his exclusion from the succession. During a short stay of three months he astonished the Scots by the mildness of his administration, but on his return in the following year he revealed his true character. The privy council renewed its proclamations against conventicles and increased the fines, which were levied by the sheriff or other magistrate under the pain of liability if they were remiss in their exaction. Military commissions were issued to Claverhouse and other officers in the southern and western shires empowering them to quarter their troops on recusants and administer martial law. Torture was freely resorted to by the privy council, and the duke himself took pleasure in witnessing it. A parliament summoned in 1681, after passing a general act against popery to lull suspicion, proceeded to declare the succession to be in the ordinary line of blood and unalterable on account of difference of religion by any future law.

The Test Act was then carried, not without many attempts to modify it. Its ambiguous and contradictory clauses made it an admirable instrument of tyranny, a shelter for the lax and a terror to the upright conscience. [It was said to compel its signer to be at the same time Catholic, Episcopalian, and Presbyterian.] It was at once enforced, and Argyll, who declared he took it only so far as it was consistent with itself and the Protestant religion, was tried and condemned to death for treason, but escaped from prison [disguised as a page, holding up his step-daughter's train] and reached Holland. Dalrymple, the president of the court of session, and many leading Presbyterian ministers and gentry followed his example, and found a hospitable refuge in the republic which first acknowledged toleration in religion. They there met a similar band of English exiles. The next two years were spent in plots, of which the centre was in Holland, with branches in London and Edinburgh.

The failure of the Rye House Plot in 1683 led to the execution of Russell and Sidney and the arrest of Spence, a retainer of Argyll, Carstares, Baillie of Jerviswood, and Campbell of Cessnock. Against Campbell the proof of complicity failed, and Spence and Carstares, though cruelly tortured, revealed nothing of moment. Baillie, however, was condemned and executed upon slender proof. The Cameronians, who kept alive in remote districts the spirit of rebellion, were treated with ruthless cruelty. Although doubt has been cast on the death of Brown the carrier, shot down in cold blood by Claverhouse, and the Wigtown martyrs, two poor women tied to a stake and drowned in the Bay of Luce, the account of Wodrow[b] has, after a keen discussion, been sustained as accurate. The conduct of the government in Scotland gained for this period the name of the "killing times."[d]

[1 Hume Brown] calls the period that follows "the blackest and most impressive page in the national history."]

WHOLESALE PERSECUTION, INQUISITION, AND TORTURE (1681–1685 A.D.)

Even in the fiercest explosion of covenanting resistance there was, strictly speaking, no disloyalty of purpose in the oppressed—no thought of disturbing monarchy, or displacing the king. All they sought was liberty to assemble and worship God undisturbed, whether in peaceful huts or upon the lonely hillside, while they abhorred the charge of rebellion. These sentiments were distinctly expressed, in their last moments, by Kid and King, two Presbyterian ministers, who had been dragged as prisoners by Claverhouse to Drumclog, where they were released by the victors, and who had been led against their will to Bothwell Bridge, from which, after exhorting their countrymen, but in vain, to return to their peaceful obedience and non-resistance, they had taken the opportunity of escaping before the battle commenced. And yet, after being tortured with the boots, they were brought to the scaffold as rebels and leaders of the insurgents.

During these years of trial and calamity, in which no age, or sex, or condition was spared, the long roll of the persecutors, and the variety and fiendishness of its items, could only be paralleled by that of the duke of Alva in the Netherlands. The heart sickens over it and the eye turns away with disgust; but out of the list we may select only one instance, and that by no means the most revolting. During this period it happened that Gilbert Wilson, a farmer in Wigtownshire, with his wife, had conformed to Prelacy, while his two daughters, Margaret and Agnes, the former eighteen and the other only thirteen years old, adhered to the oppressed Presbyterians. For this such helpless girls were chased as if they had been armed men, and were obliged to seek shelter among the bleak mountains and morasses until they were apprehended. On this the father hastened to Edinburgh, and by the payment of a heavy sum obtained the life of Agnes, his little one.

But no mercy was to be extended to Margaret; she was sentened to die (in 1684), and that, too, in the old Scottish mode of drowning reserved for female malefactors, by being bound to a stake planted in the sea within flood-mark, near her native Wigtown. To another stake was bound [Margaret Lauchleson] an old woman, aged sixty-three, also one of these dreaded overturners of kings and governments. At the place of execution Margaret Wilson was urged by her relations to save her life by taking the oath of implicit allegiance, and promising to attend the ministrations of the curate; but she had come to die, not to apostatise, and their entreaties were in vain.

The tide advanced, and the old woman, who was nearest the sea, was struggling and smothering amidst the waves. "Margaret, what do you think of your friend now?" cried some, either in scorn or hoping that she would yet relent; but the intrepid girl, still undaunted at the fate which so soon would be her own, replied, "What do I see but Christ in one of his members wrestling there? Think you that we are the sufferers? No; it is Christ in us, for he sends none on a warfare upon their own charges." She engaged in prayer, and the water rose and covered her; but after a short space they lifted her up, and when she had recovered sensation and speech, Major Windram, who superintended the execution, asked her if she would pray for the king. "I wish," she replied, "for the salvation of all men, and the damnation of none."

"Dear Margaret," cried one of the bystanders, "say, God save the king." She answered calmly, "God save him, if he will, for it is his salvation I desire." "Sir, she has said it, she has said it!" shouted the crowd, who expected that she would be forthwith released.

But this was not enough for Windram; and he required her instantly to swear the abjuration oath, otherwise she must endure her doom. But though thus cruelly tantalised with hope after she had tasted the bitterness of death, the brave young martyr rejected the proffer by which she must have renounced her brethren and condemned their cause. "I will not," she firmly replied; "I am one of Christ's children; let me go!" and at the word she was again thrust into the water and drowned.[1]

In these persecutions, which extended over a long term of twenty-eight years, it is supposed that not less than eighteen thousand persons died by regular execution or military violence, by tortures or privations—a fearful amount of the best and bravest, in a country whose population scarcely amounted to one million souls.

THE ACCESSION OF JAMES VII (1685 A.D.)

With the accession of James VII (February 2nd, 1685) the darkest hour had arrived; but it was the hour that precedes the dawn. The conflict was no longer to be that of Prelacy against Presbyterianism, but of both, united into one common Protestantism, against a cause that was equally the enemy of both. The blundering and headlong career of the new king to restore Great Britain to the see of Rome was enough to excite in Scotland, as well as England, universal distrust and a spirit of general resistance. One of these egregious errors was his attempt to ingratiate himself with dissenters of every class opposed to the English church, by exempting them from previous penalties and disabilities, in which the Catholics were to be included.

By these acts of indulgence, published in 1687, in which every restriction was successively taken off, except that against field-meetings, the Presbyterians of both kingdoms were enabled to assemble without hindrance and worship without interruption. But a permission so dangerous to England, from the number of the Catholics who shared in the benefits of this new toleration, was a serious hurt to the royal cause in Scotland, where Catholicism was at so low an ebb, and where the whole nation was Presbyterian. When the rising accordingly commenced for the expulsion of James, there was a singleness of purpose on the subject among the Scots and a promptness of decision, which was scarcely found in England.

In the mean time the upholders of Scottish prelacy felt that their hour had expired, and were anxious to make their escape. But before they abdicated their ill-held offices, they made haste to obliterate the foul traces of their cruelty and mismanagement. Accordingly, the jails were emptied of those imprisoned covenanters who were still in durance, the pending sentences that waited for execution were rescinded or thrown aside, and the heads and mangled limbs that for years had been exposed upon the gates and market-crosses were hastily removed. As for those parish incumbents who had held office under the bishops, and who, in many cases, had acted as spies upon their flocks, they were, to the number of about three hundred, ejected from their livings by the now triumphant populace; but without bloodshed or loss of life, and with comparatively little personal violence. It was a marked contrast to their own conduct in the day of their prosperity.

In this way fell that unnational fabric of Scottish Episcopacy which James VI, Charles I, Charles II, and James VII, had spent more than a century in rearing. Scotland was to remain, as she had been from the first, a Presbyterian country.[g]

[1 The aspersions cast on the truth of this incident have been fully silenced by the proofs of the Rev. Archibald Stewart.]

The short reign of James VII is the saddest period in the history of Scotland. He succeeded in the brief space of three years in fanning the revolutionary elements in both England and Scotland into a flame which he was powerless to quench. He declined to take the Scottish coronation oath, which contained a declaration in favour of the church then established. A submissive parliament held (the 28th of April, 1685) under the duke of Queensberry as commissioner not only overlooked this, but expressed its loyalty in terms acknowledging the king's absolute supremacy. The excise was granted to the crown for ever, and the land tax to James for life. The law against conventicles was even extended to those held in houses, if five persons besides the family attended domestic worship; while, if the meeting was outside the house, at the door or windows, it was to be deemed a field conventicle, punishable by death. The class of persons subject to the test was enlarged.

Undeterred or provoked by these terrors of the law, Argyll made a descent upon the western Highlands and tried to raise his clansmen, but being badly supported by the officers under him, his troops were dispersed and he himself taken prisoner, when he was brought to Edinburgh, condemned and executed under his former sentence. [When he was taken to the rude sort of guillotine, called the "maiden," he said that it was "the sweetest maiden he had ever kissed."] Next year, Perth the lord chancellor, Melfort his brother, and the earl of Moray became converts to the papal faith. The duke of Queensberry, who did not follow their example, was enabled only by the most servile submission in other points to the royal wishes to save himself and his party in the privy council from dismissal. James sent a letter to parliament offering free trade with England and an indemnity for political offences, in return for which it was required that the Catholics should be released from the test and the penal laws.

But the estates refused to be bribed. Even the lords of the articles declined to propose a repeal of the Test Act. The burghs almost for the first time in a Scottish parliament showed their independence. The refractory parliament was at once adjourned and soon after dissolved, and James had recourse in Scotland as in England to the dispensing power. Under a pretended prerogative he issued a proclamation through the privy council, granting a full indulgence to the Romanists, and by another deprived the burghs of the right of electing magistrates. A more limited toleration was granted to Quakers and Presbyterians, by which they were allowed to worship according to their consciences in private houses. This was followed by a second and a third indulgence, which at last gave full liberty of worship to the Presbyterians and was accepted by most of their ministers; but the laws against field conventicles continued to be enforced. In February, 1688, Renwick was executed under them at Edinburgh. A band of his followers, including women and children, were marched north and imprisoned with great cruelty in Dunnottar. [A hundred men and women were placed in a vault ankle-deep in mire, with no room to sit or lie, and only one small opening for air. Ten who managed to escape were caught and kept for three hours with burning matches between their fingers.]

THE REVOLUTION OF 1688

Meantime the rapid series of events which led to the Revolution in England had reached its climax in the trial and acquittal of the seven bishops. William of Orange, who had long watched the progress of his father-in-law's

tyranny, saw that the moment had come when almost all classes in England as well as Scotland would welcome him as a deliverer. But the Revolution was differently received in each part of the united kingdom. In England there was practically no opposition; in Catholic Ireland it was established by force. Scotland was divided. The Catholics, chiefly in the Highlands, and the Episcopalians led by their bishops adhered to James and formed the jacobite party, which kept up for half a century a struggle for the principle of legitimacy. The Presbyterians—probably the most numerous, certainly the most powerful party, especially in the Lowlands and burghs—supported the new settlement, which for the first time gave Scotland a constitutional or limited monarchy.

Shortly before his flight James had summoned his Scottish troops to England; but Douglas, brother of the duke of Queensberry, their commander-in-chief, went over to William. Claverhouse, now Viscount Dundee, the second in command, who had the spirit of his kinsman Montrose, after in vain urging James to fight for his crown, returned to Scotland, followed by some thirty horsemen. In Edinburgh the duke of Gordon still held the castle for James, while the convention parliament, presided over by the duke of Hamilton, was debating on what terms the crown should be offered to William.

Dundee[1] passed through Edinburgh unmolested, and encouraged Gordon to hold out, while he himself gathered the Highland chiefs round his standard at Lochaber. Mackay, a favourite general of William, sent to oppose him, was defeated at Killiecrankie (the 27th of July, 1689), where the spirited leadership of Dundee and the dash of the Highlanders' attack gained the day; but success was turned into defeat by a bullet which killed Dundee almost at the moment of victory. No successor appeared to take his place and keep the chiefs of the clans together. The Cameronians, organised into a regiment under Cleland, repulsed Cannon, the commander of the Highland army, at Dunkeld, and the success of Livingston, who defeated the remnant under Cameron and Buchan at the Haughs of Cromdale on the Spey, ended the short and desultory war. The castle of Edinburgh had been surrendered a month before the battle of Killiecrankie. Three forts—Fort William, Fort Augustus, and Inverness—sufficed to keep the Highlands from rising for the next two reigns.

THE ACCESSION OF WILLIAM AND MARY; THE CONVENTION PARLIAMENT

Meantime the convention parliament in Edinburgh had carried the necessary measures for the transfer of the government of Scotland to William and Mary. It declared in bolder terms than the English parliament that James had forfeited the crown and that the throne was vacant. The fifteen articles which contained the reasons for this resolution were included in a Declaration and Claim of Right—a parallel to the English Declaration and Bill of Rights. Besides the declarations against the papists with which it commenced—that no papist could be king or queen, that proclamations allowing mass to

[1 Dalrymple *m* says, that when Dundee galloped through the city, "being asked by one of his friends who stopped him, 'where he was going,' he waved his hat, and is reported to have answered, 'wherever the spirit of Montrose shall direct me.'" Or as Scott says in the *Doom of Devorgoil:*

"The Gordon demands of him which way he goes—
Where'er shall direct me the shade of Montrose—
Your grace in short space shall hear tidings of me,
Or that low lies the bonnet of bonny Dundee."]

be said, Jesuit schools and colleges to be erected, and popish books to be printed were contrary to law—it detailed each of the unconstitutional acts of James and pronounced it contrary to law.

Commissioners were despatched to London to present the declaration and statement of grievances and take the royal oath to the acceptance of the crown on their terms. This was done at Whitehall in the following March (1689); but William, before taking the oath, required an assurance that persecution for religious opinion was not intended, and made a declaration in favour of toleration.

The parliament of 1690 abolished the committee of the articles, which had become an abuse inconsistent with the freedom of parliament, and, while it retained a committee on motions and overtures in its place, declared that the estates might deal with any matter without referring it to this committee. The Act of Supremacy was rescinded. The Presbyterian ministers deposed since 1661 were restored, and the Westminster Confession approved, though not imposed as a test except on professors. With more difficulty a solution was found for the question of church government. The Presbyterian church was re-established with the Confession as its formula, and patronage was placed in the heritors and elders with a small compensation to the patrons. These prudent measures were due to the influence of Carstares, the chief adviser of William in Scottish ecclesiastical matters. He was not so well advised in the conduct of the civil government by the master of Stair, who became sole secretary for Scotland. The proclamation for calling out the militia may have been a necessary precaution, but it raised much opposition amongst the landed gentry, and the militia was not then embodied.[a]

HALLAM ON THE DOWNFALL OF EPISCOPACY IN SCOTLAND

The main controversy between the Episcopal and Presbyterian churches was one of historical inquiry, not perhaps capable of decisive solution; it was at least one as to which the bulk of mankind are absolutely incapable of forming a rational judgment for themselves. But mingled up as it had always been, and most of all in Scotland, with faction, with revolution, with power and emolument, with courage and devotion, with fear and hate, and revenge, this dispute drew along with it the most glowing emotions of the heart, and the question became utterly out of the province of argument. It was very possible that Episcopacy might be of apostolical institution; but for this institution houses had been burned and fields laid waste, and the gospel had been preached in wildernesses, and its ministers had been shot in their prayers, and husbands had been murdered before their wives, and virgins had been defiled, and many had died by the executioner, and by massacre, and in imprisonment, and in exile and slavery, and women had been tied to stakes on the seashore till the tide rose to overflow them, and some had been tortured and mutilated: it was a religion of the boots and the thumb-screw, which a good man must be very cool-blooded indeed if he did not hate and reject from the hands which offered it. For, after all, it is much more certain that the Supreme Being abhors cruelty and persecution, than that he has set up bishops to have a superiority over presbyters.

It was, however, a serious problem at that time whether the Presbyterian church, so proud and stubborn as she had formerly shown herself, could be brought under a necessary subordination to the civil magistrates, and whether the more fanatical part of it, whom Cargill and Cameron had led on, would

fall again into the ranks of social life. But here experience victoriously confuted these plausible apprehensions. It was soon perceived that the insanity of fanaticism subsides of itself, unless purposely heightened by persecution. The fiercer spirit of the sectaries was allayed by degrees; and, though vestiges of it may probably still be perceptible by observers, it has never, in a political sense, led to dangerous effects."[n]

Hume Brown states the results of the revolution as these: Scotland had with the example and aid of England cast out its ancient line of princes; there had been for years a war between the dogma of the divine right of Presbyterianism and the dogma of the divine right of kings, ending in the annihilation of both antinomies, and "the definitive triumph of the secular over the theological spirit in the conduct of public affairs."[j]

THE END OF TORTURE; THE MASSACRE AT GLENCOE (1692 A.D.)

The politics of Scotland in the first two years after the Revolution were more complicated than those of England. The ascendency of the Presbyterians had been established; but the Episcopalians were still a formidable body. In 1689, although Episcopacy had been abolished, the church government had not been defined. There was no supreme directing power in affairs of religion. In 1690, the parliament of Scotland established the synodical authority; made the signature to the Confession of Faith the test of orthodoxy; and patronage was abolished, under certain small compensations to the patrons. The dissensions connected with these arrangements gave courage to those who looked to discord as the means for restoring the Stuart king.

A knot of turbulent and discontented men, known as "the club," entered into schemes for reversing all that had been accomplished by the Revolution. Their leaders were frightened, and informed against each other. Lord Annandale implicated the unhappy Jacobite scribbler, Nevil Payne. He thought himself safer in Scotland than in London—a fatal mistake. We extract a passage in a letter from the earl of Cranford to the earl of Melville, the king's high-commissioner, to show how the ancient ferocity still lingered amongst the politicians of Scotland. The letter is dated December 11th, 1690: "Yesterday in the afternoon, Nevill Penn (after near an hour's discourse with him, in name of the council, and in their presence, though at several times by turning him out and then calling him in again) was questioned upon some things that were not of the deepest concern, and had but gentle torture given him, being resolved to repeat it this day. Which accordingly about six this evening we inflicted on both thumbs and one of his legs, with all the severity that was consistent with humanity, even unto that pitch that we could not preserve life and have gone further; but without the least success."

This was the last occasion on which Scottish statesmen were disgraced by endeavouring to extort evidence against political malcontents, by "all the severity that was consistent with humanity."[1] The noble actors in this plot offered up the obscure Nevil Payne as a sacrifice, secured their own safety, and suffered the Lowlands to settle down into peace.

King William, as early as March, 1690, manifested a wise disposition to tranquillise the Highlands by gentle measures. In the autumn of 1691, Breadalbane, having made his submission to the government, was authorised to treat with the heads of clans, and to expend twelve or fifteen thousand pounds in this work of pacification. It may well be doubted whether this

[1] "The law of England was the only code in Europe which dispensed with judicial torture."—BURTON.[o]

Highland earl went about his trust in perfect good faith. There was a strong suspicion that Breadalbane got the lion's share of the money which he pretended to be in the chest at London, but which was really in his own coffers.

The small clan, Macdonald of Glencoe, were bad neighbours to Breadalbane. MacIan their chief, as proud if not so great as Breadalbane, was wholly impracticable upon such terms. Others followed his example; and many clans remained in a state of inert rebellion. In August the government determined to bring the submission of the Highland chiefs to a decisive issue by a proclamation offering indemnity to all who should take the oaths on or before the last day of December, 1691, and threatening the extremities of military execution—in the old form of threatening the vengeance of fire and sword—against all and each who should not submit to the government, and swear to live in peace. But, says Burton,[d] "Letters of fire and sword had been so ceaselessly issued against the Highlanders, that in the time of the Stuarts it was a usual and little noticeable form."

On the 31st of December all the clans had given their submission, with one exception—the Macdonalds of Glencoe. The submission of all the other chiefs who had been in arms against the government was an event which was not contemplated with satisfaction by the Master of Stair. Burnet[e] says, "A black design was laid, not only to cut off the men of Glencoe, but a great many more clans, reckoned to be in all above six thousand persons." This may be a very loose assertion; but letters of Dalrymple, written to Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton early in December, prove that he had an especial grudge against the Macdonalds. Burton[d] considers that Dalrymple, from whose letters we now turn with such loathing, "only pursued the old policy of Scottish governments towards the Highlanders. The rule had always been to show no more consideration to Highlanders than to wild beasts."

On the 31st of December MacIan presented himself, with some of his clan, at Fort William, and offered to take the oaths before Colonel Hill. The commander of the garrison had no legal power to receive them; he was not a magistrate. Hill gave him a letter to the sheriff of Argyllshire. It was six days before he reached Inveraray, over mountain paths covered with snow. The sheriff yielded to the old man's prayers and tears; administered the oath, and sent to the sheriff-clerk of Argyll, then at Edinburgh, a certificate to be laid before the council of the circumstances which had led him to do what was a departure from the letter of the proclamation, but which was within its spirit. The sheriff-clerk first tendered the certificate, with a copy of Hill's letter, to the clerks of the council, who refused to receive it. He then applied to individual privy councillors, who would not interfere in the matter. The certificate was finally suppressed, and the general body of the council were kept in ignorance of it. On the 16th of January the instructions of the 11th were repeated, with verbal alterations, and with this addition: "As for MacIan of Glencoe and that tribe, if they can be well distinguished from the rest of the Highlanders, it will be proper for the vindication of public justice to extirpate that sect of thieves." Burnet[e] alleges that "the king signed this, without any inquiry about it; for he was too apt to sign papers in a hurry." Those who doubt this allege that it was not only signed but superscribed by the king. Colonel Hill sent his orders to Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton to march with eight hundred men straight to Glencoe. Hamilton addressed his orders to Major Duncanson, his second in command; concluding his letter by directing that the avenues be so secured "that the old fox, nor none of his cubs get away: The orders are that none be spared, nor the government troubled with prisoners." Major Duncanson then despatched Captain Robert

Campbell of Glenlyon, to proceed to Glencoe in advance of the other troops, with a detachment of a hundred and twenty men of Argyll's regiment. He arrived there on the 1st of February, 1692, and spent twelve days with his men amidst the somewhat unpoetical hospitalities of the clan. The MacIans had no affection for the Campbells; but Glenlyon's niece was married to the second son of their chief; and when he and his lieutenant, Lindsay, said they came as friends, and asked for quarters, being sent to relieve the garrison of Fort William, who were overcrowded, they were received with cordiality.

Undoubtedly the chief and his clansmen trusted to the indemnity of the government, which they thought had been secured by the oath which MacIan had taken before the sheriff of Argyll. Here they lived for twelve days as Highlander with Highlander. They had beef and spirits without payment. They were sheltered from the snow storms in the huts of the poor people. Glenlyon became affectionate over his usquebaugh with the husband of his niece; played at cards with the old chief; and entertained two of MacIan's sons at supper on the night of the 12th. At that time he had the following letter in his pocket from Major Duncanson, dated on the 12th from Ballachulis, in the immediate neighbourhood:

"You are hereby ordered to fall upon the rebels, the Macdonalds of Glencoe, and put all to the sword under seventy. You are to have especial care that the old fox and his sons do on no account escape your hands. You are to secure all the avenues, that no man escape. This you are to put in execution at five o'clock in the morning precisely, and by that time, or very shortly after it, I'll strive to be at you with a stronger party; if I do not come to you at five, you are not to tarry for me, but to fall on. This is by the king's special command, for the good and safety of the country, that these miscreants may be cut off, root and branch. See that this be put in execution without fear or favour, else you may expect to be treated as not true to the king and government, nor a man fit to carry commission in the king's service. Expecting you will not fail in the fulfilling hereof, as you love yourself, I subscribe these with my hand."

Captain Campbell did not tarry for his superior officer. He was strong enough to do his murderous bidding without his aid.

The cunning of the affair was characteristic of the mountain tribes. As Burton[9] says, "Highland history is crowded with incidents which, in modern phraseology, would be stamped as treachery, but in the social system of the actors passed as dexterity." Some agitation amongst the Argyll soldiers—whisperings and murmurs—had roused the fears of John MacIan. He went at midnight to the house of Inverriggen, in the hamlet where Glenlyon was quartered. The captain was up and his men about him. He was ordered, he said, to march against Glengarry's people. Could he be likely to harm his friends, and especially those amongst whom his niece had married! Would he not have given a hint to Alaster? The man was satisfied. The night was stormy. The valley lay quiet in mists and thick darkness.

At five in the morning Glenlyon and his men slaughtered Inverriggen and nine other men. A child of twelve was stabbed by an officer bearing the name of Drummond. Lindsay and his party went to the house of the old chief and killed him as he was dressing himself, roused by his faithful servants. His two sons escaped amongst the rocks. His wife was stripped of her trinkets by the savages, and died the following day from her ill-usage. In another hamlet, Auchnaion, a sergeant of the name of Barbour, with his detachment, shot Auchentriater, and seven others, as they sat round the fire in the dark morning. It is reckoned that the number of the slaughtered was thirty-eight. Happily, the order that the avenues should be secured was not effectually carried out. Duncanson did not arrive in time. The reports of the murderous guns had alarmed the sleeping families, and three-fourths of

the adults, with their wives and children, escaped by the passes before the troops of Hamilton had barred their way. No deed of blood remained for those who came to Glencoe, when the sun was high in the heavens, but to slay an old man of eighty. Their work was to burn the huts of the tribe and drive off their cattle.

But the unhappy fugitives who had escaped the slaughter had to endure all the extremities of hunger and cold in that inclement season. The number who perished in the snow, sank exhausted in the bogs, crept into caverns, and died for lack of food, was never ascertained. In a short time some few stole back to their half-ruined cabins, and in after years the valley had again a population. Amongst those who returned to the scene of desolation was the bard of the tribe. "The bard sat alone upon a rock, and looking down composed a long, dismal song."

In an age of publicity the extraordinary occurrences of the valley of Glencoe would have been known in a week in every corner of the realms. In an age when newspapers were uncommon, and gatherers of news by no means vigilant to minister to public curiosity, no Londoner knew of this tragedy, or, if he heard some rumour, heeded it not. After some weeks had elapsed there was a report that a robber tribe had been engaged with Scotch troops, and that the chief and some of his clan had been killed. At Edinburgh, people in the coffee-houses began to talk.

Charles Leslie, the non-juring clergyman, obtained some particulars of the deliberate treachery and cold-blooded ferocity which made the Glencoe massacre so peculiarly atrocious; and he published the circumstances about the end of 1692. A pamphlet, called *Gallienus Redivivus*, followed up this attack. Burnet says that the transaction at Glencoe "raised a mighty outcry, and was published by the French in their gazettes, and by the jacobites in their libels, to cast a reproach on the king's government as cruel and barbarous; though in all other instances it had appeared that his own inclinations were gentle and mild, rather to an excess." The affair would probably have rested with the French gazettes and jacobite libels, had not the parliament of Scotland, after a recess of two years, met in 1695, when Glencoe was a subject which had roused the nation to demand inquiry; for the non-jurors and friends of King James had worked diligently in stirring up the popular feeling. Political hostility to the master of Stair had something to do with the tardy indignation of the Scottish estates. William had in 1693 authorised an investigation of the matter by the duke of Hamilton and others. The duke died, and the inquiry was left to die with him.

The master of Stair was only dismissed from office by the king. Most persons will nevertheless agree with Macaulay[e] that "in return for many victims immolated by treachery, only one victim was demanded by justice; and it must ever be considered as a blemish on the fame of William that the demand was refused."

This slaughter was devised by Scottish statesmen of the Lowlands, and carried through by Scottish captains of the Highlands. The treachery of this military execution was the device, in the old crafty and ferocious spirit of clan hostility, of the native soldiers to whom the slaughter was intrusted. Glencoe was not the last of the Highland massacres sanctioned by no intervention of King William, but by the old "letters of fire and sword" granted by the privy council of Scotland. The character of the monarch who signed the order is far more truly exemplified in one sentence of the Proclamation of Indemnity—"to interpret this indemnity in the most favorable and ample manner."[f]

THE DESERTED COLONY OF DARIEN

The unfair treatment of the Scots in the matters of free trade and navigation, in which the new government appeared to follow the policy of Charles rather than that of Cromwell, and acted with an exclusive regard to the prejudices and supposed interests of England, reached a climax in the abandonment of the Scottish settlement at Darien when attacked by the Spaniards. The over-sanguine hopes of Paterson and the Scottish colonists and capitalists who supported this enterprise, so suddenly transformed into a financial disaster overwhelming to a poor country, accompanied by the loss of many lives, embittered the classes on which the Revolution settlement mainly depended for its support.

It was the anxious wish of William to have effected the legislative union; but, although he twice attempted it, the last time a month before his death, the temper of the English parliament and of the Scottish people appeared to give small chance of its realisation.[a]

SCOTCH OPPOSITION TO THE UNION WITH ENGLAND

"It may be done, but not yet," said King William to Defoe,[a] speaking of that union which he so fervently desired. When commissioners were appointed in 1702 by an act of the English parliament, and the Scottish parliament responded by also appointing commissioners, each body being empowered to negotiate for a union, the difficulties of accomplishing this great measure were probably not correctly estimated. The "not yet" was not sufficiently manifest. These commissioners debated for six months without any result. The demands of the Scotch for a participation in the colonial trade were treated with indifference, as well as the demands for other commercial privileges that were to rest upon a perfect equality.

The Scottish parliament, or convention of estates, had sat from the time of the revolution. A new parliament was assembled in May, 1703. All the old feudal usages were strictly observed in the procession on this occasion called a "riding."

This parliament of 1703 was not in a temper of conciliation towards England. Glencoe and Darien were still watchwords of strife. The failure of the negotiations for union necessarily produced exasperation. Whilst Marlborough was fighting the battles of the allies, the Scottish parliament manifested a decided inclination to the interests of France by removing restrictions on the importation of French wines. The Act for the Security of the Kingdom was a more open declaration, not only of the independence of Scotland, but of her disposition to separate wholly from England—to abrogate, on the first opportunity, that union of the crowns which had endured for a century. The Act of Settlement, by which the crown of England was to pass in the Protestant line to the electress Sophia and her descendants, was not to be accepted; but on the demise of Queen Anne without issue the estates of Scotland were to name a successor from the Protestant descendants of the Stuart line, and that successor was to be under conditions to secure "the religious freedom and trade of the nation from English or any foreign influence." For four months this matter was vehemently debated in the Scottish parliament. The Act of Security was carried, but the lord high commissioner refused his assent.

Following the legislative commotion came what was called in England

the Scottish plot—a most complicated affair of intrigue and official treachery, with some real treason at the bottom of it. The house of lords in England took cognisance of the matter, which provoked the highest wrath in Scotland, that another nation should interfere with her affairs; and this embroilment led to a dispute between the two houses of the English parliament about their privileges. When the Scottish estates reassembled in 1704 they denounced the proceedings of the house of lords as an interference with the prerogative of the queen of Scotland, and they again passed the Security Act. The royal assent was not now withheld; whether from fear or from policy on the part of the English ministry is not very clear.

The parliament of England then adopted a somewhat strong measure of retaliation. The queen was addressed, requesting her to put Carlisle, Newcastle, Tynemouth, and Hull in a state of defence, and to send forces to the border. A statute was passed which in the first place provided for a treaty of union, and then enacted that until the Scottish parliament should settle the succession to the crown in the same line as that of the English Act of Settlement, no native of Scotland, except those domiciled in England, or in the navy or army, should acquire the privileges of a natural-born Englishman; and prohibiting all importations of coals, cattle, sheep, or linen from Scotland. It was evident that there must be union or war.

In this defiant attitude towards England stood Scotland in 1704 and in 1705. Her mobs were howling for English blood before her courts of justice; her patriots were hooting and hissing when the name of the princess Sophia was uttered in the parliament house. In the words of Burton," "If a member said anything that could be construed as a leaning to England, cries to take down his words, or to send him to the castle, imported that scornful denunciation of his sentiments for which his opponents could not find argumentative expressions sufficiently powerful." This temper, which had lasted for several years, had filled the northern population of England with apprehensions of a Scottish war. The zealots of Scotland talked loudly of girding on their swords, and thought of Bannockburn. The rumours of border-feuds revived, and the stout borderers of Cumberland and Northumberland thought of Dunbar.

These apprehensions were happily averted by a show of moderation in the Scottish parliament; and by a consummate exercise of prudence on the part of Godolphin, who, as the head of a ministry chiefly composed of moderate whigs, had greater power than he had possessed when reconciling the divided opinions of the first years of his administration.

In August, 1705, the draft of an act for a treaty of union was brought into the Scottish parliament. Violent were the debates; but it was at last passed by a majority of two, but accompanied by a resolution that the commissioners for the treaty should not meet those in England until an offensive statute of the English parliament which had been recently passed should be repealed. It was proposed that this resolution should form part of the Scotch statute for a treaty; but the more moderate members carried that the resolution should be embodied in an address to the queen. In the new English parliament of 1705, the address of the Scots' parliament, "against any progress in the treaty of union, till the act which declared them aliens by such a day should be repealed," was laid before the two houses; and to the surprise of all parties the ministers of the queen advocated the repeal, not only as regarded the question of denying the Scots the privileges of native-born subjects, but as to the restrictions of that statute upon commercial intercourse.

The friendly hand was cordially held out; and if it were not as cordially grasped—if at some stages of the coming negotiations it were roughly pushed aside—it is to the immortal credit of the English statesmen that they went calmly forward with their great work, and accomplished it by honest perseverance, without trickery and without coercion. The reflecting politicians in both countries saw the perils that would result to both from being swayed by national prejudices and popular jealousies. There were old wounds to be healed, old injuries to be forgiven, existing injustice to be redressed, friendship to be established upon conditions of equal rights and liberties.

ARTICLES OF UNION AGREED UPON (1706 A.D.)

In the spring of 1706, thirty-one commissioners were nominated on the part of each kingdom, for negotiating the terms of union. On the 16th of April, the commissioners assembled in the cockpit at Whitehall. On the 22nd of July, the Articles of Union were finally agreed upon.

A complete union of two independent nations, to be brought about by common consent, and the terms to be settled as in a commercial partnership, was an event which seems natural and easy when we look to the geographical positions of the two nations, and to the circumstance that they had been partially united for a century, under six sovereigns wearing the crown of each kingdom. But when we look to the long-standing jealousies of the two nations—their sensitive assertions of ancient superiority—the usual haughty condescension of the wealthier country—the sturdy pride of the poorer—the ignorance of the bulk of each people of the true character of the other—the differences of the prevailing forms of religion—the more essential differences of laws and their modes of administration—we may consider the completion of this union as one of the greatest achievements of statesmanship.

As Burton[9] says: "If those continental nations which had been for centuries accustomed to see annexations, partitions, and the enlargement of empires by marriage and succession, had been told how many different parties and interests it was necessary to bring to one set of conclusions before the desired end could be accomplished, they would have deemed the project utterly insane, as, indeed, it would have been, if laid before two nations less endowed with practical sense and business habits."

At the very outset of the treaty, the vital principle of union was to be debated (that fundamental article upon which all other articles were to be based); an entire union of the two kingdoms—one kingdom, one crown, one parliament. This article was proposed at the opening of the negotiations, by the English commissioners. The Scottish commissioners demurred. The descent of the crown of Scotland might go according to the Act of Settlement; mutual free-trade—mutual rights—a federal union. The English commissioners declined to proceed upon such terms, "convinced that nothing but an entire union of the two kingdoms will settle perfect and lasting friendship." The Scottish commissioners yielded; but at the same time demanded reciprocity of citizenship and of privileges of trade. Unquestionably so, replied the English commissioners. It was "a necessary consequence," they said, of the first great condition.

The fundamental principle of the union was thus settled, in the words of the resolution of the English commissioners, to be "an entire and incorporating union, by which the two nations should be formed into one government, be under one sovereign head, in one represented body, standing upon one foundation, enjoying equal privileges, and in common bearing one general

proportion of burdens, the same in end and mean, having but one common interest, one name, and being for ever hereafter but one people." How to carry out this amalgamation, in the several relations of "one represented body"—"one general proportion of burdens"—might have presented insuperable difficulties to any set of negotiators who were not thoroughly convinced of the necessity of making a compromise of many supposed particular interests.

The question of "proportion of burdens" claimed precedence of that of "one represented body." The English commissioners cleared away many objections, by proposing an equivalent to Scotland in a money payment, for any disadvantages she might be subjected to in a joint principle of finance. By a system of equal duties upon imports and exports, the freedom of trade was established, and to that system no objection could be rationally offered. There were long discussions about duties of excise—about malt, and salt, and ale—which were satisfactorily adjusted. The land tax was arranged in a manner eminently favourable to Scotland.

All these matters were got over, when the complex question of representation arose. The English commissioners proposed that Scotland should have thirty-eight members in the united house of commons. The Scottish commissioners proposed fifty. The number was settled at forty-five—about one-twelfth of the whole house. The system of electing peers to sit in parliament was also settled; sixteen being taken out of the hundred and fifty-four who were then peers of Scotland. The laws of Scotland, with the exception of those relating to trade, customs, and excise, were to remain in force, though subject to alterations by the parliament of Great Britain, as the united kingdom was to be called; it being provided "that laws relating to public policy are alterable at the discretion of the parliament; laws relating to private right are not to be altered, but for the evident utility of the people of Scotland."

The standards of the coin, of weights, and of measures, were to become uniform with those of England. For removing national distinctions, the crosses of St. George and St. Andrew were to be conjoined when used in flags, banners, standards, and ensigns. And as Burton[o] says: "The coat armorial was to be quartered according to heraldic rules, so that in its employment for Scottish national purposes, the arms of Scotland might have the dexter, or pre-eminent side—a privilege for some time adopted, and not lightly esteemed." In the negotiations of the commissioners all matters relating to the church of Scotland were excluded. The preservation intact of the constitution and rights of that church was provided for in the acts of parliament under which the union was established.

The history of these negotiations has been told by Sir Walter Scott[p] with a bias which can only be attributed to that nationality which, in its intensification, may cease to be a virtue. He, who in the political questions of his own time was strenuously opposed to what may be called democratic principles, complains that the population of Scotland being as one to six, if the rule of population, "which seems the fairest that could be found, had been adopted, Scotland would have sent sixty-six members to the united parliament," instead of forty-five.

The whig, Hallam,[n] takes a very different view from the tory, Scott: "The ratio of population would indeed have given Scotland about one-eighth of the legislative body, instead of something less than one-twelfth; but no government, except the merest democracy, is settled on the sole basis of numbers; and if the comparison of wealth and of public contributions was to be admitted, it may be thought that a country which stipulated for itself to pay less than one-fortieth of direct taxation, was not entitled to a much greater

share of the representation than it obtained." Scott again takes occasion to accuse the Scottish commissioners of having "sold their own honour and that of Scotland," upon "being given to understand that a considerable sum out of the equivalent money would be secured for their especial use."

He then goes on to state, in the most precise way, from the papers of Lockhart, a furious jacobite, the names of the many recipients of the sum distributed, being £20,540 17*s.* 7*d.*; and says: "it may be doubted whether the descendants of the noble lords and honourable gentlemen who accepted this gratification, would be more shocked at the general fact of their ancestors being corrupted, or scandalised at the paltry amount of the bribe. One noble lord accepted of as low a sum as eleven guineas." Burton[o] has shown that the sum which was unquestionably advanced by the English government was "employed in paying arrears of salary, or other debts. The general fact that at that time all classes of public creditors in Scotland were in arrear is too palpably notorious." The mere circumstance that arrears were paid out of an advance by England does not imply that there was a previous promise to pay, if the statesman should give a vote against the interests of his country. We lament with Burton,[o] the more sober historian of Scotland, that "Sir Walter Scott's national pride seems to have been so entirely overwhelmed by his prejudice against the union, that no tale against its supporters is too degrading to secure his belief."

RIOTS IN SCOTLAND

It was on the 12th of October, 1706, when the estates of Scotland began to consider the Articles of Union. Immense pains had been taken by the opponents of the measure to rouse the people to a tumultuous opposition. They were in some degree successful. There was a riot in Edinburgh on the 23rd of October, when the populace broke the windows of Sir Patrick Johnson, who had been lord provost, and one of the commissioners of the treaty. They were dispersed without any loss of life. Those who consider that the outbreak of a mob—that appears to have been really very harmless—is evidence of the opinions of a nation, may agree with Lockhart[s] that this midnight riot made "it evident that the union was crammed down Scotland's throat."

Unprecedented pains had been taken to rouse the passions of the people, and yet any tumult making an approach to insurrection cannot be traced, even in the most exaggerated narratives of those who represent the union as hateful to the Scottish people. Addresses, indeed, came from many places to the parliament against the incorporating principle of the union. Defoe, who was busily engaged in Edinburgh, in a sort of semi-official capacity—chiefly from his knowledge of commercial matters, on which he had made useful suggestions—had represented these addresses as got up by the political opponents of the treaty. Lockhart as quoted by Burton[o] writes: "That vile monster and wretch, Daniel Defoe, and other mercenary tools and trumpeters of rebellion, have often asserted that these addresses, and other evidences of the nation's aversion to the union, proceeded from the false glosses and underhand dealings of those that opposed it in Parliament"; and then he admits that "perhaps this measure had its first original as they report."

Such arts were natural to be used, especially by the Jacobites. They saw that the union would go far to destroy their hopes of a Stuart king for Scotland, if England persisted in her resolution of having no more right-divine sovereigns. The Cameronians held that the wicked union was a breach of the Solemn League and Covenant, they having been sworn to do their endeavour

to reform England in doctrine, worship, and discipline. But these were very far from representing the opinions of the dispassionate middle classes. Edinburgh shopkeepers were alarmed at the possible loss of customers; but calculating merchants saw very clearly the opening for successful enterprise, when the commerce of the two nations should be put upon an equal footing. The popular arguments against the union were chiefly appeals to nationality, which has always its amiable side, however it may sometimes exhibit a want of judgment in exact proportion to its enthusiasm.

There was an interval in the proceedings of the Scottish parliament when the parties for or against the union were gathering up their strength for a mortal conflict. The first great oratorical display was made by a young man, Lord Belhaven—a speech, says Defoe,[q] "which, being so much talked of in the world, I have also inserted here." It was, indeed, "much talked of in the world," being wholly addressed to "the world"; and not very much fitted for a sober Scottish audience. Yet the "bended knees" and the choking passion of tears of this orator have had imitators in other solemn assemblies.



DANIEL DEFOE (1661–1731)

The speech, says Burton,[o] "was circulated in all known shapes among the people, passed through unnumbered editions, and was so plentifully dispersed that a book-collector seldom buys a volume of Scottish political pamphlets of the early part of the eighteenth century, which does not contain *The Speech of the Lord Belhaven on the subject-matter of an Union betwixt the two kingdoms of Scotland and England.*" This singular production has many of the characteristics of a noble eloquence; it has also not a few of those qualities which are most acceptable to a false taste. Lord Marchmont said when the speaker sat down, "Behold, he dreamed, but lo, when he awoke, he found it was a dream."

When the vote was taken upon the first article of the treaty of union—*viz.*, "That the two kingdoms of Scotland and England shall, upon the first day of May next ensuing the date hereof, and forever after, be united into one kingdom by the name of Great Britain"—there was a majority of thirty-three in favour of this fundamental proposition. There was a majority in each estate—of peers, of barons or representatives of counties, of representatives of towns. The second article for the succession of the monarchy, and the third for representation by one parliament, were also carried within the next fortnight. The question which was excepted from the treaty, that

of the church of Scotland, was then agitated; and it was resolved in a way which abated the fears of the Presbyterians, by passing a separate act to provide for the security of the church, which act was to be repeated as a part of any act of the Scottish or English parliament adopting the union. Under this statute, every sovereign of Great Britain, upon his or her accession, is to take an oath to protect the government, worship, discipline, rights, and privileges of the church of Scotland. The estates then proceeded to the consideration of the minute details of the remaining twenty articles of the treaty. This discussion lasted till the middle of January, 1707.

The opposition to the union beyond the walls of the Scottish parliament could scarcely be called national, in a large sense of the word. But it was, nevertheless, a formidable opposition, manifesting itself amongst very various parties and conditions of society. The duke of Queensberry, the queen's high commissioner, was instrumental in disarming the violence, both within the parliament and without, by his patience and moderation. Queensberry was threatened with assassination. He was told that two and twenty had subscribed an oath with their blood, by which they were bound together to assassinate him. No attempt was made to commit this crime. There was a second outbreak in Edinburgh, but there was no bloodshed.

Those who have been described as the fiercest mob in Europe were singularly harmless during the three months of excitement which preceded the passing of the Act of Union. There was a more serious riot at Glasgow on the 7th of November, which lasted several days. Those who had been fighting at Bothwell Bridge with a fury which Claverhouse and Balfour have impersonated for history and romance, were now united to hunt after an obdurate provost who had declined to sanction a city-address against the union. Jacobites and Cameronians—papists and hill-preachers—were masters for a time of the city of Glasgow. Says Defoe:[q] "They ranged the streets and did what they pleased; no magistrate durst show his face to them; they challenged people as they walked the streets with this question, Are you for the union? and no man durst own it but at his extremest hazard." They searched for arms in private houses; and their rudeness, says Defoe, is not to be described. But this rude mob took no life away. "Except that there was no blood shed, they acted the exact part of an enraged, ungoverned multitude." A few of the leaders of these riots were taken, and the Glasgow baillies were soon relieved of their fears.

Vast things were expected from the junction of the true league and covenant men with the Jacobites, Papists, and Episcopalians. They were to march to Hamilton, seven thousand in number. The duke of Athol was to lead his Highlanders through the famous pass where Dundee scattered six thousand veterans. The duke of Hamilton was to head his motley army. The duke was wiser. He sent orders to the Highlanders and Cameronians to disperse and return home. The duke was unstable in his modes of opposition to the union. All parties began to look with suspicion upon his alternations of a hot and cold policy, and upon the blandishments of his mother towards the Presbyterians. "It was suggested," says Burnet,[e] "that she and her son had particular views, as hoping that if Scotland should continue a separated kingdom, the crown might come into their family, they being the next in blood after King James' posterity."

THE ACT OF UNION CONSUMMATED (1707 A.D.)

Despite the jacobites and the Cameronians, the timid Presbyterians and the semi-papist Episcopalians, the act of the Scottish estates for the union

was finally passed on the 16th of January, 1707, by a hundred and ten votes against sixty-nine. "And there's an end o' an auld sang," said the chancellor. It was an insult, cries the chivalrous Sir Walter Scott, "for which he deserved to be destroyed on the spot by his indignant countrymen." Belhaven complained that the union would compel the peers of Scotland to "lay aside their walking-swords when in company with the English peers, lest their self-defence should be called murder." We have outgrown the use of walking-swords, even for the self-defence which the Scottish peer thought a privilege of his order; certainly so for such homicide as the Scottish poet thought a fitting propitiation to the shades of the hundred and fourteen kings whose line began when Cheops was unborn.

Before the Scottish parliament separated they regulated the election of the representative peers, and the proportion of county and borough members of the commons. They had to arrange the division of the equivalent money, of which the Darien or African company had a large share. The last meeting of the Scottish estates was on the 26th of March, 1707.

The order of the Thistle, which had been revived by Queen Anne in 1703, was not filled up by elections till some few years had elapsed. James II had contemplated the restitution of the order, but no patent for this object had passed the great seal. There was now in the possession of the crown the means of bestowing a great distinction, essentially national; for in the statutes of 1703 the number of knights was limited to twelve peers of Scotland, the sovereign being the head. This number somewhat profanely kept in view the precedent of the Saviour and the twelve apostles. George I broke through the principle of exclusive nationality by bestowing the honour upon a few English peers. George IV overturned the scriptural character by raising the number of knights to sixteen.

The parliament of England had met in December, during the anxious discussion in Scotland of the articles of the treaty of union. At the end of January the queen sent to the house of peers and announced that the treaty for a union had been ratified by act of parliament in Scotland, with some alterations and additions. The articles were then presented. In the lords, a bill was brought in for the security of the church of England as by law established; the movers having, of course, a slight apprehension that the sovereign's oath to preserve the church of Scotland might be liable to misconstruction unless thus qualified. The debates in the English parliament on the principle of the union were animated, but were not violent. The ministry were anxious to pass the bill for the union, without making any alteration in the articles as adopted by the Scottish parliament. They succeeded in preventing a debate on each clause by inserting the articles in the preamble of the bill, with the two acts for the security of the churches of each country. By this device the measure was to be accepted or rejected as a whole. It was passed without difficulty, and on the 6th of March, 1707, the queen gave the royal assent.[f]

AFTERMATH OF THE UNION

Two acts of the British parliament naturally followed the Act of Union. The Scottish privy council was abolished in 1708. A secretary of state for Scotland continued until 1746 to manage the Scottish department in London; but the lord advocate, the adviser of the crown on all legal matters both in London and Edinburgh, gradually acquired a large, and after the suppression of the office of the Scottish secretary a paramount influence

in purely Scottish affairs, though he was nominally a subordinate of the home secretary.[1]

In 1709 the law of treason was assimilated to that of England, being made more definite and less liable to extension by construction in the criminal courts. In the later years of Anne, when after the fall of Marlborough power passed from the whig to the tory party, two statutes were passed of a different character. Patronage was restored in the Presbyterian church notwithstanding the protests of the assembly, and proved a fertile source of discord. A limited toleration act in favour of the Episcopalians, permitting them to worship in private chapels, was opposed by the Presbyterians, but carried.

With the union of the parliaments Scotland lost its legislative independence. Its representation in the British parliament for more than a century, based on the freehold franchise in the counties and in the burghs controlled by town councils, which were close corporations, was a representation of special classes and interests rather than of the nation. It almost appeared as if the prophecy of Belhaven would be accomplished and there would be an end of an old song. But Scottish history was not destined yet to end. The character of the people, though their language and manners gradually became more like those of England, remained distinct. They retained a separate church and clergy. Independent courts and a more cosmopolitan system of law opened a liberal profession and afforded a liberal education to youthful ambition. A national system of parish schools, burgh schools, and universities, though inadequately endowed and far from reaching the ideal of Knox and Melville, gave opportunities to the lower as well as the higher classes of receiving at a small cost an education suited for practical uses and the business of everyday life.

The Scot had been from the earliest times more inclined to travel, to migrate, to colonise than the Englishman, not that he had a less fervent love of home, but a soil comparatively poor made it necessary for many to seek their fortune abroad. This tendency which had led Scottish monks, soldiers, and professors to embrace foreign service, now found new openings in trade, commerce, colonial enterprise in America, the East and the West Indies, in the southern hemisphere and the exploration of unknown parts of the globe. Accustomed to poverty, Scottish emigrants acquired habits of frugality, industry, and perseverance, and were rewarded by success in most of their undertakings. Nor, if war be regarded as necessary to the continued existence of a nation, was it altogether absent, but the cause with which the name of Scotland became identified was the losing one.

The two rebellions proved the devoted loyalty which still attached many of the Highland clans, the Catholics, and some of the Episcopalians to the descendants of the Stuarts. But that in 1715, preceded by an abortive attempt in 1708, was put down by a single battle. Sheriffmuir, if it could scarcely be claimed as a victory by Argyll, led to the speedy dispersal of the clans which had gathered round the standard of Mar.

Thirty years later the romantic rising of the Highlanders under the young Pretender found the government unprepared. Once more for a brief space Holyrood was a royal court. The defeat of Cope at Prestonpans and the rapid march of the Scottish army, slightly reinforced by Catholics from the northern and midland shires of England, to Derby, by which it cut off the duke of Cumberland's forces from the capital, made London tremble. Divided counsels, the absence of any able leader, and the smallness of their number (not more than five thousand) prevented the daring policy of attacking Lon-

[1] In 1885 a secretary for Scotland was again appointed with a separate office at Dover House, London.

don, which Charles himself favoured, and a retreat was determined on. It was skilfully effected, and on the 26th of December the little army, which had left Edinburgh on the 31st of October and reached Derby on the 4th of December, arrived in Glasgow.

It was not favourably received, the southwest of Scotland being the district least inclined to the Stuarts, and it marched on Stirling to assist Lord John Drummond and Lord Strathallan, who had commenced its siege, which General Hawley threatened to raise. His defeat at Falkirk was the last success of the Jacobites. The duke of Cumberland was sent to command the royal forces, and Charles Edward was forced by Lord George Murray and the Highland chiefs to abandon the siege of Stirling and retreat to Inverness. He was at once pursued by the duke, and his defeat at Culloden (the 16th of April, 1746) scattered his followers and compelled him to seek safety in flight



THE CULLODEN MONUMENT

to the Hebrides, from which, after five months' wanderings, he escaped to France.

The last rebellion within Great Britain was put down with severity. Many soldiers taken in arms were shot and no consideration was shown to the wounded. The chief officers and even some privates taken prisoners were tried and executed at various places in the north of England. The earls of Cromarty and Kilmarnock and Lord Balmerino were reserved for the judgment of their peers in London, and having pleaded guilty were beheaded at Tower Hill. The crafty Lovat, who had avoided appearing in arms, but was really at the bottom of the rising, though he pretended to serve both sides, was the last to suffer. An act of indemnity was passed a few weeks after his execution.

But effective measures were taken to prevent any renewal of the rebellion. The estates and titles of all who had been privy to it were forfeited. An act was passed prohibiting the use of arms and the Highland dress; and the abolition of the military tenure of ward-holding, unfortunately preserved at the union, rooted out the remnants of feudal and military power till then left in the hands of the nobles and chiefs. These changes in the law had the willing consent of the Lowland and burghal population in Scotland, to whom the

lawless and freebooting habits of the Highlanders had been a cause of frequent loss and constant alarm.

Somewhat later the masterly policy of Pitt enlisted the Scottish Celts in the service of the crown by forming the Highland regiments. The recollection of Glencoe and Culloden was forgotten after the common victories of the British arms in India, the Peninsula, and Waterloo. In one direction the jacobite cause survived its defeat. Poetry seized on its romantic incidents, idealised the young prince who at least tried to win his father's crown, satirised the foreign and German, the whig and covenanting, elements opposed to the Stuart restoration, and substituted loyalty for patriotism. Self-sacrifice and devotion to a cause believed right, though deserted by fortune (qualities rare amongst the mass of any nation), dignified the jacobites like the cavaliers with some of the nobler traits of chivalry, and the jacobite ballads have their place in literature as one of the last expiring notes of mediæval romance. Music and tradition fortunately preserved their charm before the cold hand of history traced the sad end of Charles Edward, the pensioner of foreign courts, wasting his declining years in ignoble pleasures.

It might be hard to say whether the first Hanoverians or the last Stuarts least deserved that men should fight and die for them; but the former represented order, progress, civil and religious liberty; the latter were identified with the decaying legend of the divine right of kings and the claim of the Roman church not merely to exclusive orthodoxy but to temporal power and jurisdiction inconsistent with the independence of nations and freedom of conscience. Although a larger minority in Scotland than in England clung to the traditions of the past, an overwhelming majority of the nation, including all its progressive elements, were in favour of the new constitution and the change of dynasty.

COMMERCE AND CULTURE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

During the remaining half of the eighteenth century and the commencement of the nineteenth a period of prosperity was enjoyed by Scotland, and the good effects of the union, intercepted by the rebellions, became visible. The Scottish nation, without losing its individuality, was stimulated by contact and friendly rivalry with its English neighbour in the arts of peace. It advanced in intellectual as well as material respects more than in any part of its previous history. It became, through commerce, manufactures, and improved agriculture a comparatively rich instead of a poor country. Skilful engineering made the Clyde a successful competitor with the Thames and the Mersey, and Glasgow became one of the most populous cities in Great Britain. The industrial arts made rapid progress, and the fine arts began to flourish. The art of saving capital and using it as a source of credit was reduced to a system.

Banks, not unknown in other countries and at an earlier date, are in their modern form a Scottish invention. Besides those which sprang up in Scotland itself, the national banks of England and France owed their origin to two Scotsmen. A safe system of life insurance represented the provident habits and business talents of the nation. Adam Smith shares with the French economists the honour of founding political economy as the science of the wealth of nations. Mental philosophy became a favourite study, and a distinctively Scottish school produced thinkers who deeply influenced the later systems of the Continent. The history not of Scotland only but of England

and some portions of that of Europe were written by Scotsmen in works equal to any existing before Gibbon.

The dawn of the scientific era of the nineteenth century was foreshadowed by Scottish men of science, the founders of modern geology, chemistry, anatomy, physiology, and the practice of medicine. In Scotland was made the first of the great line of discoveries in the practical application of science by the use of steam as a motive power.

The same period—so varied were its talents—gave birth to two Scottish poets of world-wide fame. Burns expressed the feelings and aspirations of the people; Scott described both in verse and prose their history and the picturesque scenes in which it had been transacted. During the last half-century the material progress continued, but the intellectual was too brilliant to last. The preponderating influence of England even threatened to extinguish native Scottish genius by centralising the political and social life of the island in the English capital. Only two changes of importance occurred. The political institutions of Scotland were reformed by a series of acts which placed the franchise on a broader basis and made the representation of the people real. The established church, already weakened by secessions, was further divided by a disruption largely due to the ignorance of the political leaders as to the deep-seated aversion of the nation to any interference with the independence of the church, especially in matters of patronage. Educational reform has also in recent years raised the standard of the universities and schools without injuring their popular character. While it would be incorrect to say that Scotland has had no independent history since the union, that history must be chiefly read in the annals of its church, its law, and its literature. Its political existence has been absorbed in that of Great Britain.[d]



SCOTT'S TOMB

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BOOK V

THE HISTORY OF IRELAND

CHAPTER I

EARLY HISTORY AND THE ANGLO-NORMAN CONQUEST

> When two countries, or sections of countries, stand geographically so related to one another that their union under a common government will conduce to the advantage of one of them, such countries will continue separate as long only as there is equality of force between them, or as long as the country which desires to preserve its independence possesses a power of resistance so vigorous that the effort to overcome it is too exhausting to be permanently maintained.—FROUDE.[c]

LEGENDARY HISTORY OF EARLY RACES

CIRCUMSTANCES were favourable in Ireland to the growth and preservation of ethnic legends. Among these favourable circumstances were the long continuance of tribal government, and the existence of a special class whose duty it was to preserve the genealogies of the ruling families, and keep in memory the deeds of their ancestors. Long pedigrees and stories of forays and battles were preserved, but under the necessary condition of undergoing gradual phonetic change according as the popular language altered. During many centuries there had been no conquest by foreign races to destroy these traditions; internal conquests and displacements of tribes confuse but do not eradicate traditions and pedigrees.

When the Irish were converted to Christianity and became acquainted with the story of the deluge, the confusion of tongues, and the unity of the human race, the *suide* (sages) naturally endeavoured to fill up the gap between their eponyms and Noah. The pedigrees now began to be committed to writing, and, as they could for the first time be compared with one another, a wide field was opened to the inventive faculties of the scribes. The result has been the construction of a most extraordinary legendary history, which under the constant care of official *suide* acquired a completeness, fulness, and a certain degree of consistency which is wonderful.

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries this legendary history was fitted with a chronology, and synchronised with the annals of historical nations. We may assume with confidence that a history of a group of tribes admittedly of diverse origins, consisting mainly of names of persons and battles transmitted by memory, must necessarily lack all proportion, not alone as regards absolute, but even as regards relative time: that personages and events may appear in the background that should be in the foreground, and the converse;

nay, even that the same personages and events may figure at times and places far apart.

Keeping these things in view, the *Lebar Gabhala*, or *Book of Invasions*, a curious compilation, or rather compilations, for there are several editions of it, of the ethnic legends of Ireland, will help us to give the main facts of the early peopling of Ireland. Our guide records the coming of five principal peoples, namely, the followers of Partholan or Bartholomew, those of Nemed, the Firbolgs, the Tuatha Dé Danann, and the Scots or Milesians.[b]

Partholan and his people were supposed to have come from middle Greece. For three centuries they occupied Ireland, and then all died of a plague. The next comers were the Nemedians who under their king, Nemed, came from Scythia in thirty ships, each carrying thirty warriors. Like Partholan's people they, too, or at any rate most of them, died of the plague; but not until after they had left records of heroic fighting with a seafaring race of invaders, known as the Formorians, who gained some sort of a foothold on the island. The next colonising race, the Firbolgs, seem to have landed at five different places under several chiefs. They were apparently of British origin. The Firbolgs had brought the entire island in subjection before the coming of the fourth race of colonists, the Tuatha De Danann. According to the legends, these newcomers were descendants of some of the race of Nemed, who had escaped the fury of the plague and the swords of the Formorians. The newcomers fought with the Firbolgs for the sovereignty of the island and worsted them. The last of the prehistoric races of Ireland were the Scots,[1] or as they were sometimes called, the Milesians.[a]

With all their drawbacks, the Irish ethnic legends, when stripped of their elaborate details and biblical and classical loans, express the broad facts of the peopling of Ireland, and are in accordance with the results of archæological investigation. At the earliest period the country was well wooded, and the interior full of marshes and lakes; it was occupied by a sparse population, who appear in later times as "forest tribes" (Tuatha Feda), and were doubtless of the aboriginal (Iberic) race of western and southern Europe. The story of Partholan represents the incoming of the first bronze-armed Celts, who were a Goidelic tribe akin to the later Scots that settled on the sea-coast, and built the fortresses occupying the principal headlands. They formed with the forest tribes the basis of the population in the Early Bronze age. Afterwards came the various tribes known by the general name of Firbolgs.

It is not necessary to suppose that all the tribes included under this name came at the same time, or even that they were closely akin. The legend names several tribes, and tells us that they came into Ireland at different places from Britain. The effect of their immigrations now appears to have been that in the north the people were Cruithni, or Picts of the Goidelic branch of the Celts; in the east and centre, British and Belgic tribes; and in Munster, when not distinctly Iberic, of a southern or Gaulish type.

The fertile plain lying between the Wicklow and Carlingford mountains was occupied by the tribe of Nemed before the arrival of the Firbolgs, if we believe the legend; but the event certainly belongs to a later period, though still to the time of the movements and displacement of peoples which led to the immigration of those tribes. The Formorians, with whom the Nemedians fought, may have been merely some of those incoming tribes. The Irish legend

[1] The Scots carried their pedigree back without a break to Noah. The immediate eponym of the new race was Galam from Gal, valour, a name which might be expressed by the Latin *miles*, a knight, whence came the names Milesius and Milesians.

brings the Nemedians from the east of Europe, which, of course, means only that they came from a distance, perhaps from Armorica or some other part of Gaul.

The Milesian legend seems to consist of two or perhaps of three events. Eber and Erimon, two sons of Galam, or Milesius, the leaders of the invading forces, fight a battle at Sleab Mis in western Kerry with the Tuatha De Danann, whom they defeat. Eber or Heber then marches to Tailti in Meath, while his brother Erimon or Heremon sails round to the mouth of the Boyne, where he lands and marches to meet his brother advancing from the south. This skilful strategic movement betrays the late invention of the legend. The first fact that underlies the story is the incoming of some powerful and well-armed tribe who seized upon the plain between the Liffey and the Boyne, and made it the centre of an encroaching power.

The new tribes arrived in Ireland towards the close of the prehistoric period, and not long before the beginning of the Christian era, or possibly as late as the first century of it. They were Goidelic, and were related to the dominant clans of Munster and Ulster, though perhaps not so closely to the latter as to the former. When the sons of Galam had defeated the kings of the tribes of the De Danann, they partitioned Ireland between themselves and their kinsmen. Erimon got Leinster and Connaught; Eber Find, his brother, north Munster; Lugaid, son of Ith, brother of Galam, south Munster, and Eber, son of Ir, son of Galam, Ulster.

Eber Find, the leader of the north Munster tribes, and Lugaid of south Munster, were grandsons of Breogan, the stem-father of all the new tribes. A long struggle took place between their descendants, in which those of Eber Find ultimately gained the upper hand, and the descendants of Lugaid were gradually pressed into a corner of the county of Cork. This struggle and the position of the tribes of Eber in the plain of Munster seem to show that the latter were, what the legend pretends, a part of the incoming tribes which we shall henceforward call Scots. There seems little doubt that these clans of Breogan or Scots were closely related to the Brigantes, perhaps they were even tribes of that great clan. The Brigantes who occupied the basin of the Barrow and Nore, and ultimately the county Waterford, according to Ptolemy, support this view. The clan of Lugaid, grandson of Breogan, is almost certainly that which used the Ogam inscribed stones, the last that came into the country, and with which originated the story of the migration from Spain.

THE SCOTI

The opening of the historic period was marked by a great struggle of tribes, which took place about the beginning of the Christian era, and of which Irish annalists have left us but very scanty information, and that confused and misleading. This struggle was brought about by the arrival from abroad of a new tribe, or the rise of an old one. The former view seems the more probable, for at that time great displacements of the Celts were taking place everywhere consequent on the conquests of the Romans, and some of the displaced tribes may have migrated to Ireland. The victors in the struggle appear afterwards as Scots; the conquered tribes are called Aithech Tuatha, that is, vassal tribes, because they paid *daer* or base rent.

The victors consisted of forty-six tribes, among them being the Scotraige or Scotraide. This tribe probably took a foremost place in the subsequent invasions of Britain; and, it having thus acquired the leadership of the free

clans, the latter became all known to foreigners as the Scoti, a name which was subsequently extended to the whole people. That this was the way in which the name was first given is shown by its not having been used in Irish, but only in Latin documents.

In the struggle between the free and servile tribes the latter appear to have succeeded in throwing off the yoke of the free clans or Scots, but after some time the latter, under the leadership of Tuathal, called *Techtmar*, or the Legitimate (*ob. cir.* 160 A.D.), recovered their power and took effective measures to preserve it by making some kind of redistribution of the servile tribes, or more probably making a plantation of Scots among them, and building fortresses capable of affording mutual aid. The duns and raths on the great central plain of Ireland to which Tuathal's measure was probably confined appear to have been erected on some strategic plan of this kind, intended to keep up a chain of communication, and prevent the combination of the servile classes. Tuathal in fact founded a kind of feudal system which ruled Ireland while the Scotic power endured.[1]

Another measure of Tuathal was the formation of the kingdom of Meath to serve as mensal land of the *ard ri* or over-king. He was not only the founder of the central monarchy, but also it would seem the organiser of the religious system of the people, which he used as a means of securing the allegiance of their princes by holding their chief shrines in his power, while leaving them the rents derived from them. An act of Tuathal, which marks his power and the firm grasp which he had secured over the country, was the infliction of a heavy fine on the province of Leinster, a legend tells us, for an insult offered to him by one of its kings. This fine, called the *boroim laigen* or cow-tribute of Leinster, was levied until the sixth century. It was a constant source of oppression and war while it lasted, and helped to cripple the power of Leinster.

To carry out his measures of conquest and subjugation Tuathal is credited with having established a kind of permanent military force which afterwards became so celebrated in legendary story as the Fiann or Fenians. He may have seen Roman troops, and attempted as far as his circumstances would permit to form a military tribe organised somewhat after the manner of a legion. Among the other measures attributed to Tuathal was the regulation of the various professions and handicrafts. The former he must necessarily have done as part of his religious organisation, for the various professions were merely the grades of the druidical hierarchy.

RISE OF MUNSTER AND CONQUEST OF ULSTER

If we accept the story of the plantation of the broken Aithech Tuatha, Tuathal's power must have extended over the whole country; but it was practically confined to Meath and Leinster, and perhaps Olnegmacht. Ulaid was independent. In Munster the clan of Degaid had conquered a large tract of the country in the middle of the province, and forced the clan of Dergtind or descendants of Eber into the southwest of Cork and Kerry. From their peculiar position in the south they must have acknowledged the supremacy of Tuathal and his successors.

In the reign of Cond, surnamed of the Hundred Battles, grandson of

[1] The Aithech Tuatha, or servile tribes, have been identified by some antiquarians with the British tribes known as Atticotti. There is nothing improbable in the notion that when beaten they may have crossed over to Britain, where they became known as Atticotti, and were associated with the Scots in their devastations of the Roman provinces.

Tuathal, the clan of Degaid had succeeded in getting the upper hand of the clans both of Eber and Lugaid; and Munster, now divided into three petty kingdoms, was ruled over by three princes of that family. A chief of the Eberians named Eogan, better known as Mug Nuadat, by the aid of his foster-father the king of Leinster, succeeded in defeating the Degaidian princes and driving them out of Munster. The latter asked the aid of Cond the over-king, who took up their cause, and a fierce war arose, in which Cond was beaten and compelled to divide Ireland with his rival. The boundary line ran from the Bay of Galway to Dublin along the great ridge of gravel which stretches across Ireland. The northern part was Leth Cuind or Cond's Half, and the southern part Leth Moga or Mug's Half. By this arrangement the present county of Clare, which had hitherto belonged to Olinegmacht, was transferred to Munster, to which it has ever since belonged.

It was about this time too that the former province received the name Connacht, now Connaught, from the name of King Cond. In the wars between Mug Nuadat and Cond a considerable number of foreigners are said to have been in the army of the former, among whom are specially named Spaniards. Perhaps these foreigners represent the tribe of Lugaid, and this was really the period of the arrival of that tribe in Ireland out of which grew the Milesian story. The earliest of the Ogam inscriptions are perhaps of this date, and support the view just stated.

Mug Nuadat must have been an able man, for he established his race so firmly that his descendants ruled Munster for a thousand years. He seems to have been as politic as warlike, for we are told he stored corn to save his people from famine. He was also enabled to give some to many chieftains who in a tribal community had no such forethought, and thus made them his vassals. His success, however, created a rivalry which lasted down to the final overthrow of the native government, and led to constant war and devastation, and mainly contributed to the final overthrow of the central monarchy. Although Munster remained nominally in subjection to that power, it was thenceforward in reality an independent kingdom, or rather federation of clans under the king of Cashel.

If the Scots failed to subdue the south thoroughly, they succeeded in crushing the Ultonians, and driving them ultimately into the southeastern corner of the province. One of Cond's successors, Fiacha Srabtine, was slain by his nephews, known as the three Collas. Finding an excuse in an insult offered to their grandfather, King Cormac, son of Art, they invaded Ulster, plundered and burned Emain Macha, the ancient seat of the kings of the Ultonians, and made "sword-land" of a large part of the kingdom, which was afterwards known as Airgeill or Oriel. Afterwards the sons of the celebrated Niall of the Nine Hostages, the most powerful monarch of the Scotic dynasty after Tuathal, also carved out principalities for themselves in Ulster which bore their names for centuries: Tir Conaill, or as it was called in English Tyreonnel, the land of Conall, and Tir Eogain, the land of Eogan, from which has come the name of one of the Ulster counties, Tyrone.

INVASIONS OF BRITAIN BY THE IRISH

Constant allusions are made in the legends of the prehistoric kings to warlike expeditions to Alba. The *Annals of the Four Masters*,[h] quoting the *Annals of Tigernach*, tell us at the year 240 that Cormac, son of Art and grandson of Cond, sailed across the sea and obtained the sovereignty of Alba. This Cormac was a noteworthy king, who ruled with much state at Tara from about

254 to 277 A.D. He is said to have introduced water-mills into Ireland, and to have established schools for the study of law, military matters, and the annals of the country. Laws attributed to him continued in force all through the Middle Ages. It was, however, during the reign of Crimthand son of Fidach (366-379) and of his successor Niall of the Nine Hostages (379-405) that the Irish invasions of Britain acquired for the first time historic importance. The former was a Munster prince, the most powerful of his race, and the only Eberian prince who was king of Ireland until Brian Boruma (1002). His successor Niall was also the most powerful of the rival race of the Erimonian Scots.

There appear to have been three distinct settlements of Irish tribes in Britain: (1) of Munster tribes in South Wales, Devonshire, and Cornwall; (2) of Erimonian Scots in the Isle of Man, Anglesey, and other parts of Gwynedd



Rock of Cashel

or North Wales; and (3) of the Erimonian Scots, called the Dal-Riada. The Cruithni or Picts of Galloway seem to have been a fourth settlement, but definite evidence on this point is wanting. The first invasion and the extent of the settlement of the Irish in southwest Britain are established by the Ogam inscriptions.

Early writers pointed out a Goidelic element in the topographical nomenclature of west Britain, and concluded that the country was once occupied by the Goedel, whence they were driven into Ireland by the advancing Cymri. This was a natural and reasonable conclusion at the time. But our present knowledge compels us to adopt a different view, namely, that without prejudice to the existence at an anterior period of Goidelic tribes in west Britain, the numerous traces of Goidelic names found there are derived from an Irish occupation in historic times.

The Rev. W. Basil Jones,[d] bishop of St. Davids, who by his valuable book, *Vestiges of the Gael in Gwynedd* (North Wales), has so largely contributed to our knowledge of this subject, came to the conclusion that the Irish occupied the whole of Anglesey, Carnarvon, Merioneth, and Cardiganshire, with a portion at least of Denbighshire, Montgomeryshire, and Radnorshire. The same tribes who occupied Anglesey and Gwynedd also occupied the Isle of Man, which, as is well known, was an Irish possession before the Norse invasion. It would appear that the first occupation of Man, Mona, and Gwynedd took place before the dominance of the Scots, or was the work of Ultonians. But

the Erimonian Scots were afterwards the dominant element. South Wales was undoubtedly occupied by south Munster tribes. The occupation of North Wales was probably due to a similar pressure of the Scots upon the Ultonians.

We have said that there was probably a fourth settlement of Irish in Britain, but that we had no definite information on the subject. The position of the Goidelic population in Galloway is, however, so peculiar that we have no hesitation in saying that it is derived from an emigration of Irish Cruithni or Picts in the first half of the fourth century, consequent on the Scotic invasion of Ulster. Bede[e] is the earliest authority for such a migration. Speaking of the inhabitants of Britain he says: "In process of time Britain, besides the Britons and the Picts, received a third nation, the Scots, who migrating from Ireland under their leader Reuda, either by fair means or by force of arms secured to themselves those settlements among the Picts which they still possess. From the name of their commander they are to this day called Dalreudins; for in their language *dal* signifies a part." Bede derived his information from some of the Columban clergy, and knew nothing of Wales, and therefore of any previous settlements of the Irish. About three hundred years after the first settlement a body of the Irish Dalriads of Antrim went to Alba, under the leadership of Fergus Mor, son of Erc, and his brothers, and founded on the basis of the previous colony a new Dal Riata, which became known as Airer Goedel or region of the Gael, a name now pronounced Argyll. This petty kingdom ultimately developed into the kingdom of Scotland, and appropriated to itself the name of the mother country, or at least that which was its Latin name.

The Roman historians are usually assumed to represent that the Scots taking part in the attacks on Roman Britain all came like the Picts from the north. But Ammianus expressly states that the Picts, Atticotti, and Scots arrived by different ways (*per diversa vagantes*). The basis of the Scotic attacks was their settlements in Wales and southwest Britain, which afforded protection to the invading forces arriving from Ireland in their hide-covered wicker boats. Argyll may also have served as a point from which to send out piratical expeditions. The Irish Picts or Ultonians who had settled in Galloway must have also joined in the fray—their position near the Solway giving them unusual facilities.

CHRISTIANITY IN IRELAND

In the beginning of the fourth century there was an organised Christian church in Britain, for there were British bishops at the council of Arles in 314 A.D., one of whom was probably from Wales. At that time the Irish had possession of many places in west and south Britain, and must have come in contact with Christians. These were more numerous and the church was better organised in South Wales and southwest Britain, where the Munster or southern Irish were, than in North Wales, held by the Scots proper. Christianity may, therefore, have found its way into Munster some time in the fourth century. This would account for the existence of several Christian Scots before St. Patrick, such as Pelagius the heresiarch and his disciple Cœlestius, one of whom was certainly a Scot, and Cœlius Sedulius (in Irish, *Siadal*, or *Siudal*), the Christian poet, who flourished in Italy about the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth century.

There is a story of four bishops who, with several priests and anchorites, lived in Munster before the mission of St. Patrick; but later inquiries have shown that most if not all these either were contemporaries of St. Patrick or

belonged to a later time. But, although it is almost certain that no organised church existed in Ireland before the mission of St. Patrick, there may have been several scattered communities in the south of Ireland.[b]

We have evidence of the visit to Ireland of one Christian missionary before St. Patrick. This was Palladius. Just when he made his Irish visit is unknown, but he is mentioned in most of the old biographies of St. Patrick, where his mission is naturally spoken of as a comparative failure. The fact that he is sometimes called Palladius Patrick has led to his being often confused with the real Patrick whom he preceded. By most of the early writers he is said to have returned to Britain very shortly before Patrick set out for Ireland, but other accounts make him suffer martyrdom in that island.[a]

The death of Palladius is assumed to have taken place in 431, and the mission of St. Patrick to have begun in the following year. Our knowledge of the Irish apostle is, however, so contradictory and unsatisfactory that no reliance can be placed on any dates connected with him. In any case, when we remember the time and the state of Europe, it is not at all likely that the place of Palladius could be so rapidly supplied as the above dates make out.[b] Nor is there any certain information as to the birthplace of St. Patrick. Tradition tells us that he was born at "Nemthur," and it has been conjectured that "Nemthur" was a village near the Clyde end of the wall of Antoninus, probably on the site of the present Dumbarton. After the withdrawal of the Roman legions, Patrick's father, Calpurnius, who was a deacon and magistrate and came of a noble family, probably retired for safety south of the wall of Severus, to the neighbourhood of "Bannavem Taberniæ," which can be only approximately located in the Clyde basin, near that river's mouth.

Our principal authority for the events of St. Patrick's early life is included in his *Confessio*, a spirited autobiography of singular interest, which together with his *Epistle* are, as Ramsay [1] points out, the earliest prose writings that can be attributed to a native of the British Islands. In his *Confessio* he tells us that with many others he was carried off at the age of sixteen from his father's farm at "Bannavem Taberniæ" and sold as a slave into Ireland. But although, as we have seen, Patrick came of a clerical and noble family, the events of his early life caused his education to be much neglected. For six years he tended sheep for an Irish chieftain in Antrim, and then escaped to Britain, and spent several years in preparing himself for missionary labours in Ireland, to which work he had determined to devote his life.[a]

Although there is much obscurity and confusion in the life of St. Patrick, there cannot be the slightest doubt of his real existence. He was thoroughly acquainted with the people of Ireland, and consequently knew that he should secure the chief in order to succeed with the clan, and this is what he did.[1] At first the conversion was only apparent, but, although the mass of the people still continued practically pagans, the apostle was enabled to found churches and schools, and educate a priesthood, and thus provide the most effective and certain means of converting the whole people. He was undoubtedly a great missionary, full of zeal but withal prudent, and guided by much good sense.

It would be a mistake to suppose that his success was as rapid or as complete as is generally assumed. On the contrary, it is fully apparent that he had much hard work, and ran much danger, that many chiefs refused to hear him, and that much paganism still existed at his death. That this should

[1 One of the stories told of St. Patrick is that he sought out the old Irish chief whose slave he had been, and recompensed him for the loss he had sustained in his escape by a payment of three times his value.]

be so was no doubt an inherent defect of his system; but on the other hand, by no other system could so much real work have been done in so short a time, and that too, so far as we can make out, almost by his own unaided efforts.

THE EARLY IRISH CHURCH

The church founded by St. Patrick was identical in doctrine with the churches of Britain and Gaul, and other branches of the western church. There is no evidence that the Pelagian heresy found an entrance there, and least of all is there the slightest foundation for the supposition that it had any connection with the eastern church. Its organisation was, however, peculiar; and, as countries in the tribal state of society are very tenacious of their customs, the Irish church preserved these peculiarities for a long time, and carried them into other countries, by which the Irish were brought into direct collision with a different and more advanced church organisation.

Wherever the Roman law and municipal institutions had been in force, the church society was modelled on the civil one. The bishops governed ecclesiastical districts co-ordinate with the civil divisions. In Ireland there were no cities and no municipal institutions; the nation consisted of groups of tribes connected by kinship and loosely held together under a graduated system of tribal government. The church which grew up under such a system was organised exactly like the lay society. When a chief became a Christian and bestowed his *dun* and his lands upon the church, he at the same time transferred all his rights as a chief. But though by his gift the chief divested himself of his rights, these still remained with his sept or clan, though subordinate to the uses of the church; at first all church offices were exclusively confined to members of the sept or of the clan, according as the gift emanated from the head of the one or the other.

In this new sept or clan there was consequently a twofold succession. The religious sept or family consisted, in the first instance, not only of the ecclesiastical persons to whom the gift was made, but of all the *celi*, or vassals, tenants, and slaves, connected with the land bestowed. The head was the *comarba*, that is, the co-heir, or inheritor both of the spiritual and temporal rights and privileges of the founder; he in his temporal capacity exacted rent and tribute like other chiefs, and made war not on temporal chiefs only—the spectacle of two comarpi making war on each other being not unusual.

The ecclesiastical colonies that went forth from a parent family generally remained in subordination to it in the same way that the spreading branches of a secular clan remained in general subordinate to it. The heads of the secondary families were also called the comarpi of the original founder of the religious clan. Thus there were comarpi of Columba at Hi (Iona), Kells, Durrow, Derry, and other places. The comarba of the chief family of a great spiritual clan was called the ard-comarba or high comarba. The comarba might be a bishop or only an abbot, but in either case all the ecclesiastics of the family were subject to him; in this way it frequently happened that bishops, though their superior functions were recognised, were in subjection to abbots, who were only priests, nay, even to a woman, as in the instance of St. Brigit.

This singular association of lay and spiritual powers was liable to the abuse of having the whole succession fall into lay hands, as happened to a large extent in later times. This has led to many misconceptions of the true character and discipline of the Irish mediæval church. The temporal chief had his steward who superintended the collection of his rents and tributes;

in like manner the comarba of a religious sept had his *airchinnech* (usually written in Anglo-Irish documents *erenach* and *herenach*), an office which has given rise to many erroneous views. The name was supposed to be a corruption of archidiaconus, but this is not so. The office of airchinnech or steward of church lands was generally but not necessarily hereditary; it embodied in a certain sense the lay succession in the family.

From the beginning the church of St. Patrick was monastic, as is proved by a passage in his *Confessio*, where, speaking of the success of his mission, he says: "The sons of Scots and daughters of chiefs appear now as monks and virgins of Christ." But the early Irish monasticism was unlike that known at a later period. An Irish cœnobium of the earliest type was simply an ordinary sept or family whose chief had become Christian, and making a gift of his land either retired leaving it in the hands of a comarba, or remained as the religious head himself. The family went on with their usual avocations, but some of the men and women, and in some cases all, practised celibacy, and all joined in fasting and prayer. These communities offer many striking analogies with the Shaker communities of the United States. A severer and more exclusive system of monasticism succeeded this primitive one, but its general character never entirely changed.

As all notions of diocesan jurisdiction as understood in countries under Roman law were unknown, there was not that limitation of the number of bishops which territorial jurisdiction renders necessary, and consequently bishops were very numerous. If we were to believe some of the legends of the early church, the bishops were nearly as numerous as the priests. St. Mochta, abbot of Lugmad, or Louth, and said to have been a disciple of St. Patrick, had one hundred bishops in his monastic family. All the bishops in a cœnobium were, as we have said above, subject to the abbot. Besides the bishops in the monastic families, every tuath or tribe had its own bishop.

The church in Ireland having been evolved out of the monastic *nuclei* above described, the tribe-bishop was an episcopal development of a somewhat later period. He was an important personage, having a right to the same retinue as the *ri* or chief, and though we cannot define exactly the character of his jurisdiction, which extended over the tuath, his power was considerable, as we can judge by the conflicts which took place between them and the kings on that fertile source of dissension, the right of sanctuary. The tuath bishop corresponded to the diocesan bishop as closely as it was possible in the two systems so different as tribal and municipal government. When diocesan jurisdiction grew up in Ireland in the twelfth and subsequent centuries, the tuath became a diocese.

In the eighth and ninth centuries, when the great emigration of Irish scholars and ecclesiastics took place, the number of wandering bishops without dioceses became a reproach to the Irish church, and there can be no doubt that it led to much inconvenience and abuse, and was subversive of the stricter discipline that the popes had succeeded in establishing in the western church. They were also accused of ordaining serfs without the consent of their lord, consecrating bishops *per saltum*, that is, making persons bishops who had not previously received the orders of priests, and of permitting bishops to be consecrated by a single bishop. The latter could hardly be a reproach to the Irish church, as the practice was never held to be invalid. The isolated position of Ireland, and the existence of tribal organisation in full vigour, explain fully the anomalies of Irish discipline, many of which were also survivals of the early Christian practices before the complete organisation of the church.

From the nature of the organisation of the Irish church as established by St. Patrick, it was to be expected that on his death the bond between the numerous church families which his great authority supplied would be greatly relaxed. The druidic orders, too, which there is reason to believe remained still to a large extent pagan, and undoubtedly practised many of their arts even in the seventh century, must have regained much of their old power. A tradition exists that at the instance of St. Patrick the laws were purified by a commission of which he himself was a member, and collected into a body called the Senchas Mor. Nevertheless, the pagan marriage customs were practised long after St. Patrick's time.

The transition period which follows the loosening of the faith of a people in its old religion, and before the authority of the new is universally accepted, is always a time of confusion and relaxation of morals. Such a period appears to have followed in the first half of the sixth century the fervour of St. Patrick's time. This period of reaction after warlike and religious excitement has been magnified into an entire corruption of faith and morals, for which, however, there is no real evidence. That the survival of the druids under the name of the grades or orders of *Ecna* and *Filidecht*, which we may describe conventionally as bards, had much to do with the state of disorder we are discussing, is proved by the proposal of the king Aed (572–599), son of Ainmire, to get rid of them on account of their numbers and unreasonable and exorbitant demands. St. Columba, however, advocated and secured a reform of the body, a diminution of their number, and the curtailment of their privileges.

The encroachments of the Saxons which forced the Cymri of the north into Wales, and the consequent driving out of the Irish from their possessions in Wales and southwest Britain, and the desolation and anarchy of the whole country, appear to have caused many British ecclesiastics to seek a refuge in Ireland, among whom was Gildas, who is said to have been invited over by King Ainmire. But, whether as an invited guest or as a refugee, Gildas certainly helped to reform the Irish church, at least of Leth Cuind, or Cond's Half. The chief reform due to the influence of Gildas and the British church seems to have been the introduction of monastic life in the strict sense of the word, that is, of communities entirely separated from the laity, with complete separation of the sexes.

To this reformed church of the second half of the sixth century and early part of the seventh belong Columba, Comgall, and many other saints of renown, who established the schools from which went forth the missionaries and scholars who made the name of Scot and of Ireland so well known throughout Europe. During this period the energy of the youth of Ireland seems to have concentrated itself on religious asceticism and missionary work. St. Columba converted the Picts, and from his monastery of Hi (Iona) went forth the illustrious Aedan to plant another Iona at Lindisfarne, which, as Mr. Hill Burton, the historian of Scotland, says, "long after the poor parent brotherhood had fallen to decay, expanded itself into the bishopric of Durham or, as some will have it, the archbishopric of York itself; for of all the Christian missions to England that of Aedan seems to have taken the firmest root."

This was also the period of the great missionaries of the Continent, Columbanus, Gall, Killian, and many others. Nor had the old daring on the sea—which distinguished the Scotic adventurers who had ravaged the coasts of Britain—died out among the Gael of south Munster, for besides St. Brendan, whose voyages have given rise to a widespread myth, there was another navigator, Cormac, a disciple of St. Columba, who visited the Orkneys, and discovered the Faroe Islands and Iceland, long before the Northmen set foot

on them. Other Irishmen followed in their tracks, and when the Northmen first discovered Iceland they found there books and other traces of the Irish of the early church.

The peculiarities which, owing to Ireland's isolation, had survived were, as we have said, brought into prominence when the Irish missionaries came into contact with Roman ecclesiastics. Those peculiarities, though only survivals of customs once general in the Christian church, shocked the ecclesiastics of the Roman school, accustomed to the order and discipline which were everywhere being introduced into the western church. On the Easter question especially a contest arose which waxed hottest in England; and as the Irish monks stubbornly adhered to their traditions they were vehemently attacked by their opponents. This controversy occupies much space in the history of the western church, and led to an unequal struggle between the Roman and Scotic clergy in Scotland, England, the east of France, Switzerland, and a considerable part of Germany, which naturally ended in the Irish system giving way before the Roman. The monasteries following the Irish rule were supplanted by or converted into Benedictine ones.

Owing to this struggle the real work of the early Irish missionaries in converting the pagans of Britain and central Europe, and sowing the seeds of culture there, has been overlooked when not wilfully misrepresented. Thus, while the real work of the conversion of the pagan Germans was the work of Irishmen, Winifred or, as he is better known, St. Boniface, a man of great political ability, reaped the field they had sown, and is called the apostle of Germany, though it is very doubtful if he ever preached to the heathen. The southern Irish, who had been more in contact with the south British and Gauls, were the first to accept the Roman method of reckoning Easter, which they did in 633 A.D. In the north of Ireland, which was in connection with the Columban church, it was adopted fully only on the community of Iona yielding in 716, one hundred and fifty years after the commencement of the controversy.

THE DYNASTY OF THE HUI NEILL

Niall of the Nine Hostages had many sons, of whom eight became stem-fathers of important clans. Four—Loegaire, Conall Crimthand, Fiacc, and Maine—settled in Meath and adjoining territories, and their posterity were called the southern Hui or Hy Neill. The other four—Eogan, Enna Find, Cairpre, and Conall Gulban—like the three Collas before mentioned, went into Ulster and made sword-land of a large part of it. Their descendants were the northern Hui Neill. The territory of Eogan was known as Tir Eogain, which has survived in the county of Tyrone; that of Conall Gulban was called Tir Conaill (Tyr Connell), corresponding nearly to the present county of Donegal. The posterity of Eogan were the O'Neills and their numerous kindred septs; the posterity of Conall Gulban were the O'Donnells and their kindred septs. Loegaire, the son of Niall, was succeeded by Ailill Molt, the son of Niall's predecessor Dathi. After a reign of twenty years (463–483) he was slain in the battle of Ocha by Lugaid, son of Loegaire. This battle marks an epoch in Irish history, for it made the posterity of Niall the dominant race in Ireland for five hundred years, during which the Hui Neill held the kingship without a break. The power of the Hui Neill over Munster, or, indeed, over any part of Mug's Half, which included Leinster, was, however, often only nominal.

The first king of the southern Hui Neill was Dermot, son of Fergus Mac

Cerbaill (538–558). He undoubtedly professed Christianity, but still clung to many pagan practices, such as a plurality of wives and the use of druidical incantations in battle. He quarrelled with the church about the right of sanctuary, with disastrous results for the country. The king held an assembly of the kings and princes of Ireland at Tara in 554, at which Curnan, son of the king of Connaught, slew a nobleman. By ancient usage homicide and certain other offences committed at such assemblies were punishable with death without the privilege of compounding for the crime. Curnan, knowing his fate, fled for sanctuary to Columba; but Dermot pursued him, and, disregarding the opposition of the saint, seized Curnan and hanged him.

The kinsmen of Columba, the northern Hui Neill, took up his quarrel, and attacked and defeated the king in a battle in 555. It is probable that the part taken by Columba in this affair had much to do with his leaving Ireland for his great mission to the Picts two years after. So ardent, energetic, and imperious a spirit must have chafed at any impediment in the way of his work, and, as many of his establishments were under the king's hand, he must have decided to seek another field. After the death of Dermot, who was slain in 558, Tara was deserted, and no assembly was again held there. Subsequent kings resided at their hereditary duns—the northern Hui Neill at Ailech, near Derry, those of the southern branch in Westmeath. The desertion of Tara was one of the chief causes which disintegrated the Irish nation, in which the idea of a central government had taken firm root, and might under favourable circumstances have acquired sufficient force to evolve a higher political state out of the tribal system.

The Reign of Aed

The reign of Aed, son of Ainmire, of the race of Conall Gulban of the northern Hui Neill (572–599), marks another important epoch in Irish history. The bards (*filid*), who were part of the transformed druidic order, had increased in number to such an extent that they are said to have included one-third of the freemen. An *ollam fili*, the highest grade of the order, was entitled to a large retinue of pupils, with their horses and dogs, with free quarters wherever he went. There was thus quite an army of impudent swaggering idlers roaming about the country and quartering themselves on the chiefs and nobles during the winter and spring, story-telling, and lampooning those who dared to refuse, or even to hesitate, to comply with their demands. Aed determined to banish them from Ireland: and, as this could only be done with the consent and co-operation of all the kings and chiefs, he summoned a convention, such as formerly met at Tara, to assemble at Druimceta, in the north of Ireland.

Two other causes were also to be discussed at the assembly, one of which is of considerable historic interest, namely, Aed's proposal to impose a tribute payable to the over-king upon the Dalriadic kingdom in Alba, which had hitherto paid no rent, though bound to assist the Irish king in his wars both by sea and land, and to pay him *erics* or blood fines. In other words, Aed proposed to make the Dalriadic colony an integral part of the Irish kingdom. St. Columba came thither from his island home attended by a large retinue of monks, many of whom were bishops, to plead the cause of the bards and of his kinsman Aedan of the Dalriads.

His influence seems to have been decisive; the bards were not banished, but were reformed, and the Dalriadic colony was made independent. The decision about the bards was no doubt a reasonable compromise at the time.

The schools which the reformed order were obliged to keep mainly contributed to make Ireland a refuge of learning in the seventh and eighth centuries, and created a native literature, such as it was, several centuries before those of the other barbarian nations of Europe. But on the other hand, professional poets, whose duty it was to sound the praises of chiefs and clans in rhymes of the most complex and artificial metres and inflated language, could not produce a really healthy vigorous literature.

We are, however, now in a better position to judge of the injurious action of the bardic institution as a whole. Several causes—among others, geographical position—helped to arrest the political and social growth of the Irish people, and crystallise their culture in the tribal stage, but the most powerful of those causes was the existence of the organised professions of the *suide*, who kept up elaborate systems of pedigrees, and of the *filid* or bards, whose business it was to flatter the vanity of their patrons and pander to their vices. These kept the clan spirit alive, shut out the influx of new opinions, and stopped



St. Columba Church and Tower

the growth of national political ideas. The ephemeral lustre of the Irish mediæval schools could never compensate for such losses.

Joint kingship was one of the most curious features of the Irish system; it frequently occurred in the course of the Hui Neill rule. Later in the seventh century (681) the cow-tribute or *boroim* of Leinster was abolished at the instance of St. Moling by the over-king Finnachta; and at the end of it (697) St. Adamnan, abbot of Hi (Iona) who had come to Ireland in connection with the still unsettled question of the time of keeping Easter, succeeded in exempting women from military service. The necessity for such a law, which has been called from its author the *Cain Adamnain*, shows how little affected the tribal system of Ireland was by Roman civilisation even at this period.

In the reign of the over-king Aed Alaind (733–742), an attempt seems to have been made for the first time to create a national church organisation. King Aed and his rival, the king of Munster, Cathal, entered into an agreement regulating the tribute due to the church according to the rules and customs of the see of Armagh. Some time elapsed, however, before the regulation was generally accepted over the whole of Ireland. In the year 803 the over-king Aed Ordnigthe mustered an army composed of "both laity and clergy," but the latter complained of the hardship of being forced to take part in warlike expeditions. King Aed agreed to abide by the advice of a learned priest called Fothud of the Canons, who recommended the exemption

of the clergy from the obligation of fighting. This law was called the *Cain Patraicc* or law of Patrick, probably from having been obtained by the comarba or successor of St. Patrick, that is, the archbishop of Armagh at the time. The exemption may have, however, formed part of the regulations, called also Cain Patraicc, which formed the subject of the agreement between Aed Alaind and Cathal above referred to.

THE INVASION OF THE NORTHMEN

The first incursion of the Northmen took place in 795 A.D., when they plundered and burned the church of Rechrann, now Lambey, an island north of Dublin Bay. When this event occurred, the power of the over-king had become a shadow; the provincial kingdom had split up into more or less independent principalities, almost constantly at war with each other. Even Mag Breg, which was only part of Meath, was able to rebel against the chief of the latter. The oscillation of the centre of power between Meath and Derry, according as the over-king was of the southern or northern Hui Neill, which followed the desertion of Tara, produced corresponding perturbations in the balance of parties among the minor kings.

The army consisted of a number of clans, each commanded by its own chief, and acting as so many independent units without cohesion. The clansmen owed fealty only to their chiefs, who in turn owed a kind of conditional allegiance to the over-king, depending a good deal upon the ability of the latter to enforce it. A chief might through pique, or from other causes, withdraw his clan even on the eve of a battle, without such defection being deemed dishonourable. What the clan was to the nation or the province, the fine or sept was to the clan itself. The chieftains or heads of septs had a voice, not only in the question of war or peace, for that was determined by the whole clan, but in all subsequent operations. However brave the individual soldiers of such an army might be, the army itself was unreliable against a well-organised and disciplined enemy. Again, such clan armies were only levies gathered together for a few weeks at most, unprovided with military stores or the means of transport, and consequently generally unprepared to attack fortifications of any kind, and liable to melt away as quickly as they were gathered together. Admirably adapted for a sudden attack, such an army was wholly unfit to carry on a regular campaign or take advantage of a victory. These defects of the Irish military system were abundantly shown throughout the Dano-Irish wars, and also in Anglo-Norman times.

The first invaders were Norwegians, who sought only plunder and captives. They confined their attacks to the sea-coast, or places at easy distances from it. After some time they erected rude earthen or stockaded forts, which served as magazines and places of retreat. Some served a temporary purpose, while others became in time trading stations, or grew into towns. During the first half of the ninth century the attacks were incessant upon almost every part of the coast. The small bodies who came at first having met with considerable resistance, large fleets commanded by powerful vikings followed. Their well-armed crews—the principal men at least being mail-clad—were able to penetrate into the country, and even to put fleets of boats upon the lakes.

An Irish work on the invasions of the Northmen gives an account of one of those vikings named Turges or Turgesius, of whose cruelties many stories are told. Giraldus Cambrensis[j] and the monk Jocelin[m] repeated these stories—the Irish book being, however, the original source from which the

stories came. But Cambrensis goes beyond his source, and makes Turgesius king of Ireland. The Norse saga and chronicles make no mention of Turges, and much speculation has been indulged in as to the Norse equivalent of the name. It has been suggested that he was Thorgils, son of Harold Fair Hair, but this is an anachronism. According to another view, he was the shadowy king Ragnar Lodbrok or Hairy Breeches, but this, besides being also an anachronism, is mere groundless guesswork. Dr. Todd has suggested that the Celtic form Turges represents the Norse *Trygve*, but is more likely *Thorgeir*.

The actual story of Turges is a fable, which has grown up by the fusion of the stories of several vikings of the name, helped out by some invention. The Turges of history is supposed to have come to Ireland in 815, and to have been made prisoner and drowned by Malachy, the first king of the name in 845. Garmundus, another king of Ireland spoken of by Cambrensis[j] and Jocelin,[m] is most probably the mythical Garman or Carman of prehistoric



Clonmacnoise, Ireland

times, a view which bears out a sagacious remark of Worsaae,[o] that the Irish accounts of the Northmen frequently bear the stamp of being derived from early poetical legends.

But, even admitting that the story of Turges is a fable, the viking inroads in the first half of the ninth century inflicted untold woes on the country, one of the greatest being the breaking up of the Irish schools, just when they were at their best. Those who escaped fled to other countries; among these we may assume were Sedulius Scotus and John Scotus Erigena. But, whatever may have been the cruelty of the vikings, the work of disorder and ruin was not all theirs. The condition of the country afforded full scope for the jealousy, hatred, cupidity, and vanity which characterise the tribal stage of political society.

Fedlimid, king of Munster and archbishop of Cashel, took the opportunity of the misfortunes of the country to revive the claims of the Munster dynasty to be kings of Ireland. To enforce this claim he ravaged and plundered a large part of the country, took hostages from Niall Caille, the over-king (833–845), drove out the comarba of St. Patrick, or archbishop of Armagh, and for a whole year occupied his place as bishop. On his return he plundered the termon lands of Clonmacnoise "up to the church door"—an exploit he repeated the following year. There is no mention of his having helped to drive out the foreigners. It is indeed possible that much of the devastation at-

tributed to Turges may have been the work of Fedlimid, yet he is praised by the bards and annalists.[b]

When we consider the energy of the Norse, their superior equipment and experience in war, and the dissensions which continually raged among the native chiefs, it may seem strange that the Celtic population did not succumb, and Ireland suffer the fate of the Western Isles. But a nation organised upon the tribal system, and inhabiting a country of sufficient extent, is equally incapable of resistance and conquest. The invaders arriving upon any point of the coast meet with a feeble and ill-conducted resistance from the local chieftain; but the defeated tribe, though perhaps crippled and pillaged, retires as unbroken in organisation as a regular army into its natural fastnesses.

As the invaders advance, a similar resistance encounters them in each successive district. Their forces waste in continually renewed and indecisive battles. There is no capital, where the government of the natives is concentrated, which may be captured, and the natural resistance thereby paralysed. The natives of the country do not gather of one accord into a body, and stake their freedom on the issue of a single decisive engagement. As the invaders traverse the country, they are exhausted by fruitless combats and dispirited by a prolonged resistance, which could not have been reasonably expected, while their communications are ever cut off by enemies, who, although defeated, yet close upon their rear like water. The strength for resistance in a nation so organised arises from its political disorganisation. Like an animal of the lower order, it may be stabbed again and again, without a mortal wound being inflicted.[f]

THE SCANDINAVIAN SETTLEMENTS

About 852 the Dub-gaill or black foreigners, that is the Danes as distinguished from the Find-gaill or fair foreigners or Norwegians, arrived. They quarrelled with each other at first, but ultimately made common cause. The Scandinavians at this time had effected permanent settlements, and trade had brought the natives and foreigners into friendly contact and intermarriage. Much intermingling of blood had already taken place in consequence of the number of captive women who had been carried away by the invaders. A mixed race grew up, recruited by many Irish of pure blood, whom a love of adventure and a lawless spirit led away. This heterogeneous population were called Gallgoedel or foreign Irish, and like their northern kinsmen betook themselves to the sea and practised piracy, and so were known to the Northmen as Vikingr Scotar.

The Christian element in this mixed society soon lapsed to a large extent, if not entirely, into paganism. The Scandinavian settlements were almost wholly confined to the seaport towns, and, except Dublin, included none of the surrounding territory. Owing to its position, and the character of the country about it, especially the coast land to the north of the Liffey, which formed a kind of border land between the territories of the kings of Meath and Leinster, a considerable tract passed into the possession of so powerful a city as Dublin.[1] We have evidence of this occupation in the topographical nomenclature of the district, while there are very few traces to be found elsewhere.

[1] In Anglo-Norman times the Dano-Irish of Dublin and other cities are always called Ostmen (Aust-menn) or East men; hence the name Ostmanstown, now Oxmanstown, a part of the city of Dublin.

The social and political condition of Ireland, and the pastoral occupation of the inhabitants, were unfavourable to the development of foreign commerce, and the absence of coined money among them shows that it did not exist. The foreign articles of dress or ornament they required appear to have been brought to the great *oenachs* or fairs held periodically in various parts of the country. A flourishing commerce soon grew up in the Scandinavian towns—Dublin, Waterford, Limerick, etc.; mints were established there, and many foreign traders—Flemings, Italians, and others—settled there. It was through these Scandinavian trading communities that Ireland came into contact with the rest of Europe in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The settlers in the Scandinavian towns soon came to be looked upon by the native Irish as so many septs of a clan added to the system of petty states forming the Irish political system. They soon mixed themselves up in the domestic quarrels of neighbouring tribes, at first selling their protection, a method largely followed afterwards by the Anglo-Normans, but afterwards as vassals, sometimes as allies. The native Irish in turn acted in similar capacities with the powerful Dano-Irish chiefs, Irish clans often forming part of the Scandinavian armies in Britain. This intercourse led to frequent intermarriage between the chiefs and nobility of the two peoples.

After the arrival of the Danes, about 851, there was a severe struggle between them and the Norwegians, but all ultimately acknowledged Olaf the White as king. The over-king of Ireland at this time was Malachy, the first of the name, a brave soldier who had reduced the Scandinavian possessions in Ireland previous to the coming of Olaf to a few strongholds on the sea; but owing to the character of the Irish armies, which has been dwelt upon above, he was unable to retain the forts he took (among them Dublin).[b]

The establishments of the Danes might have had a favourable effect upon the condition of the island; they produced no such results. They rather aggravated the civil dissensions and ultimately proved the obstacle to the consolidation of Ireland into a national monarchy. They were not sufficiently wealthy and powerful to command respect. Their civilisation was not conspicuously superior to that of the natives, and the paganism still retained by the Danes deprived them of all moral influence among a people of less political vigour, but professing a purer creed. Their utmost efforts could not do more than secure the district immediately about their homes; and they effected this by playing off the Irish chiefs against each other—joining with them successively in temporary alliances, and always uniting against that chief whose power inspired them with most apprehension. Thus these cities formed constant centres of disturbance, and were even enlisted on the side of anarchy and disorder. For nearly two centuries such was the history of Ireland.[f]

Toward the end of the ninth century there came a lull in the activities of the Danes, and for the space of forty years Ireland was free from outside attack. But the hostility among the native tribes was as rife as ever. In 919 the over-king Niall Blackknee attempted to take Dublin, but was repulsed and slain. Sixty years of the utmost confusion followed. The most prominent figure of the period was Murtough MacNeill, known as Leather Cloaks, son of Niall Blackknee, who proved the most formidable opponent the Scandinavians had yet met. His son, Domnall, was the first to use the surname O'Neill —that is grandson of Niall. In 980 Malachy II, who had already distinguished himself in the Dano-Irish wars as king of Meath, became over-king. He was the last of the Hui Neill who was undisputed king of Ireland. In the first year of his reign as over-king Malachy defeated severely the Dano-Irish under

Olaf Cuaran, king of Dublin, at Tara. Olaf, broken-hearted over his defeat and the death of his son Rögnvald, went on a pilgrimage to Iona, and died there in the following year.[a]

THE DAL-CAIS DYNASTY

Towards the end of the tenth century it at last seemed that the long-afflicted nation had found a saviour in the person of Brian Boruma, the only Irish king who has acquired a position in European history. At this time the Danes of Limerick, largely reinforced by fresh arrivals, attempted the conquest of Munster. The event is thus described by an old Irish historian (*Wars of the Gaels with the Galls*[n]): "There came after that an immensely great fleet, with Imar, the grandson of Imar, the chief king of the foreigners, and with his three sons. They landed and encamped near the harbour of Limerick. Munster was plundered and ravaged on all sides by them, and they levied pledges and hostages from all the men of Munster. They brought them, under indescribable oppression, to the foreigner and the Dane. Moreover, he ordained kings and chiefs, stewards and bailiffs in every territory, and after that in every chieftaincy, and he levied the royal rent. And such was the oppressiveness of the tribute that there was a king from among the foreigners over every territory, a chief over every chieftaincy, an abbot over every church, a steward over every village, and a soldier in every house. So that none of the men of Erin had power to give even the milk of his cow, nor so much as the clutch of eggs of one hen in succour to the aged or a friend, but was forced to preserve them for the foreigner; and, though there were but one milk-giving cow in the house, she durst not be milked, but kept for the foreigner; and, however long absent he might be, his share durst not be lessened. Although there was in the house but one cow, it must be killed for the meal of one night, if the means of supply could not be otherwise obtained; and the tribute of an ounce of silver was paid for every head, and he who had not the means to pay himself went into slavery. No Irish chief was able to give them deliverance from the foreigner, because of the excellence of their armour, the greatness of their achievements, their strength and valour, and the excess of their thirst for the fruitful, grassy lands of Erin."[f]



KING CORMAC'S CHAPEL, CASHEL

Like the Hui Neill, the rival family of Ailill Olum of Munster had split into two branches. The descendants of Ailill's son Eogan were called the Eoganacht or Eugenians, and those of his son Cormac the Dal-Cais. Ailill is said to have ordained that the succession to the throne of Munster should be alternately in the races of Eogan and Cormac Cas. This rule was observed with tolerable regularity for some generations, like the corresponding alter-

nation between the northern and southern Hui Neill. The Eugenian clans, however, being the more powerful, succeeded in excluding to a great extent the rival race from the throne. The Dal-Cais, who were seated in north Munster, had necessarily to bear the brunt of the attacks upon Munster, which impoverished and weakened them. A few of them succeeded, however, in asserting their claims to the throne, among whom were Kennedy (in 954) and his sons, Mathgamain, or Mahon (slain 976), and Brian, surnamed Boruma, who reigned over Munster from 976 to 1002, when he became over-king. Properly speaking, the Dal-Cais derived their name not directly from Cormac Cas but from Cas MacTail, king of Thomond, one of his descendants. The grandson of this Cas, Carthann Find, was the first Christian chieftain of the race. The family was seated near Bel na Boruma, or the Pass of the Cow-tribute, and Ath na Boruma, or Ford of the Tribute, which suggests that the Dal-Cais were in the habit of "lifting" preys of cattle. It was most probably from this place that Brian was called Boruma, and not, as is usually assumed, from having reimposed the ancient cow-tribute upon Leinster.[b]

MATHGAMAIN AND BRIAN

The two brothers, Mathgamain and Brian, refusing to submit to the foreigner, carried off their people and their chattels over the Shannon westwards, and for some time carried on a merciless guerilla warfare. At length, both parties being thoroughly tired of each other, a peace was made between Mathgamain and the chieftains of the foreigners. But the younger and more determined brother, refusing to make peace, betook himself to the forests of north Munster. In the prolonged contest which ensued he and his followers suffered severely, and the foreigners cut off his people, so that he had no more than fifteen. Compassionating his brother's misfortunes, Mathgamain opened communications with him. In a conference between them, Brian fiercely told his more yielding brother that he should not speak of submission, "because it was hereditary for him to die, and hereditary for all the Dal-Cais, for their fathers and grandfathers had died, and death was certain; but it was not hereditary to submit, for their fathers had not submitted to any one on earth. It was no honour to their courage to abandon, without battle or conflict, to dark foreigners and dark, grim gentiles the inheritance their fathers and grandfathers had defended in battles against the chiefs of the Gaedhil." Thereupon the tribe of the Dal-Cais were assembled before Mathgamain, and he appealed to them whether they would have peace or war. With one voice, young and old, they answered that they preferred death in defending the freedom of their patrimony to submission to the tyranny of the pirates; "and this was the voice of hundreds as the voice of one." It was arranged that they should rally for battle on their original tribe land, "for it was better and more righteous to do battle for their inheritance than for land usurped by conquest and the sword."

In 968 A.D. a decisive battle was fought between the Danes of Limerick and the Dal-Cais at Sulcoit, near the town of Tipperary. The Danes were utterly routed, and the city of Limerick captured. "They followed them also into the fort, and slaughtered them in the streets and houses, and the fort was sacked by them after that. They carried off their jewels and their best property, their saddles, their gold, their silver, their beautiful woven cloth of various colours, their satins and silken cloth: they carried away their girls, their silk-clad women, their boys. The fort in the good town they reduced to a cloud of smoke. The whole of the captives were collected on the hills of

Saingel. Every one that was fit for war was killed, and every one that was fit for a slave was enslaved."

Mathgamain now established himself upon the throne of Munster. He had broken the power of the Danes in Limerick, and took hostages from the rival chieftains of his own race, and reigned without dispute for about six years. He was subsequently treacherously slain by a conspiracy of the tribal chiefs.

BRIAN, THE KING OF ALL IRELAND

Brian succeeded to his brother, and reduced Munster to complete obedience. He took hostages not only from the chiefs of that district, but also of the churches, lest they should receive rebels or thieves to sanctuary. Thus early in his career Brian exhibited his determination to maintain order and administer justice.

Ossory was next subdued, and at Magh Ailbhe he received the homage of the kings of Leinster. This was 984 A.D., and subsequently Brian assumed to act as the supreme king of Ireland. In 1000 A.D. the Leinster men revolted, and made an alliance with the Dublin Danes, who were naturally anxious to prevent the establishment of a vigorous national monarchy. On the advance of Brian the Leinster men sent their cattle and families into the territory of the Dublin Danes, and the allied forces advanced to meet the king. The celebrated battle, which finally established Brian upon the throne of Ireland, took place at Glen Mama, near Dunlavin, in the county Wicklow. The Danish forces were entirely defeated. The remnants of the beaten army fled to Hollywood, thence to the Horse-pass ford on the Liffey, above Poul-a-phouca, where they were again routed. Maelmorda, king of Leinster, was captured concealed in a yew tree near Hollywood, from which he was dragged by Murcadh, the son of Brian.

Dublin is stated to have been captured and plundered, though perhaps we may doubt this statement of the Irish annalists. The foreigners were, however, for the time reduced to subjection. "Ill-luck was it for the foreigners when Brian was born, for it was by him they were destroyed and enslaved. There was not a winnowing sheet from Howth to Kerry that had not a foreigner in bondage, nor was there a mill without a foreign woman. No son of a soldier or officer of the Gaedhil deigned to put his hand to a flail or any other labour, nor did a woman deign to put her hands to the grinding mill or to wash her clothes, but had a foreign man or woman to work for them."

Brian was now undisputed master of Ireland, king, not by hereditary right or popular election, but a king in a higher sense as possessing supreme power, which he yielded for the maintenance of justice and law. He may be called a usurper, but he was (like Cromwell) a usurper far superior to a mere king. Malachy II of Meath, the titular king of the sacred race, submitted without a struggle, and assumed a position subordinate to the real ruler.

For several years Ireland was firmly governed by this self-appointed sovereign, and there was no question as to the excellence of his government. "By him were erected in Erin noble churches and their sanctuaries. He sent professors and masters to teach wisdom and knowledge, and to buy books beyond the sea and the great ocean, because the writings and books in every church and sanctuary had been destroyed by the plunderers; and Brian himself gave the price of learning and the price of books to every one separately who went on this service. Many churches were built and repaired by him, bridges and roads were made, the fortresses of Munster were strengthened.

He continued in this way prosperous, peaceful, hospitable, just-judging, venerated, with law and rule among the clergy, with honour and renown among the laity; powerful, secure for fifteen years in the chief sovereignty of Erin."

A truly national government of this description found its bitterest enemies among the provincial chiefs, who longed to restore anarchy, and were willing to league with the foreigner for that purpose. It required years of stern restraint to crush local tyrants into obedient nobles; and Brian was not granted a sufficient space of days, nor found a successor capable of fulfilling his self-imposed task. The final outburst—which ended in the death of Brian at the hour of victory, and threw Ireland back into hopeless confusion—arose, as might have been expected, from the wounded vanity of a provincial chief. Maelmorda, the defeated, of Glen Mama, was conducting to Brian's palace of Cenn-coradh three masts of pine. A dispute arose in ascending a boggy mountain, whereupon the chief himself put his hand to one of the masts. He had on him at the time a silken tunic which Brian had given him, and with the exertion one of the buttons of the tunic broke. When he arrived at Cenn-coradh he sent the tunic to his sister, Gormflaith, a former wife or mistress of Brian, to have it repaired. Gormflaith cast the tunic into the fire, and reproached her brother, saying she deemed it foul scorn that vassalage should be suffered by him, whose fathers had never endured it, and that his degradation would be entailed upon his children. Full of angry thoughts and discontent, Maelmorda stood by the next day at a game of chess played between Murcadh, who had dragged him from the yew tree at Glen Mama, and Conaing, a nephew of Brian. Maelmorda having advised a move by which Murcadh lost the game, the latter cried, "'Twas thou that gavest advice to the foreigners when they were defeated!" Angry taunts were at once exchanged. "I will give them advice again, and they shall not be defeated." "Have a yew tree ready." Then Maelmorda turned and without leave-taking fled from the king's presence. Brian sent after him a messenger of peace; but the angry prince turned and struck him to the earth at the head of the bridge of Killaloe. "Some were anxious to pursue him then, and not to allow him to escape until he had made submission; but Brian said it should be at the threshold of his house he would demand justice from him, and that he would not prove treacherous to him in his own house."



REMAINS OF STONE CROSS AT CASTLE-DERMOT, KILDARE

Leinster at once rose to arms, and the most zealous allies of the insurgents were the Danes of Dublin, ever anxious to promote disorder. Sigtryggr was then the Danish king of Dublin; his mother was Gormflaith. "She was the fairest of all women, and best gifted in everything that was not in her own power; but it was the talk of men that she did all things evil over which she had any power." Gormflaith was the divorced wife, or the discarded mistress,

of Brian; and "so grim was she against King Brian after their parting that she would fain have him dead." King Sigtryggr was himself married to a daughter of Brian.

THE LEAGUE AGAINST BRIAN

The Dublin Danes, remembering the battle of Glen Mama, distrusted their own strength, and desired to enlist in their cause the Northmen of the western isles. The times were singularly propitious for such a project. The increasing power of the Norwegian king and the extension of Christianity had crippled the power of the western jarls. They feared and hated the extension of the sovereign power; they loathed Christianity as a religion forced upon them by brute violence. The doctrines of the Gospel had been preached among the Norse as they never were else. Their watchword was, "baptism or death," and those who unwillingly had submitted to that rule were eager to relapse, on the first safe opportunity, into their former faith. The western jarls must have readily accepted an alliance which promised to them fresh conquests, and an opportunity of establishing themselves in security after the old ways. Chief of the Orkney jarls was Sigurd, a Christian by name, but who had only yielded to the preaching of King Olaf, Tryggvi's son, when that zealous missionary had him entirely in his power, and had threatened to hew off his son's head before his eyes over the gunwale. To the court of Sigurd came King Sigtryggr seeking aid.[f]



ROUND TOWER AT DONAGHMORE

Sigurd hesitated when he learned that the great Brian was to be the object of their attack, but at last promised to make common cause with the Danish king of Dublin, on condition that should victory be theirs, he should be a king in Ireland and receive in marriage the hand of Sigtryggr's often-married but still beautiful mother, Gormflaith. Next Sigtryggr sought the aid of the brother vikings Ospak and Brodir, but Ospak chose to ally himself with Brian whom he admired. Brodir, who according to the Norse saga, *Burnt Nial*, was an apostate deacon, and is supposed to have been the Danish viking Gutring, joined the league against Brian.[g]

At the appointed time Earl Sigurd arrived in Dublin, proclaiming his heathendom by carrying in front of his army the famous raven banner, wrought by magic spells, which bore victory to the host before which it fluttered, but death to the man who bore it. Hither, too, came Brodir, the apostate deacon, and Maelmorda, with the men of Leinster, and the Hy-Kinshela of the county of Wexford.

Meanwhile Brian approached Dublin with the troops of Munster, Connaught, and Meath; having burned Kilmainham, he despatched his son, Donough, to plunder Leinster, and himself encamped on the Green of Dublin. "Brodir tried, by sorcery, how the fight would go; but the answer ran thus, that if the fight were on Good Friday, King Brian would fall but win the day; but if they fought before, they would all fall who were against him."

THE BATTLE OF CLONTARF

On the eve of the battle various portents appeared, which show how fully alive both parties were to the great issue between them. Odin appeared in the pagan army. During the night Brian was warned by the guardian spirit of his race. At length, on the morning of Good Friday, the allied army issued out from Dublin.

The Danes and Leinster men marching out from Dublin, instead of advancing northward, and securing their retreat to Dublin, turned due east towards Clontarf, losing all connection with the city, and trusting for retreat to their galleys, which were brought up to the shore.

The Irish army must have been drawn up facing the south or southwest. In its array, also, Irish and Danes were mingled. The viking Ospak was opposed to King Sigtryggr of Dublin, and the Irish of Leinster were opposed to the Munster Irish of Brian. For the Irish, their existence as a nation was staked upon victory and the life of Brian. By the Northmen the combat was regarded as the last struggle of heathendom.

The annalists inform us—and their statement was confirmed by incidental evidence—that the struggle was protracted from sunrise to sunset, when, at length, the allied Danes and Leinster men gave way. Dark forebodings that they were fighting on a losing side seem to have filled the breasts of the bravest Norse. Two successive bearers of the raven banner were slain. "The Earl Sigurd called on Thorstein, the son of Hall of the Side, to bear the banner, and Thorstein was just about to lift the banner, but then Asmund the White said:

"'Don't bear the banner! for all they who bear it get their death.' 'Hrafn the Red!' called out Earl Sigurd, 'bear thou the banner.' 'Bear thine own devil thyself,' answered Hrafn. Then the earl said, 'Tis fittest that the beggar should bear the bag,' and with that he took the banner from the staff, and put it under his cloak."

Sigurd accepted his fate as the last hero of a beaten creed. The routed army was driven back not upon Dublin but upon the sea. A fierce struggle took place at the ford of the Tolka, the only means left of reaching Dublin, which the remnants of the Danes, flying towards the city, held against their pursuers.

The Irish legends tell us that all day long Sigtryggr viewed the battle from the battlements upon which, in the next century, the last Danish king was beheaded in view of the Scandinavian fleet. By him sat his wife, the daughter of Brian. As they saw on the northern shore of the bay the fury of the first assault of Sigurd's Orkney men, "Well do the foreigners reap the field," said the king to his wife; "many a sheaf do they cast from them." "The result will be seen," said she, "at the end of the day." As the flight of the Danes to their ships was seen by Sigtryggr and his wife, "It seems to me," said Brian's daughter, "that the foreigners have gained their patrimony." "What meanest thou, woman?" said the king. "Are they not rushing into the sea," said she, "which is their natural inheritance? I won-

der are they in heat, like cattle? If so, they tarry not to be milked." In his rage the king struck her in the face.

Meanwhile what had been the fate of Brian? Too old to join personally in the combat, he remained in the rear of the host. A cushion was spread under him, and he opened his psalter, and as a Christian king he prayed for victory. As the day wore on, he asked for tidings—what was the condition of Murcadh's standard? He was told it was standing, and many banners of the Dal-Cais around it. Again he asked the same question, and was told that the banner of his tribe was flying at the west of the array. Towards evening he again repeated the question; he was told that of the armies on either side the greater part was slain, the foreigners were defeated, but Murcadh's standard had fallen.

On the death of his eldest and best-beloved son the old man lost all heart. He would not mount his horse and retire to the camp, and declared that in a vision the spirit of his house had foretold to him he should be slain. While he lingered, a party of Danes approached them; it was the viking Brodir, who, disdaining flight, had fought his way through the opposing enemy, and with two attendants alone sought the woods. "There are people coming towards us here," said his attendant to Brian. "Woe is me! What manner of people are they?" said Brian. "Blue, stark-naked people," said the attendant. "Alas!" said Brian, "they are foreigners of the army; it is not to do good to us they come." As Brodir, in his haste, passed by without observing the king, one of his attendants plucked him back, crying. "The king! The king! This is the king." "No," cried Brodir, "a priest! a priest!" "No," said the soldier, "it is the great king Brian." Brodir turned back and the last heathen viking and the only king of Ireland fell by each other's hands.

Both parties might now count their losses. The bravest and best of the champions on either side had fallen. The Irish army, mangled and weakened, held the field of battle. The remnant of the Danes and Leinster men still occupied Dublin, and the Danish fleet of Sigurd still rode at anchor in the bay. Both parties were practically defeated—both parties lost the great stake for which they had played. Ireland was not to be handed over to heathen invaders, nor was it longer to enjoy the blessing of a just and powerful government. This day of bloodshed and slaughter, of disaster and double failure, was long remembered in the annals of the North. For the last time by mortal eyes the weird sisters were seen to weave their fatal woof which they tore asunder, as if to typify that ruin and destruction fell that day on all alike. In their magic song they predicted that a new nation was to conquer and rule Erin.[f]

After the battle Donnchad, Brian's son and heir, asserted his supremacy over the Irish, but the men of Munster insisted that the Dal-Cais had the right of alternate sovereignty at Cashel only, and demanded Donnchad's abdication. The son of Brian reiterated his claims, and the Munster men rose in arms. Thus within three days after Brian's death the Irish people, who under his strong hand had seemed in a fair way to become a united nation, had again fallen into the position of warring tribes.[a]

IRELAND FROM THE BATTLE OF CLONTARF TO THE ANGLO-NORMAN INVASION

In the following year, 1015, Malachy, who was again recognised as king of Ireland, with the aid this time of the northern Hui Neill, burned Dublin and harried the Leinster clan the Hui Cennselaig. But the effects of Brian's revolution were permanent; the prescriptive rights of the Hui Neill were dis-

puted, and after Clontarf, until the coming of the Normans, the history of Ireland consisted of a struggle for ascendency between the O'Briens of Munster, the O'Neills of Ulster, and the O'Connors of Connaught. The power of the western Scandinavians was broken at Clontarf; no new invasion took place, chiefly no doubt because of their conversion to Christianity. They continued to hold their strongholds on the coasts, and occasional conflicts took place between them and their neighbours. Gradually, however, they assumed the position of native tribes; but, owing to the distinction of language, they did not readily fuse with the Goedel, though intermarriages were frequent. They fused much more readily with the Normans and English, not so much from any affinity of language, as from their civic life and commercial spirit being alike. The next generation saw Christianity the recognised faith of the Dano-Irish, who founded bishoprics, at first in connection with the church in Norway, but wholly unconnected with the Irish clan-bishops until a short time before the Anglo-Norman invasion.

The death of Malachy II, the last over-king acknowledged by the whole country, afforded an opportunity for an able and ambitious man to subdue Ireland, establish a strong central government, break up the tribal system, and assist the gradual fusion of factions into a homogeneous nation. Such a man did not, however, arise; those who afterwards claimed to be over-king lacked the qualities of founders of strong dynasties, and, though sometimes acknowledged by the greater part of the country, were never accepted as the legitimate rulers of the whole of Ireland. Even the Scandinavian towns of Ireland ceased to co-operate as one people. Their native chiefs were sometimes expelled and replaced by Irish ones, and the fusion of the two races went rapidly on.[b]

Donnchad, the son of Brian Boruma, was never able to establish his claim to over-lordship, and after his overthrow by his nephew Turlough O'Brien and Dermot, king of Leinster, went on a pilgrimage to Rome where he died. Turlough and his son Murtough after him became king of Munster. The reign of the latter was marked by bitter warfare lasting over a quarter of a century with Domnall O'Loughlin, king of Ulster. [a]

After the death of Murtough (1119) the power of the O'Briens was for a time broken by Turlough (Tordelbach) O'Connor, king of Connaught, and a pretender to the over-kingship—a man whom no tie or obligation bound. Conchobar (Connor) O'Brien, grandson of Murtough, succeeded however in defeating O'Connor; and his brother Turlough, who succeeded him, carried on the war until the whole country was reduced to that state so graphically described by the Four Masters[h] as "a trembling sod." In the midst of this almost continuous war and devastation morals became relaxed, and the practice of religion almost ceased. The church property had passed into the hands of the lay successors, and no provision was made for the service of the churches, most of which were in ruins.

A true reformer, however, appeared in St. Malachy, who was appointed legate by Innocent II. Through his exertions a great synod was held at Kells under Cardinal Paparo (Malachy having died at Clairvaux in 1148) in 1152, at which true diocesan jurisdiction was established, Dublin being brought into connection with the Irish church, and raised to the rank of an archiepiscopal city; another archbishopric was founded at Tuam, to the great discontent of the northern and southern parties representing "Cond's Half" and "Mug's Half" in the church—the cardinal, as papal legate, having brought the palliums for the four archbishops. Tithes were also ordained to be levied for the support of the clergy, and many reforms decreed. Many churches and monas-

teries were built, and great advance took place in architecture and artistic metal work, which were not mere imitations of foreign art, but the true outcome of the earlier period of Celtic art.

Between 1148 and 1150 Murtough O'Loughlin was acknowledged as over-king in three out of the four provinces. Turlough O'Brien, however, renewed the struggle between the north and south, but after he had received the homage of the Dano-Irish of Dublin a truce was arranged between the rivals. In 1151 the Munster king was deposed by his brother Tadg, who was supported by Turlough O'Connor, king of Connaught, with the assistance of Dermot MacMurrough (Diarmait MacMurchada). O'Loughlin took up the cause of his former rival, but was defeated by O'Connor. The latter died in 1156 after a long reign, and O'Loughlin remained undisputed over-king. Ruadri (Roderick) O'Connor succeeded his father Turlough, and signalised the beginning of his reign by blinding one brother and imprisoning two others. Murtough O'Loughlin, having blinded the chief of Dal-Araide—a savage mode of mutilation very much in fashion at the time—a league was formed against him, and he was defeated and slain, whereupon Roderick claimed to be over-king, and, there being no serious opposition, he was inaugurated with great pomp at Dublin, which already began to have considerable weight in Irish affairs, and had now for the first time assumed somewhat of the character of a metropolis.

Dermot MacMurrough was both by descent and position much mixed up with foreigners, and generally in a state of latent if not open hostility with the over-kings of the Hui Neill and Dal-Cais dynasties. He was a tyrant, and a man of bad character. In 1152 Tigernan O'Rourke, prince of Brefni, had been dispossessed of his territory by Turlough O'Connor, aided by Dermot, and the latter is accused of also carrying off Derbforgaill (Dervorgilla), O'Rourke's wife. It is probable, however, that the latter event has been entirely misrepresented, and that the lady had merely thrown herself, in accordance with Irish law, upon the protection of the Leinster king. However this may have been, the accession of Roderick to the chief kingship warned Dermot of his danger; and accordingly, on learning that O'Rourke was leading an army against him with the support of the over-king, he burned his castle of Ferns, and went to Henry II to ask his assistance. The results which followed will be told presently, but here we may point out that many Irish princes before Dermot had sought the aid of foreigners, and that at that time, and especially in a tribal society, this was not regarded in the same light as in modern times.

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL STATE OF IRELAND IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES

To complete our account of pre-Norman Ireland, we shall give here a brief account of the social life of the Irish at the end of the eighth and beginning of the ninth century, which indeed substantially represents the state of things during the whole period from the seventh to the twelfth century.

In the Middle Ages there were considerable forests in Ireland encompassing broad expanses of upland pastures and marshy meadows, unbroken up to the seventh century by ditch or dyke. There were no cities or large towns at the mouths of the rivers; no stone bridges spanned the latter; stepping stones or hurdle bridges at the fords or shallows offered the only mode of crossing the broadest rivers and connecting the unpaved roads or bridle paths which crossed the country over hill and dale. The forests abounded in game—the red deer and wild boar were common; and wolves ravaged the flocks, for the

most part unprotected by fences even in comparatively later times. Scattered over the country were numerous small hamlets, composed mainly of wicker cabins. Here and there were some large hamlets or villages that had grown up about groups of houses surrounded by an earthen mound or rampart. Sometimes the rampart was double, with a deep ditch between. The simple rampart and ditch enclosed a cattle-yard and the groups of houses of the owners, for every room was a separate house.

The enclosed houses belonged to the freemen called *airig* (sing., *aire*). The sizes of the houses and of the enclosing mound and ditch marked the rank (that is, the wealth) of the aire. If his wealth consisted of chattels only, he was a *bo-aire*, or cow-aire. When he possessed ancestral land, which was no doubt one of the consequences of the Scotic conquest, he was a *flaith* or lord, and was entitled to let his lands for grazing, to have a hamlet in which lived labourers, and to keep slaves. The larger fort with two or more ditches and ramparts was a *dun*, where the chieftain or *ri* lived, and kept his hostages if he had subreguli. The houses of all classes were of wood, chiefly wattles and wicker-work enclosing clay, and cylindrical in shape, with conical roofs thatched with rushes. The oratories were of the same form and material, but the larger churches and kingly banqueting halls were made of sawn boards. When St. Malachy, who lived in the first half of the twelfth century, thought of building a stone oratory at Bangor, it was deemed a novelty by the people. Long before this, however, stone churches had been built in other parts of Ireland, and many round towers.

Here and there in the neighbourhood of the hamlets were patches of corn grown upon allotments that were annually exchangeable among the inhabitants. Around the *duine* and *ratha* the cultivation was better, for the corn land was the fixed property of the lord, and began to be enclosed by fences in the seventh and succeeding centuries. Oats was the chief corn crop, but wheat and barley were also grown—chiefly, however, by the higher classes. The onion and the parsnip also were cultivated, and mark the first stage in kitchen gardening, which, as well as bee-keeping, was introduced by the church. Flax and the dye-plants were the chief industrial plants. Portions of the pasture lands were reserved as meadows. Tillage was rude, the spade and fork being of wood, although sometimes shod with iron. There are native names for the different parts of the plough, so we may assume that some form of that implement worked by oxen yoked together by a simple straight yoke was in use in the very early times. Wheeled carts were also known; the wheels were often probably only solid disks, though wheels formed of a hub, spokes, and felloes were used for chariots. The tilled land was manured. Droves of swine under the charge of swineherds wandered through the forests; some belonged to the chiefs, others to *flatha*, or lords, and others again to village communities. The house-fed pig was also an important object of domestic economy; its flesh—fresh, pickled, or in bacon—was much prized. Indeed, fresh pork was one of the inducements held out to visitors to *Tir Tairngire* or Elysium.

Horned cattle constituted the chief wealth of the country, and were the standard for estimating the worth of anything; for the Irish had no coined money, and carried on all commerce by barter. The unit of value was called a *set* (pl. *seuti*), which appears to mean literally a jewel or precious object of any kind. There were several kinds of seuti, differing somewhat in value. The king set was a full-grown cow after her third calf; the normal set was an average milch cow. Gold, silver, bronze, tin, clothes, and all other kinds of property were estimated in seuti, referred to the milch cow as the standard.

Three seuti, that is, three cows, were equal to a *cumal*, a word signifying a female slave, which reveals an important feature of Irish society to which we shall revert. Sheep formed an important element of wealth in some parts of the country, and goats were numerous. The old laws draw a distinction between the working horse and the riding horse; both kinds appear to have been numerous and of good breed. Bee cultivation was carefully attended to, the honey being used both for a kind of confectionery and for making metheglin or mead. So important a place did bee culture hold in the rural economy of the ancient Irish that the laws regarding bees still extant would fill a goodly volume.

The ancient Irish were a pastoral people, and therefore had certain nomadic habits. When they had sown their corn, they drove their herds and flocks to the mountains, where such existed, and spent the summer there, returning in autumn to reap their corn and take up their abode in their sheltered winter residences. Where the tribe had land on the sea-coast they also appear to have migrated thither in summer. The chase in the summer occupied the freemen, not only as a source of enjoyment, but also as a matter of necessity, for wolves were very numerous. For this purpose they bred dogs of great swiftness, strength, and sagacity, which seem to have been much admired by the Romans.

Households of the Chiefs and Kings

We have said that the residences within enclosing ramparts did not consist of one house with several apartments, but every room was a separate house. Thus, to take the residence of an aire, he had the living house, in which he slept as well as took his meals, the women's house, in which spinning and other domestic work was carried on, the kitchen, the barn, the calf-house, the pig-sty, and the sheep-house. In the residence of chiefs and flatha a sun-chamber or *grianan* was also provided for the mistress of the house, which in the large duine appears to have been put on the rampart, so as to escape the shadow of the latter. The round houses were made by forming two basket-like cylinders, one within the other, and separated by an annular space of about a foot, by inserting upright posts in the ground and interweaving hazel wattles between, the annular space being filled with clay. Upon this cylinder was placed a conical cap, thatched with reeds or straw.

The early Irish houses had no chimney; the fire was made in the centre of the house, and the smoke made its exit through the door or through a hole in the roof, as in the corresponding Gaulish and German houses. Near the fire, fixed in a kind of candlestick, was a candle of tallow or raw beeswax, which gave a lurid, smoky flame; this marked a notable advance upon the use of a piece of bog-deal. Around the wall in the houses of the wealthy and higher classes were arranged the bedsteads, or rather compartments, with testers and fronts, which were sometimes of carved yew. The beds were made of skin stuffed with feathers. Wooden platters, drinking horns, and vessels of yew and bronze were displayed on dressers. Of pottery there was none. Large chests and cupboards for holding clothes, meal, and other things were placed in convenient places. In the halls of the kings, of whom there were several grades, the position of each person's bed and seat, and the joint of meat which he was entitled to receive from the distributor were regulated according to a rigid rule of precedence. The arms and horse trappings of the master of the house were also displayed on the walls; and in the king's house each person who had a seat in it had his shield suspended over him.

Every king had hostages for the fealty of his vassals, who sat unarmed in the hall, and those who had become forfeited by a breach of treaty or allegiance were placed along the wall in fetters. The position of a hostage in ancient times was at best unpleasant, but when those who gave him in hostageship broke their engagements his lot was truly a hard one; he was fettered and his life was forfeited. There were places in the king's hall for the judge, the *fili* or poet, the harper, the various craftsmen, the juggler, and fool. The king had his bodyguard of four men always around him; these were freed men whom the king had delivered from slavery inherited from birth, or to which they had been condemned for crime or debt, for an insolvent debtor became in Ireland, as in Rome and, indeed, in most ancient societies, the property of his creditor. In an age of perpetual warfare and violence, the gratitude of a slave was esteemed a greater safeguard than even the ties of blood—a fact which suggests some curious reflections concerning the origin of offices at the courts of kings.

There were also numerous attendants about a king's house and a lord's house; these were a very miscellaneous body; among them were many Saxon slaves and the descendants of former slaves, for after the cessation of the Irish incursions a regular slave trade grew up, which was only abolished by the action of the church not long before the Norman invasion. These attendants slept on the ground, in the kitchen, or in cabins outside the fort. It was only the higher classes who were provided with beds, and in early times not even these. The living room or hall we have been describing also served in part as a kitchen, for joints were roasted at the fire in winter, the soup boiler was suspended over it, the brewing vat was in it. The house we have called the kitchen was rather a room for grinding meal in hand-mills, a work done by females (who were slaves in the houses of lords and kings), the making of bread, cheese, etc.

Fosterage and Marriage

The children of the upper classes in Ireland were not reared at home, but were sent to some one else to be fostered. The children of the greater kings were generally fostered by minor kings, and even by kings of their own rank. The *ollam fili*, or chief poet, ranked in some respects with a tribe king, sent his sons to be fostered by the king of his own territory. The fosterage might be done for friendship or for some special advantage, but it was generally a matter of profit, and there are numerous laws extant fixing the cost, and regulating the food and dress of the foster child according to his rank. It was customary to educate together a number of youths of very different ranks, and the laws laid down regulations for the clothing, food, and other expenses of each grade. In like manner a number of maidens were fostered together, those of inferior rank serving as companions for the daughter of a king. The cost of the fosterage of boys seems to have been borne by the mother's property, that of the daughters by the father's. The ties created by fosterage were nearly as close and as binding on the children as those of blood. Fosterage was apparently the consequence of the marriage customs.

It has been stated above that pagan marriage customs survived the introduction of Christianity. Of this there is ample evidence. As among all tribal communities, the wealth of the contracting parties constituted the primary element of a legitimate marriage. The bride and bridegroom should be provided with a joint fortune proportionate to their rank. When the bride and bridegroom were of equal rank, and the sept of each contributed an equal

share to the marriage portion, the marriage was legal in the full sense, and the wife was a wife of equal rank. If the bride were noble and the bridegroom not, the former had to contribute one-third of the marriage portion to fulfil the condition of equality. If the bridegroom was the son of a flaith, and the bride the daughter of a cowaire, the former contributed one-third and the latter two-thirds. In this kind of marriage the husband and wife had equal rights over the joint property. The wife of equal rank was the chief wife in pagan times, and where the conditions were not fulfilled the woman occupied an inferior position, and might have another woman placed over her as principal wife. The church endeavoured to make the wife of a first marriage, that is, the wife according to canon law, the only true wife according to Irish law, but in this it is clear it did not at once succeed.

The struggle between the marriage laws of the church and the ancient customs is curiously illustrated by the continuance of what, according to canon and feudal law, was concubinage, as a recognised condition of things according to Irish law. These marriages may be called contract marriages, and were of various kinds, depending mainly on questions of property, and were entered into with the cognizance of the man's chief wife and of his sept. When a woman had sons her position was greatly altered, and her position did not materially differ in some respects from that of a chief wife. As the tie of the sept was blood, all the acknowledged children of a man, whether legitimate or illegitimate according to canon and feudal law, belonged equally to his sept. Even adulterine bastardy was no bar to a man becoming chief or ri of his *tuath*, or tribe, as was shown in the case of Hugh O'Neill, earl of Tyrone. As all the children of a chief of household, of whatever rank, had equal rights in the sept, notwithstanding the efforts of the church to restrict those rights to the children of marriages according to canon law, it was necessary to commit their rearing and education to some one outside their own sept; hence the system of fosterage, which at one time prevailed in all Aryan communities, as did also, no doubt, the whole of the Irish marriage customs, which are a survival in a singularly complete and archaic form of customs which had died out elsewhere under the influence of Roman and canon law.

The food of the ancient Irish was very simple, and their table service equally so. The former consisted mainly of cakes of oaten bread, cheese, curds, milk, butter, and the flesh of all the domestic animals fresh and salted. In the eighth century at all events wheat and barley meal were also used by the better classes. The legendary food of the Land of Promise consisted of fresh pork, new milk, and ale. Of course fish, especially the salmon, and game are also to be added to the list. The opsonia were very limited—onions and watercresses. The food of the monks was chiefly oaten bread, milk, and curd-cheese. The chief drink was ale, the right to brew it being apparently confined to flatha (nobility), as was the case in many parts of Germany down to the end of the Middle Ages. It seems to have been expected that a flaith should be generous to his vassals, retainers, and all those about him; the word for open-handedness in Irish, *flaitheamhuil*, is derived from his name; an aphorism fixes the time at which he was expected to be bountiful, "for he is not a lawful flaith who does not distribute ale on a Sunday." All the business of the sept and tribe was conducted in the ale-house, or *cuirmtech*, as the chief men of the tribe were called its props—*sabaid cuirmtigi*. The bards chanted poems, and songs were sung to the music of a kind of harp, called a *cruot*, or of a bowed instrument called a *timpan;* stories were also told, and the guests of the ale-house were content to hear the same story over and over again. The ollam fili, who only told his story to kings, was,

however, expected to know more than seven times fifty great and small stories. The amusements were also varied by the jokes of the fool and the tricks of the juggler, as in the baronial halls of the Normans at a later period.

Dress

The dress of the upper classes was similar to that of a Scottish Highlander before it degenerated into the later conventional garb of a Highland regiment. It consisted first of the *lenn*, a kind of loose shirt generally of woollen cloth (but linen ones are mentioned), reaching a little below the knees of men, and forming what is now called the kilt. This garment was of different colours, some being spotted, checkered, and variegated, each tribe or clan having apparently special colours. It would also seem that the number of colours



Remains of Old Church and Round Tower at Kilcullen

in the dress indicated the rank of the wearer. The lenna of kings and the wealthy flatha were embroidered, furnished with borders, and even fringe of gold is mentioned. Over the lenn came the *inar*, a kind of closely fitting tunic reaching to the hips, and bound around the waist by the *criss*, a girdle or scarf often of some rich colour, especially purple, and frequently, in the case of the men's, the gift of a woman. The inar or jacket appears to have been open at the breast so as to show off the embroidery of the lenn. Over the left shoulder, and fastened with a brooch, hung the *brat*, a shawl or plaid like the modern Scottish one. This garment replaced the skin or fur of a wild beast of earlier times, and the brooch the thorn with which it was fastened. The brooches were often of beautiful workmanship, as is shown by the numerous examples exhibiting endless variety of design which are now preserved in museums.

The legs were bare or covered with a kind of legging or hose fastened by thongs; the feet were entirely naked or encased in shoes of raw-hide, also fastened with thongs. The only difference between the dress of men and women was that the lenn of the latter reached nearly to the ankles and formed a petticoat instead of a kilt. The freemen wore their hair long, and prided themselves on its curling into ringlets. They sometimes confined it at the back of the head in a conical spiral of bronze, silver, or gold. The women also wore their hair long, and braided it into tresses, which they confined with a pin. The beard was worn long, and was carefully cultivated, being often plaited into tresses. The men as well as women, like all ancient and semi-

barbarous people, were fond of ornaments. They tattooed figures with woad on their bodies like the Britons and Picts. They covered their fingers with rings, their arms with bracelets; they wore torques or twisted rings of gold about the neck. The richer and more powerful kings wore a similar torque about the waist, and a golden *mind* or diadem on state occasions. Every woman of rank wore finger rings, bracelets, earrings, and a *lann* or crescent-shaped blade of gold on the front of the head, from which hung behind a veil. The queens also wore a golden mind or diadem on state occasions.

The mind was so attached to a veil or some kind of headdress that it seems to have formed a complete covering for the head. Ladies also had carved combs and ornamental workboxes; they used oil for the hair, and dyed their eyelashes black with the juice of a berry, and their nails crimson with a dye like archil. The lenn or kilt seems to have been the garb of freemen only; the men of the servile classes wore *braccæ*, or tight-fitting breeches, reaching to near the ankles, the upper part of the body being either left altogether naked, or covered by a short cloak without sleeves. In winter all classes appear to have worn a long coat or cloak with a *cochull* or hood. Coats or cloaks of this kind made of a brown frieze were regarded in the seventh and eighth centuries as peculiarly Irish, owing, no doubt, to the great number of missionaries and scholars from Ireland who wandered over Europe clothed in such long cloaks, with a book wallet and a kind of leather bottle slung on their shoulders, and a thick, knotted staff in the hand. It is from them the Benedictine monks borrowed the dress which has since become the characteristic habit of religious orders. The name cowl in English, and all the cognate forms in other languages, are, no doubt, from the Gaulish word corresponding to the Irish *cochull*. The two Irishmen who accompanied the Icelander, Thorfinn Karlsefnisson, in his voyage from Greenland when he discovered America in the ninth century, wore coats which are called by the same name which the Northmen gave the monk's cowl.

The principal weapon of the Irish soldiers was a pike or lance with a very long handle; some were also armed with a short sword suspended by a belt across the shoulder, and a shield. It is probable that bronze lance-heads and swords were used down to early Christian times, and even later, though the use of iron weapons must have been known from the period of the Scotic invasions of Britain. The shields were of two kinds: one a light round or slightly oval wooden target covered with hide, and in earlier times in the case of rich warriors a bronze disk with numerous bosses, backed with wood; and the other the *sciath* or oblong bulged shield of wicker work covered with hide. Some carried stone hammers or war axes, and in the ninth and succeeding centuries an iron one, the use of which was learned from the Northmen. War-hats, cuirasses, and other defensive armour were very little if at all used before the Danish wars. In Irish legendary tales some of the heroes are equipped in leather cuirasses, and wear crested helmets and war-hats, but these are no doubt interpolations in the narrative of later times.

Landholding

The *tuath* or territory of a *ri* or king was divided among the septs. The lands of a sept (*fine*) consisted of the estates in severalty of the lords (*flatha*), and of the *ferand duthaig* or common lands of the sept. The dwellers on each of these kinds of land differed materially from each other. On the former lived a motley population of slaves, horse boys, and mercenaries composed of broken men of other clans, many of whom were fugitives from justice

(*macca bais*, literally "sons of death"), etc., possessing no rights either in the sept or tribe, and entirely dependent on the bounty of the lord, and consequently living about his fortified residence. The poorer servile classes, or cottiers, wood-cutters, swineherds, etc., who had right of domicile (acquired after three generations), lived here and there in small hamlets on the mountains and poorer lands of the estate. The good lands were let to a class of tenants called *fuidirs*, of whom there were several kinds, some grazing the land with their own cattle, others receiving both land and cattle from the lord. Fuidirs had no rights in the clan or sept; some were true serfs, others tenants-at-will; they lived in scattered homesteads like the farmers of the present time. The lord was responsible before the law for the acts of all the servile classes on his estates, both newcomers and *senchleithe*, *i.e.*, descendants of fuidirs, slaves, etc., whose families had lived on the estate during the time of three lords. He paid their blood-fines, etc., and received compensation for their slaughter, maiming, or plunder. The fuidirs were the chief source of a lord's wealth, and he was consequently always anxious to increase them.

As every man in a fine or sept had a right to build a house on the *ferand duthaig* or common land, the size of the house and extent of land which might be permanently enclosed as a yard or lawn depending upon the rank of the man, that is, upon his wealth, the clansmen occupied chiefly isolated homesteads and cabins; some of the latter being occasionally grouped in hamlets. Clansmen who possessed twenty-one cows and upwards were *airig* (sing. *aire*), or as we should say had the franchise, and might fulfil the functions of bail, witness, etc. When an aire died his family did not always divide the inheritance, but formed "a joint and undivided family" the head of which was an aire, and thus kept up the rank of the family. Three or four poor clansmen might combine their property and agree to form a "joint family," one of whom as the head would be an aire. In consequence of this organisation the homesteads of airig included several families—those of his brothers, sons, etc. A rich *bo-aire* (cow-aire, *i.e.*, an aire whose wealth consisted in cattle) was allotted a certain portion of the common land in consideration of affording hospitality to travellers entitled to free quarters from the clan; he was called a *briugu* (gen. *briugad*) or *bruigfer*, that is, man of the *brog* or burg. He acted as a kind of rural magistrate, and the meetings of a clan for the election of the ri took place at his house or brog. The stock of a bo-aire was partly his own and partly the gift of the chief. Every man was bound to accept stock from the chief proportionate to his rank; in return he was obliged to pay a certain customary tribute (*bes tigi*, house tribute). A man might also agree to take more stock and pay rent in kind. Such men, whose position was, however, thereby much altered, were called *biathachs* (from *biad*, food). A man might with the consent of his sept enter into a similar contract with the flaith of another sept, so that the biathachs or victuallers included also some of those called fuidirs. A lord might receive his biad or food at his own residence, or go to the house of his biathach accompanied by a retinue and eat it there, or send his mercenaries, horses, dogs, etc., there, to be supported, which was the usual way. The biathachs were consequently liable to suffer great oppression.

Learned Professions; the Assemblies

The professions accounted noble, such as those of *ecna* (wisdom), which included law and medicine, and *filidecht* or divination, which in Christian times was that of the bards or rhymesters, formed a number of schools each

under an *ollam* or doctor, who was provided with mensal land for the support of himself and his scholars. He was also entitled to free quarters for himself and a retinue, including dogs and horses, so that when he travelled he had a kind of ambulatory school with him. The *ollam bretheman* or chief of a law school was the chief *brithem* (brehon or judge) of his tuath. The *liag* or leech had also his apprentices, and treated his surgical patients in his own house. The harper, the *cerd* or artist in metals, and the smith were also provided with mensal land, and gave their skill and the product of their labour as their *bes tigi* or customary tribute in return for the gifts bestowed by their chief.

Popular assemblies, which were held in the open air, were of various kinds; thus the *methel flatha* was a gathering of the vassals of a lord to reap his corn, clear his roads, etc. The fine or sept had its special meeting, summoned by the aire fine or chief of the sept for many purposes, such as the assessment of blood-fines due from the sept, and the distribution of those due to it. The clan had also its gathering to deliberate on important questions, such as peace and war, in which every aire or fully qualified clansman had a voice. The most important of all popular assemblies was, however, the *oenach* or fair, summoned by a king, those summoned by the kings of provinces having the character of national assemblies. The oenach had a fourfold object: (1) the promulgation of laws, and the rehearsal of pedigrees upon which depended the succession of the princes; (2) the recitation of poetry and tales, musical contests, exhibition of works of artists in metals, etc., and the award of prizes to the professional classes; (3) popular sports, such as horse-racing, wrestling, etc.; and (4) the barter of all kinds of wares. The oenach in pagan times was an essentially religious festival celebrated in the great cemeteries, each clan, and in the minor fairs each sept, holding its assembly on the grave mound of their ancestors. Nor did it entirely lose its religious character in Christian times, for the oenach opened and closed with religious ceremonies. The women and men assembled in separate *airechta* or gatherings, and no man durst enter the women's *airecht* under pain of death. The brithem (brehon) or judge seated on a stone chair raised above the heads of the people delivered his judgment, the *suide* recounted the pedigrees of the chiefs, the *filid* sounded their praises and told the deeds of the clans in verse, the *cerda* or artists in metal exhibited their work. Foreign traders came thither with their wares, which they exchanged for native produce, especially for the coarse woollen fabrics which even in the eighth century were celebrated on the Continent. Every one was expected to appear at the oenach or fair in his or her best clothes and ornaments, and careful provision was made by the law to prevent creditors from unjustly withholding ornaments pledged with them on the occasion of a fair. Crimes committed at an oenach or other solemn assembly could not be commuted by payment of fines. The inauguration of a king took place at some sacred place where there was an ancient tree or grove, the *nemet* of the clan, the cutting down of which was the greatest insult a conqueror could offer to the conquered.[b]

ENGLAND AND IRELAND

Up to this time almost the only connection between England and Ireland was that of the commerce carried on between some of the opposite ports; scarcely any political intercourse had ever taken place between the two countries. Her church, indeed, attached Ireland to the rest of Christendom: and some correspondence is still preserved that passed between her kings and prelates and the English archbishops Lanfranc and Anselm, relating

chiefly to certain points in which the latter conceived the ecclesiastical discipline of the neighbouring island to stand in need of reformation. The bishops also of the Danish towns in Ireland appear to have been usually consecrated by the archbishop of Canterbury.[k]

It is related that William Rufus, standing once on the Welsh cliffs, looked across the waters toward Ireland and cried, "Some day I will gather together all the ships of my kingdom and make a bridge of them upon which I shall cross over to that land and conquer it." A certain king of Leinster to whom the story of the king's boastful threat was related, after listening thoughtfully to the relation asked quietly, "After uttering such a mighty threat as that did this king add 'if the Lord will'?" Receiving a negative reply the Irishman returned, "Since he expects to accomplish this conquest by his own power, and without divine aid, I think I need not greatly fear his coming."[a]

But almost the single well-authenticated instance of any interference by the one nation in the civil affairs of the other since the Norman conquest, was in the rebellion of Robert de Belesme, in the beginning of the reign of Henry I, when that nobleman's brother, Arnulph de Montgomery, is said by some of the Welsh chroniclers to have passed over to Ireland, and to have there obtained from King Murtough O'Brien both supplies for the war and the hand of his daughter for himself. It is said, indeed, that both the Conqueror and Henry I had meditated the subjugation of Ireland; and Malmesbury[i] affirms that the latter English king had Murtough and his successors so entirely at his devotion that they wrote nothing but adulation of him, nor did anything but what he ordered.

It would appear that a project of conquest had been entertained by Henry II, from the very commencement of his reign. The same year in which he came to the throne witnessed the elevation to the popedom of the only Englishman that ever wore the triple crown—Nicholas Breakspeare, who assumed the name of Adrian IV. Very soon after his coronation Henry sent an embassy to Rome, at the head of which was the learned John of Salisbury, ostensibly to congratulate Adrian on his succession, but really to solicit the new pope for his sanction to the scheme of the conquest of Ireland. Adrian granted a bull, in the terms or to the effect desired, and before the end of the same year the matter was submitted by Henry to a great council of his barons; but the undertaking was opposed by many of those present, and especially by his mother, the empress; and in consequence it was for the time given up.

Henry's attention was not recalled to the subject till many years after. The course of the story now carries us back again to Ireland, and to another of the provincial kings of that country whom we have already mentioned—Dermot MacMurrough, king of Leinster. This prince had early signalised himself by his sanguinary ferocity, even on a stage where all the actors were men of blood. So far back as the year 1140, in order to break the power of his nobility, he had seventeen of the chief of them seized at once, all of whom that he did not put to death he deprived of their eyes.

His most noted exploit, however, was of a different character. Dervorgilla, a lady of great beauty, was the wife of Tigernan O'Rourke, the lord of Brefni, a district in Leinster, and the old enemy of MacMurrough. The sworn foe of her husband, however, was the object of Dervorgilla's guilty passion; and at her own suggestion, it is said, when her husband was absent on a military expedition, the king of Leinster came and carried her off. This happened in the year 1153, when the supreme sovereignty was in the possession of Turlough O'Connor. To him O'Rourke applied for the means of avenging his wrong, and received from him such effective assistance as to be enabled to

recover both his wife and the property she had carried off with her. But from this time MacMurrough and O'Rourke kept up a spiteful contest, with alternating fortunes, for many years. So long as Turlough lived, O'Rourke had a steady ally in the common sovereign, and the king of Leinster was effectually kept in check by their united power.

The succeeding reign of O'Loughlin, on the other hand, was, for the whole of the ten years that it lasted, a period of triumphant revenge to MacMurrough. But the recovery of the supremacy on O'Loughlin's death, by the house of O'Connor, at last put an end to the long and bitter strife. A general combination was now formed against the king of Leinster; King Roderick, the lord of Brefni, and his father-in-law, the prince of Meath, united their forces for the avowed purpose of driving him from the kingdom; they were joined by many of his own subjects, both Irish and Danish, to whom his tyranny had rendered him odious; and O'Rourke put himself at the head of the whole. MacMurrough made some effort to defend himself; but finding himself deserted by all, he sought safety in flight, and left his kingdom for the present to the disposal of his conquerors. They set another prince of his own family on the vacant throne.

Meanwhile the deposed and fugitive king had embarked for England, to seek the aid of King Henry, in return for which he was ready to acknowledge himself the vassal of the English monarch. On landing at Bristol, some time in the summer of 1167, he found that Henry was on the Continent, and thither he immediately proceeded. Henry, when he came to him in Aquitaine, was "busied," says Giraldus,[1] "in great and weighty affairs, yet most courteously he received him and liberally rewarded him. And the king, having at large and orderly heard the causes of his exile, and of his repair unto him, he took his oath of allegiance and swore him to be his true vassal and subject, and thereupon granted and gave him letters-patent in manner and form as followeth: 'Henry, king of England, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and earl of Anjou, unto all his subjects, Englishmen, Normans, Scots, and all other nations and people being his subjects, sendeth greeting. Whensoever these our letters shall come unto you, know ye that we have received Dermot, prince of Leinster, into our protection, grace, and favour; wherefore, whosoever within our jurisdiction will aid and help him, our trusty subject, for the recovery of his land, let him be assured of our favour and license in that behalf."

THE GERALDINES

It would scarcely appear, from the tenour of these merely permissive letters, that Henry looked forward to any result so important as the conquest of Ireland; the other "great and weighty affairs" had long withdrawn his thoughts from that project; and embarrassed both by his war with the French king, and his more serious contest with Becket at home, he was at present as little as ever in a condition to resume the serious consideration of it. Dermot MacMurrough, however, returned to England, well satisfied with what he had got. "And by his daily journeying," proceeds Giraldus, "he came at length unto the noble town of Bristow (Bristol), where, because ships and boats did daily repair, and come from out of Ireland, he, very desirous to hear of the state of his people and country, did, for a time, sojourn and make his abode; and whilst he was there, he would oftentimes cause the king's letters to be openly read, and did then offer great entertainment and promised liberal wages to all such as would help or serve him; but it served not."

At length, however, he chanced to meet Richard de Clare, earl of Pembroke, surnamed Strongbow, with whom he soon came to an agreement. Strongbow, on the promise of the hand of Dermot's eldest daughter, Eva, and the succession to the throne of Leinster, engaged to come over to Ireland, with a sufficient military force to effect the deposed king's restoration, in the following spring. A short time after this, Dermot having gone to the town of St. David's, there made another engagement with two young noblemen, Maurice Fitz-Gerald and Robert Fitz-Stephen, both sons of the Lady Nesta, a daughter of one of the Welsh princes Rhys-ap-Tudor, who, after having been mistress to Henry I, married Gerald, governor of Pembroke Castle, and lord of Carew, and finally became wife of Stephen de Marisco or Maurice,



CHRIST CATHEDRAL, DUBLIN
Built about 1038

constable of the castle of Cardigan: Fitz-Gerald was her son by her first marriage, and Fitz-Stephen by her second.

To these two half-brothers, in consideration of their coming over to him with a certain force at the same time with Strongbow, Dermot engaged to grant the town of Wexford, with two cantreds (or hundreds) of land adjoining in fee for ever. These arrangements being completed, "Dermot," continues the historian,[1] "being weary of his exiled life and distressed estate, and therefore the more desirous to draw homewards for the recovery of his own, and for which he had so long travelled and sought abroad, he first went to the church of St. David's to make his orisons and prayers, and then, the weather being fair and wind good, he adventured the seas about the middle of August, and having a merry passage, he shortly landed in his ungrateful country; and, with a very impatient mind, hazarded himself among and through the middle of his enemies; and, coming safely to Ferns, he was very honourably received of the clergy there, who after their ability did refresh and succour him. But he for a time dissembling his princely estate, continued as a private man all that winter following among them." It would appear, however, that he was rash enough to show himself in arms in the beginning of the year 1169,

[1] Giraldus Cambrensis, the historian of the invasion, was himself closely related to the principal actors in this remarkable drama. He was the son of Nesta's daughter Angareth and William de Barri, ancestor of the Irish Barrys.]

[1169 A.D.]
before any of his promised English succours had arrived; and that the result of this premature attempt was, that he was again easily beaten by King Roderick and O'Rourke.

THE COMING OF THE ANGLO-NORMANS

His allies in England meanwhile did not forget him. Robert Fitz-Stephen was the first to set out about the beginning of May, accompanied with thirty gentlemen of his own kindred, sixty men in coats of mail, and three hundred picked archers; they shipped themselves in three small vessels, and sailing right across from St. David's Head, landed at a creek now called the Bann, about twelve miles to the south of the city of Wexford. Along with them also came the paternal uncle of Strongbow, Hervey de Montemarisco or Mountmaurice. On the day following two more vessels arrived at the same place, bearing Maurice of Prendergast, "a lusty and a hardy man, born about Milford, in West Wales," with ten more gentlemen and sixty archers. MacMurrough was not long in hearing of their arrival, on which he instantly sent five hundred men to join them, under his illegitimate son Donald, and "very shortly after, he himself also followed with great joy and gladness."

It was now determined to march upon the town of Wexford. "When they of the town," proceeds the narrative, 'heard thereof, they being a fierce and unruly people, but yet much trusting to their wonted fortune, came forth about two thousand of them, and were determined to wage and give battle." On beholding the imposing armour and array of the English, however, they drew back, and, setting the suburbs on fire, took refuge within the walls of the town. For that day all the efforts of the assailants to effect an entrance were vain. The next morning, after the solemn celebration of mass, they made ready to renew the assault upon the town; but the besieged, seeing this, lost heart, and saved them further trouble by offering to surrender. Four of the chief inhabitants were given up to MacMurrough as pledges for the fidelity of their fellow-citizens; and he, on his part, immediately performed his promise to his English friends, by making over to Fitz-Stephen and Fitz-Gerald the town that had thus fallen into his hands, with the territories thereunto adjoining and appertaining. To Hervey of Mountmaurice he also gave two cantreds, lying along the seaside between Wexford and Waterford.

This first exploit was followed up by an incursion into the district of Ossory, the prince of which had well earned the enmity of Dermot by having some years before seized his eldest son and put out his eyes. The Ossorians at first boldly stood their ground, and as long as they kept to their bogs and woods, the invading force, though now increased by an accession from the town of Wexford to about three thousand men, made little impression upon them; but at last they were imprudent enough to allow themselves to be drawn into the open country, when Robert Fitz-Stephen fell upon them with a body of horse, and threw down the ill-armed and unprotected multitude, or scattered them in all directions; those that were thrown to the ground the foot-soldiers straight despatched, cutting off their heads with their battle-axes. Three hundred bleeding heads were laid at the feet of Dermot, "who, turning every of them, one by one, to know them, did then for joy hold up both his hands, and with a loud voice thanked God most highly. Among these there was the head of one whom especially and above all the rest he mortally hated; and he, taking up that by the hair and ears, with his teeth most horribly and cruelly bit away his nose and lips!" After this disaster the people of Ossory made no further resistance; they suffered their invaders to march across the

whole breadth of their country, murdering, spoiling, burning, and laying waste wherever they passed.

All this had taken place before anything was heard of MacMurrough's old enemies, King Roderick and O'Rourke, whom surprise and alarm seem to have deprived at first of the power of action. But news was now brought that the monarch was levying an army, and that the princes and nobility of the land were, at his call, about to meet in a great council at the ancient royal seat of Tara, in Meath. On receiving this intelligence, Dermot and his English friends, withdrawing from Ossory, took up a position of great natural strength in the midst of the hills and bogs in the neighbourhood of Ferns. Their small force was speedily surrounded by the numerous army of King Roderick, and it would seem that if they could not have been attacked in their stronghold, they might have been starved into a surrender, at no great expense of patience. But, notwithstanding the inferiority of their numbers, Roderick appears to have been a good deal more afraid of them than they were of him; disunion had broken out in the council, which, after assembling at Tara, had adjourned to Dublin; and the Irish king had probably reason to fear that, if he could not bring the affair to a speedy termination, he would soon be left in no condition to keep the field at all.

In this feeling he attempted, by presents and promises, to seduce Fitz-Stephen; failing in that, he next tried to persuade MacMurrough to come over and make common cause with his countrymen against the foreigners; at last, when there was reason to apprehend that the enemy, encouraged by these manifestations of timidity, were about to come out and attack him he actually sent messengers to sue for peace; on which, after some negotiations, it was agreed that MacMurrough should be reinstated in his kingdom.

It does not appear what terms MacMurrough professed to make in his treaty for his English allies. It is affirmed that it was agreed between him and Roderick that he should send them all home as soon as he had restored his kingdom to order, and in the mean time should procure no more of them to come over. But other forces were already on their way from England, and those in Ireland looked to remain there. This was soon proved by the arrival at Wexford of two more ships, bringing over Maurice Fitz-Gerald, with an additional force of ten gentlemen, thirty horsemen, and about one hundred archers and foot soldiers. On receiving this accession of strength, MacMurrough immediately cast his recent engagements and oaths to the winds. His first movement with his new auxiliaries was against the city of Dublin, which had not fully returned to its submission; he soon compelled the citizens to sue for peace, to swear fealty to him, and to give hostages. He then sent a party of his English friends to assist his son-in-law, the prince of Limerick, whose territory had been attacked by King Roderick. The royal forces were speedily defeated.

STRONGBOW

From this time MacMurrough and the English adventurers seem to have raised their hopes to nothing short of the conquest of the whole country. By their advice he despatched messengers to England to urge the earl of Pembroke to come over with his force immediately. All Leinster, he said, was completely reduced, and there could be no doubt that the earl's presence with the force he had engaged to bring with him would soon add the other provinces to that conquest.

[1170 A.D.]

Strongbow[1] deemed it prudent, before he took any decided step, to inform King Henry of the proposal, and obtain the royal sanction to comply with it. Henry, with his usual deep policy, would only answer his request evasively; but the earl ventured to understand him in a favourable sense, and returned home with his mind made up for the venture. As soon as the winter was over he sent to Ireland, as the first portion of his force, ten gentlemen and seventy archers, under the command of his relation, Raymond Fitz-William, surnamed, from his corpulency, *le Gros*, afterwards altered into the Anglo-Irish name of Grace. He and his company landed at a rock about four miles east from the city of Waterford, in the beginning of May, 1170.

They had scarcely time to cast a trench and to build themselves a temporary fort of turf and twigs, when they were attacked by a body of three



CASTLE AND ABBEY OF CASTLEDERMOTT, KILDARE
Founded in the 12th century

thousand of the people of Waterford; but this mob were scattered with frightful slaughter. Five hundred of them were cut down in the pursuit; and then, as Giraldus asserts, the "victors, being weary with killing, cast a great number of those whom they had taken prisoners headlong from the rocks into the seas, and so drowned them."

The earl of Pembroke did not set sail till the beginning of September. He then embarked at Milford Haven, with a force of two hundred gentlemen, and one thousand fighting men, and on the vigil of St. Bartholomew landed in the neighbourhood of the city of Waterford, which still remained unreduced. On the following day Raymond le Gros came with great joy to welcome him, attended by forty of his company. "And on the morrow, upon St. Bartholomew's Day, being Tuesday, they displayed their banners, and in good array they marched to the walls of the city, being fully bent and determined to give the assault."

The citizens, however, defended themselves with great spirit; and the assailants were twice driven back from the walls. But Raymond, who, by the consent of all, had been appointed to the command, now "having espied a little house of timber, standing half upon posts without the walls, called his men together, and encouraged them to give a new assault at that place; and

[1 Giraldus] has left us a minute picture of Strongbow. "The countenance of the renowned adventurer," he tells us, "was feminine and his voice was thin; he was gentle and courteous in his manners; what he could not gain by force he gained by address; in peace he was more ready to obey than command; when not in battle was more a soldier than a general, in battle more a general than a soldier; always took his companions into counsel and undertook no enterprise without their advice; in action was the sure rallying point of his troops; and of unshaken constancy in either fortune or war, neither to be disturbed by adversity nor thrown off his balance by success."]

having hewed down the posts whereupon the house stood, the same fell down, together with a piece of the town wall; and then, a way being thus opened, they entered into the city, and killed the people in the streets without pity or mercy, leaving them lying in great heaps; and thus, with bloody hands, they obtained a bloody victory." MacMurrough arrived along with Fitz-Gerald and Fitz-Stephen while the work of plunder and carnage was still proceeding; and it was in the midst of the desolation which followed the sacking of the miserable city that, in fulfilment of his compact with Strongbow, the marriage ceremony was solemnised between his daughter Eva and that nobleman.

Immediately after this they again spread their banners, and set out on their march for Dublin. The inhabitants of that city, who were mostly of Danish race, had taken the precaution of stationing troops at different points along the common road from Waterford; but Dermot led his followers by another way among the mountains, and, to the consternation of the citizens, made his appearance before the walls ere they were aware that he had left Waterford. A negotiation was attempted, but, while it was still going on, Raymond and his friend, Miles or Milo de Cogan, "more willing to purchase honour in the wars than gain it in peace, with a company of lusty young gentlemen, suddenly ran to the walls, and, giving the assault, brake in, entered the city, and obtained the victory, making no small slaughter of their enemies."

Leaving Dublin in charge of Milo de Cogan, Strongbow next proceeded, on the instigation of Dermot, to invade the district of Meath, anciently considered the fifth province of Ireland, and set apart as the peculiar territory of the supreme sovereign, but which King Roderick had lately made over to his friend O'Rourke. The Anglo-Norman chief, although he seems to have met with no resistance from the inhabitants, now laid it waste from one end to the other. While all this was going on, the only effort in behalf of his crown or his country that Roderick is recorded to have made was the sending a rhetorical message to MacMurrough, commanding him to return to his allegiance and dismiss his foreign allies, if he did not wish that the life of his son, whom he had left in pledge, should be sacrificed. To this threat MacMurrough at once replied that he never would desist from his enterprise until he had not only subdued all Connaught, but won to himself the monarchy of all Ireland. Infuriated by this defiance, the other savage instantly gave orders to cut off MacMurrough's son's head.

But now the adventurers were struck on a sudden with no little perplexity by the arrival of a proclamation from King Henry, prohibiting the passing of any more ships from any port in England to Ireland, and commanding all his subjects now in the latter country to return from thence before Easter, on pain of forfeiting all their lands and being forever banished from the realm. A consultation being held in this emergency, it was resolved that Raymond le Gros should be despatched to the king, who was in Aquitaine, with letters from Strongbow reminding Henry that he had taken up the cause of Dermot MacMurrough (as he conceived) with the royal permission; and acknowledging for himself and his companions that whatever they had acquired in Ireland, either by gift or otherwise, they considered not their own, but as held for him their liege lord, and as being at his absolute disposal. The immediate effect of the proclamation was to deal a heavy blow at their cause, by the discouragement it spread among their adherents, and by cutting off the supplies both of men and victuals they had counted upon receiving from England.

Things were in this state when a new enemy suddenly appeared—a body of

[1171 A.D.]

Danes and Norwegians brought to attack the city of Dublin by its former Danish ruler, who had made his escape when it was lately taken, and had been actively employed ever since in preparing and fitting out this armament. They came in sixty ships, and as soon as they had landed proceeded to the assault. "They were all mighty men of war," says the description of them in Giraldus,[i] "and well appointed after the Danish manner." The attack was made upon the east gate of the city, and Milo de Cogan soon found that the small force under his command could make no effective resistance. But the good fortune that had all along waited upon him and his associates was still true to them. His brother, seeing how he was pressed, led out a few men by the south gate, and attacking the assailants from behind, spread such confusion through their ranks, that after a short effort to recover themselves they gave way to their panic and took to flight. Great numbers of them were slain, and their leader himself, being taken prisoner, so exasperated the Anglo-Norman commander when he was brought into his presence, that Milo de Cogan ordered his head to be struck off on the spot.

It would appear to have been not long after this that Dermot MacMurrough died, on which it is said that Strongbow took the title and assumed the authority of king of Leinster in right of his wife. Raymond le Gros had now also returned from Aquitaine; he had delivered the letter with which he was charged, but Henry had sent no answer, and had not even admitted him to his presence.

Meanwhile, on the side of the Irish, there was one individual, Laurence, archbishop of Dublin, who saw that the moment was favourable for yet another effort to save the country. Chiefly by his exertions, a great confederacy was formed of all the native princes, together with those of Man and the other surrounding islands, and a force was assembled around Dublin, with King Roderick as its commander-in-chief, to the number, it is affirmed, of thirty thousand men. Strongbow and Raymond and Maurice Fitz-Gerald had all thrown themselves into the city, but their united forces did not make twice as many hundreds as the enemy numbered thousands.

For the space of two months, however, the investing force appears to have sat still in patient expectation. Their hope was that want of victuals would compel the garrison to surrender; and at length a message came from Strongbow, and a negotiation was opened; but before any arrangement was concluded an extraordinary turn of fortune suddenly changed the whole position of affairs. While the besieged were anxiously deliberating on what it would be best for them to do, Donald Kavanagh, a son of the late king Dermot, contrived to make his way into the city, and informed them that their friend, Fitz-Stephen, was besieged by the people of Wexford in his castle of Carrig, near that place, and that if not relieved within a few days he would assuredly, with his wife and children and the few men who were with him, fall into the hands of the enemy.

Fitz-Gerald proposed and Raymond seconded the gallant counsel that, rather than seek to preserve their lives with the loss of all besides, they should make a bold attempt to cut their way to their distressed comrades, and at the worst, die like soldiers and knights. The animating appeal nerved every heart. With all speed each man got ready and buckled on his armour, and the little band was soon set in array in three divisions. All things being thus arranged, about the hour of nine in the morning they suddenly rushed forth from one of the gates and threw themselves upon the vast throng of the enemy, whom their sudden onset so bewildered and confounded that, while many were killed or thrown to the ground, the bold assailants scarcely encountered

any resistance, and in a short time the scattered host was flying before them in all directions. King Roderick himself escaped with difficulty, and almost undressed, for he had been regaling himself with the luxury of a bath. Great store of victuals, armour, and other spoils was found in the deserted camp, with which the victors returned at night to the city, and there set everything in order, and left a garrison well provided with all necessaries, before setting out the next morning to the relief of their friends at Wexford.

The earl and his company marched on unopposed till they came to a narrow pass in the midst of bogs, in a district called the Odrone or Idrone. Here they found the way blocked up by a numerous force, but after a sharp action, in which the Irish leader fell, they succeeded in overcoming this hindrance, and were enabled to pursue their journey. They had nearly reached Wexford when intelligence was received that Fitz-Stephen and his companions were in the hands of the enemy. After standing out for several days against the repeated attacks of three thousand men he and those with him, consisting of only five gentlemen and a few archers, had been induced to deliver up the fort on receiving an assurance, solemnly confirmed by the oaths of the bishops of Kildare and Wexford, and others of the clergy, that Dublin had fallen, and that the earl with all the rest of their friends there were killed. They promised Fitz-Stephen that if he would surrender they would conduct him to a place of safety, and secure him and his men from the vengeance of King Roderick. But as soon as they had got possession of their persons, "some," according to Giraldus, "they killed, some they beat, some they wounded, and some they cast into prison." Fitz-Stephen himself they carried away with them to an island called Beg-Eri, or Little Erin, lying not far from Wexford, having fled thither, after setting that town on fire, when they heard that Strongbow had got out of Dublin and was on his march to their district. They now sent to inform the earl that if he continued his approach they would cut off the heads of Fitz-Stephen and his companions. Deterred by this threat, Strongbow deemed it best to turn aside from Wexford, and to take his way to Waterford.

KING HENRY IN IRELAND

Meanwhile it had been determined to make another application to Henry, and Hervey of Mountmaurice had been despatched to England for that purpose. On reaching Waterford, Strongbow found Hervey there, just returned, with the king's commands that the earl should repair to him without delay. He and Hervey accordingly took ship. As soon as they landed they proceeded to where Henry was, at Newnham, in Gloucestershire. He had returned from the Continent about two months before, and had ever since been actively employed in collecting and equipping an army and fleet, and making other preparations for passing over into Ireland. When Strongbow presented himself he at first refused to see him; but after a short time he consented to receive his offers of entire submission. It was agreed that the earl should surrender to the king in full possession the city of Dublin, and all other towns and forts which he held along the coast of Ireland; on which condition he should be allowed to retain the rest of his acquisitions under subjection to the English crown. This arrangement being concluded, the king, attended by Strongbow and other lords, embarked at Milford. His force consisted of five hundred knights or gentlemen, and about four thousand common soldiers. He landed at a place now called the Crook, near Waterford, on the 18th of October, 1171.

In the short interval that had elapsed since the departure of Strongbow, another attack had been made upon Dublin by Tigernan O'Rourke; but the

forces of the Irish prince were dispersed with great slaughter in a sudden sally by Milo de Cogan. This proved the last effort for the present of Irish independence. When the English king made his appearance in the country he found its conquest already achieved, and nothing remaining for him to do except to receive the eagerly offered submission of its various princes and chieftains.

The first that presented themselves were the citizens of Wexford, who had so treacherously obtained possession of the person of Fitz-Stephen; and they endeavoured to make a merit of this discreditable exploit—bringing their prisoner along with them as a rebellious subject, whom they had seized while engaged in making war without the consent of his sovereign. Before Henry removed from Waterford, the king of Cork, Desmond, came to him of his own accord, and took his oath of fealty. From Waterford he proceeded with his army to Lismore, and thence to Cashel, near to which city, on the banks of the Suir, he received the homage of the other chief Munster prince, the king of Thomond or Limerick. The prince of Ossory and the other inferior chiefs of Munster hastened to follow the examples of their betters; and Henry, after receiving their submission, and leaving garrisons both in Cork and Limerick, returned through Tipperary to Waterford.

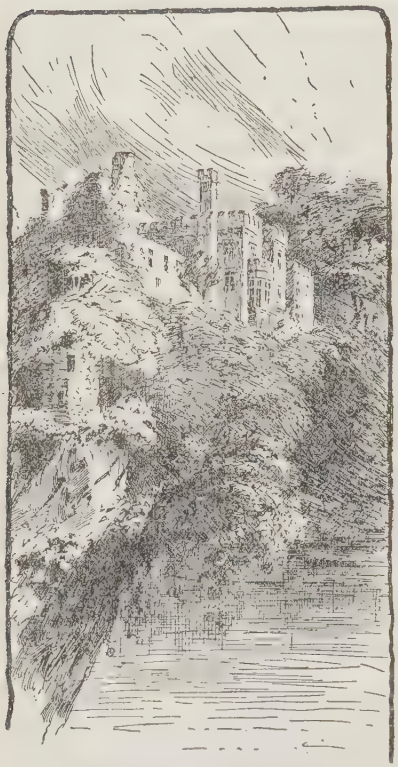
Soon after, leaving Robert Fitz-Bernard in command there, he set out for Dublin. Wherever he stopped on his march, the neighbouring princes and chiefs repaired to him and acknowledged themselves his vassals. Among them was Tigernan O'Rourke. "But Roderick, the monarch," it is added, "came no nearer than to the side of the river Shannon, which divideth Connaught from Meath, and there Hugh de Lacy and William Fitz-Aldelm, by the king's commandment, met him, who, desiring peace, submitted himself, swore allegiance, became tributary, and did put in (as all others did) hostages and pledges for the keeping of the same. Thus was all Ireland, saving Ulster, brought in subjection." After this Henry kept his Christmas in Dublin, the feast being held in a temporary erection, constructed after the Irish fashion, of wicker work, while the Irish princes, his guests, were astonished at the sumptuousness of the entertainment.

Henry remained in Ireland for some months longer, and during his stay called together a council of the clergy at Cashel, at which a number of constitutions or decrees were passed for the regulation of the church and the reform of the ecclesiastical discipline in regard to certain points where its laxity had long afforded matter of complaint and reproach. He is also said, by Matthew Paris,[w] to have held a lay council at Lismore, at which provision was made for the extension to Ireland of the English laws. Henry employed all his arts of policy to attach Raymond le Gros and the other principal English adventurers settled in Ireland to his interest, that he might thereby the more weaken the earl of Pembroke and strengthen himself.

At last, about the middle of Lent, ships arrived both from England and Aquitaine, and brought such tidings as determined the king to lose no time in again taking his way across the sea. So, having appointed Hugh de Lacy to be governor of Dublin, and, as such, his chief representative in his realm of Ireland, he set sail from Wexford at sunrise on Easter Monday, the 17th of April, 1172, and about noon of the same day landed at Portfinnan, in Wales.

The appearances of entire submission which had been exhibited during Henry's stay in the island were not long preserved after he left its shores. Before the close of the year 1172 the people had risen against the English domination in various districts; and for the next three years De Lacy, Strongbow, and their associates were kept in constant activity by the active or

passive resistance of one part of the country or another. In 1175 Henry, in the hope that it might have some effect in subduing this rebellious temper, produced for the first time the bull which he had procured from Pope Adrian twenty-four years before, along with a brief confirming it, which he had received in the interval from Alexander III. William Fitz-Aldelm, and Nicholas, prior of Wallingford, were sent over to Ireland with the two instruments; and they were publicly read in a synod of bishops which these commissioners summoned on their arrival. In this same year, also, a formal treaty was concluded between Henry and Roderick O'Connor, by which the former granted to the latter, who was styled his liegeman, that so long as he continued faithfully to serve him, he should be king of the country under him and enjoy his hereditary territories in peace on payment of the annual tribute of a merchantable hide for every tenth head of cattle killed in Ireland.



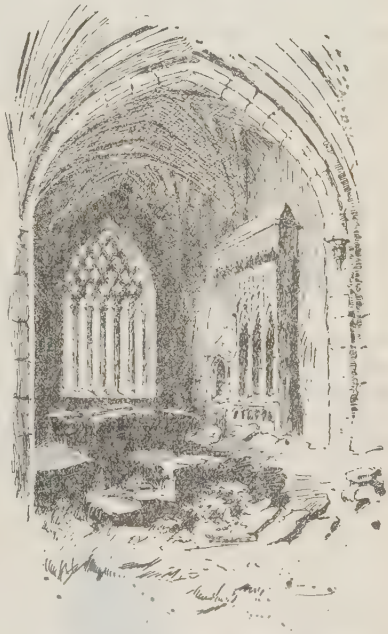
LISMORE CASTLE, WATERFORD

For some years after this one chief governor rapidly succeeded another, as each either incurred the displeasure of the king by the untoward events of his administration, or, as it happened in some cases, awakened his jealousy by seeming to have become too popular or too powerful. But Henry never himself returned to Ireland. At length, in 1185, he determined to place at the head of the government his youngest son, John, then only in his nineteenth year; the lordship of Ireland, it is said, being the portion of his dominions which he had always intended that John should inherit. But this experiment succeeded worse than any other he had tried. The same evil dispositions which were afterwards more conspicuously displayed on the throne, showed themselves in John's conduct almost from the first day he began to exercise his delegated authority; by his insulting behaviour he converted into enemies those of the Irish chieftains who had hitherto been the most attached friends of the English interest; and he met with nothing but loss and disgrace in every military encounter with the natives. He was hastily recalled by Henry after having been only a few months in the country. The government was then put into the hands of John de Courcy, who had some years before penetrated into Ulster and established the English power for the first time in that province. De Courcy remained governor to the end of the reign of Henry.[k]

HENRY II'S POLICY IN IRELAND

Let us consider the position of Henry II as regards Ireland. The first Norman adventurers had submitted to hold as his vassals the lands they had received by right from King Dermot, and also those which they claimed by

inheritance. The Irish chiefs had taken an oath of fealty, by virtue of which, in the king's opinion at least, they held the tribe lands as vassals upon the terms of feudal tenure. Remark how different was the king's conduct to each of these classes. He treated the Normans with insolence and distrust in the hour of their sorest need; he called upon their followers to abandon them, and cut off all supplies from England; he compelled Strongbow upon his knees to ask for pardon; he deprived him of Dublin and the surrounding districts; he threw into chains Fitz-Stephen, the first adventurer, and received him into favour again only upon the terms of his surrendering Wexford and the adjoining country. Against the Irish chiefs, on the other hand, he waged no war; he deprived none of them of their estates, and he sought in Dublin to dazzle them by his pomp, as he had previously intimidated them by his power. It is evident that the Normans, and not the Irish, were the objects of his fears. He dreaded the establishment of a Norman monarchy rather than the maintenance of Irish nationality; and his apprehensions were well founded, for those who in Ireland subsequently strove to establish themselves in independence of the king were not Celts but Normans. The De Courcy, De Lacy, De Burgh, and the two families of Fitzgeralds were the most active enemies of the English crown.



Interior of Holy Cross Abbey
Founded in 1184

For some reason, of which we are ignorant, Henry II suddenly abandoned the policy he had at first adopted and pursued one altogether different. It may be that the renewal of the war upon his return to England proved to him that his first design could not be executed. For the Norman adventurers to halt was equivalent to destruction; their safety depended upon continued aggression. The Irish chiefs had bowed before the first display of force as reeds before a blast; they yielded because they believed the king's force to be irresistible; when this force was withdrawn they returned to their former independence; they were ignorant how ineffective a feudal army must prove in an uncultivated and rude country; they had miscalculated the force of the invader and underrated their own powers of resistance; they had submitted to King Henry as to the many usurpers who for the last century and a half had occupied the throne of Ireland, simply because he was the more powerful. When his power was removed they were remitted to their original position.

It may be that the king was overpowered by the pressing instance of fresh adventurers and favourites, whom he sought to provide for in a manner wholly inexpensive. Whatever be the cause, he identified the English government with the party of the Norman invaders, and sought for the sovereignty of Ireland no longer by conciliation but by conquest; but in so doing he took care not to increase the already threatening power of the first colonists; he granted out the country to fresh adventurers, who undertook to conquer and

occupy it at their own expense, but as his subjects. He possessed an apparent title by gift of the pope and the submission of the inhabitants—a title which he was utterly unable to enforce; they offered in exchange for lands which the king did not possess, to wage war and extend his dominions; but the peculiarity of the transaction was that the king did not profess to confer lands which had been forfeited to him in consequence of the treason of their owners, or which lay waste and unoccupied; the existence of the Irish people was absolutely ignored, and estates were granted as if there had been no owners. A proceeding identical with this were the grants by the English crown of tracts of lands in America to English adventurers. This arrangement was peculiarly advantageous to the crown: if the adventurers succeeded, the English kingdom was extended; if they failed, so much the worse for them, and in a subsequent year fresh grants would be made to new speculators.

THE FEUDAL SYSTEM IN IRELAND

We have, in theory at least, and in view of strict English law, a complete feudal system established in Ireland; at the top stood the king, at the bottom the lowest vassal, and this legalised form of society presented a consistent form. But the feudal system as established in Ireland differed in important respects from that existing in England. It is usual for Irish writers to attribute much of the sufferings of Ireland to the misgovernment of England and the introduction of feudalism, whereas most of these evils may be referred rather to English non-government and to the peculiar anomalies of the Irish feudal system. The feudal system as introduced into Ireland, like most other institutions imported from England, was altered in such a manner as



ROMAN TOWER, KILDARE

to retain all its evils and lose all its advantages. The crown in Ireland possessed no power of controlling its vassals. When William the Conqueror distributed the lands of England, he retained in his own hands a larger proportion of manors than he granted to any of his followers. He thus became himself the most powerful feudal lord in the country. In Ireland there were no manors or valuable estates that the crown could appropriate—the entire country had to be conquered; and as the crown did not assist in the conquest,

it received no part of the spoils. Thus we find the crown had absolutely no demesnes of its own, and, being deprived of any military force of its own, it had to rely upon such of the great feudal vassals as might remain loyal for the purpose of crushing those who might be in rebellion. The inevitable result of this policy was to kindle a civil war and excite personal feuds in the attempt to maintain order.

Thus the feudal system in Ireland was deprived of the only force which could keep it in regular and harmonious working; like a machine without a fly-wheel, its movements became uncontrolled and irregular. It was, however, possible that the several grantees of large tracts of land from the crown should have established themselves like petty princes, and occupied a position resembling that of the great vassals of the German emperor; but the jealousy of the crown towards its Norman vassals prevented this result. We have thus a feudal system, in which the crown is powerless to fulfil its duties, yet active in preventing the greater nobles from exercising that influence which might have secured a reasonable degree of order. The whole energy of the nobles was turned away from government to war; and lest they should become local potentates, they were allowed to degenerate into local tyrants.

The remarkable point in the conquest was, that the Celtic population was not driven back upon any one portion of the kingdom, but remained, as it was, interpolated among the new arrivals. The distribution of the two populations may be briefly sketched as follows: The Normans occupied, in considerable force, the counties of Antrim and Down, in Ulster; in Leinster, the counties of Louth, Meath, Dublin, Kildare, and the greater portion of Westmeath, were densely colonised by Normans and Saxons; southward, the colonists occupied, in a narrow line, portions of the King's and Queen's counties, and Carlow; they held the counties of Kilkenny and Wexford, and the eastern part of Munster; they occupied Limerick and the adjoining districts, and their castles extended to the mouth of the Shannon. In Connaught, the territories of the De Burghs stretched from Galway northward and eastward over the plain portion of Connaught, and communicated through Athlone with their countrymen in Leinster. On the other hand, the residue of Ulster was occupied by the O'Neills and O'Donnells, and their subordinate tribes. South of them extended the districts of the O'Farrells, the O'Reillys, and O'Rourke. In Leinster, the O'Tooles and O'Brynes occupied the mountains of Wicklow, and the Carlow and Kilkenny hills were in the hands of various tribes, of which the chief was the MacMurroughs, subsequently known as Kavanaghs. The west of Munster was strongly held by the MacCarthys and their subordinate tribes; Clare was occupied by the O'Briens; the western coast beyond Lough Corrib remained in the possession of the O'Flahertys, and the northeast of Connaught was under the control of the O'Connors.[f]



CHAPTER II

IRELAND UNDER ENGLISH RULE

The original source of the calamities of Ireland was the partial character of the Norman conquest, which caused the conquerors, instead of becoming an upper class, to remain a mere hostile settlement. The next great source of mischief was the disposition of Christendom at the period of the Reformation, and the terrible religious wars which ensued. Then Ireland became a victim to the attempt of Louis XIV to destroy the liberty and religion of England through his vassals, the House of Stuart. Finally the French Revolution, breaking out into anarchy, massacre, and atheism, at the moment when England under Pitt had entered on the path of reform and toleration, not only arrested political progress, but involved Ireland in another civil war.—GOLDWIN SMITH. P

IRELAND AFTER THE DEATH OF HENRY II

DURING his brother's reign John's viceroy was William Marshal, earl of Pembroke, who married Strongbow's daughter by Eva, and thus succeeded to his claims in Leinster. John's reputation was no better in Ireland than in England. He thwarted or encouraged the Anglo-Normans as best suited him, but on the whole they increased their possessions. In 1210 the excommunicated king visited Ireland again, and being joined by Cathal Crovderg O'Connor, king of Connaught, marched almost unchallenged by De Lacy from Waterford by Dublin to Carrickfergus. Thus, with the aid of Irish allies, did Henry II's son chastise the sons of those who had given Ireland to the crown. John did not venture farther west than Trim, but most of the Anglo-Norman lords swore fealty to him, and he divided the partially obedient districts into twelve counties—Dublin (with Wicklow), Meath (with Westmeath), Louth, Carlow, Kilkenny, Wexford, Waterford, Cork, Limerick, Kerry, and Tipperary. John's resignation of his kingdom to the pope in 1213 included Ireland, and thus for the second time was the papal claim to Ireland formally recorded.

During Henry III's long reign the Anglo-Norman power increased, but underwent great modifications. Richard, earl marshal, grandson of Strongbow, and to a great extent heir of his power, was foully murdered by his own feudatories – men of his own race; and the colony never quite recovered from this blow. On the other hand the De Burghs, partly by alliance with the Irish, partly

by sheer hard fighting, made good their claims to the lordship of Connaught, and the western O'Connors henceforth play a very subordinate part in Irish history. Tallage was first imposed on the colony in the first year of this reign, but yielded little, and tithes were not much better paid.

On the 14th of January, 1217, the king wrote from Oxford to his justiciary, Geoffrey de Marisco, directing that no Irishman should be elected or preferred in any cathedral in Ireland, "since by that means our land might be disturbed, which is to be deprecated." This order was annulled in 1224 by Honorius III, who declared it destitute of all colour of right and honesty. Some enlightened men strove to fuse the two nations together, and the native Irish, or that section which bordered on the settlements and suffered great oppression, offered 8,000 marks to Edward I for the privilege of living under English law. The justiciary supported their petition, but the prelates and nobles refused to consent.

There is a vague tradition that Edward I visited Ireland about 1256, when his father ordained that the prince's seal should have regal authority in that country. A vast number of documents remain to prove that he did not neglect Irish business. Yet this great king cannot be credited with any specially enlightened views as to Ireland. Hearing with anger of enormities committed in his name, he summoned the viceroy D'Ufford to explain, who coolly said that he thought it expedient to wink at one knave cutting off another, "whereat the king smiled and bade him return to Ireland." The colonists were strong enough to send large forces to the king in his Scotch wars, but as there was no corresponding immigration this really weakened the English, whose best hopes lay in agriculture and the arts of peace, while the Celtic race waxed proportionally numerous.[b]

EDWARD BRUCE IN IRELAND

Ireland, in the reign of Edward II, was divided between two races of men, of different languages, habits, and laws, and animated with the most deadly hatred towards each other. The more wild and mountainous districts, and the larger portions of Connaught and Ulster, were occupied by the natives; the English or Anglo-Irish had established themselves along the eastern and southern coasts, and in all the principal cities and towns.

They professed fealty to the English crown; but their fealty was a mere sound. At pleasure they levied war on each other, or on the natives; and except in the vicinity of Dublin, the seat of provincial government, the Pale was divided among a multitude of petty tyrants, who knew no other law than their own interests. The natives within the Pale they reduced to a state of the most abject villanage; those without they harassed with military expeditions. The murder of a native was not considered a crime punishable by law; and the man who had inflicted the most cruel injury on the neighbouring septs was the most distinguished among his fellows.[1]

On the other side, the descendants of the original inhabitants were equally lawless. We find them perpetually engaged in dissension and warfare. Sometimes they are fighting among themselves, sometimes against their oppressors. Occasionally we see them purchasing the aid of the English, that they may revenge themselves on their own countrymen; occasionally marching under the banners of an English baron, to invade the domains of his neighbour.

[1] On this account Irishmen frequently procured from the king charters, investing them with the character and the rights of Englishmen. To some these grants were made only for life; often they extended to whole septs and their posterity forever.

When Edward II, before his expedition into Scotland, had ordered his vassals to meet him at Berwick, he had also written to the chiefs of the Irish septs, requesting them to accompany De Burgh, the earl of Ulster, who had been commanded to lead an army to his assistance. This request was neglected. By the Irish the efforts of the Scots were viewed with a kindred feeling. The patriots were fighting against the same nation by which they had been so cruelly oppressed. They were of the same lineage, spoke a dialect of the same tongue, and retained in many respects the same national institutions.

When intelligence arrived of the victory at Bannockburn, it was received with enthusiasm, and the conviction that the English were not invincible



CARRICKFERGUS CASTLE

awakened a hope that Ireland might recover her independence. Edward II discovered that an active correspondence was carried on between the men of Ulster and the court of Bruce. Alarmed for the safety of his Irish dominions, he despatched Lord Ufford, with instructions to treat with the native chieftains, the tenants of the crown, and the corporations of the boroughs; but before that nobleman could execute his commission Edward Bruce, the brother of the king of Scots, with an army of six thousand men, had landed in the neighbourhood of Carrickfergus. He was immediately joined by the O'Neills, who directed his march. They burned **Dundalk**; the greater part of Louth was laid desolate; and at Atherdee the inhabitants, men, women, and children, who had crowded into the church, perished in the flames. But the approach of Sir Edmund Butler, the lord justice, and of Richard de Burgh, earl of Ulster, warned the confederates to return. They retired to Conyers, left their banners flying in their camp, and making a short circuit, fell on the rear of their pursuers. A fierce encounter took place; the Anglo-Irish were dispersed, and Bruce continued his retreat.

During this interval a new envoy arrived from King Edward — John de Hotham, afterwards bishop of Ely — invested with extraordinary powers, to reconcile the barons, and to treat with the natives. But Bruce had now obtained a reinforcement from Scotland; he penetrated as far as Kildare, defeated the Anglo-Irish at Ardscull, in that county, and as he returned, obtained a second victory at Kenlis, in Meath. His presence animated the Irish of Leinster. The O'Tooles, O'Briens, O'Carrolls, and Archbolds were instantly in arms; Arklow, Newcastle, and Bree were burned; and the open country presented one continued scene of anarchy and devastation.

It is probable that in these inroads the Scots suffered many severe losses. They returned to their former quarters in Ulster, and sent again to Scotland for succours. But at the same time a treaty was concluded between Edward Bruce and Donald O'Neill, called in Edward's writs prince of Tyrone, but who styled himself hereditary monarch of Ireland. By letters patent the rights of O'Neill were transferred to Bruce, who was immediately crowned, and entered on the exercise of the regal power. But his inactivity abandoned to destruction the different septs that had joined him during his late expedition. Two hundred of the natives perished under O'Hanlon at Dundalk; three hundred were slain in Munster; four hundred fell in a battle at Tullagh; and eight hundred heads of the O'Moores were sent by the lord justice Butler to Dublin as the proof of his victory. From these losses Ireland might have risen; but her hopes were extinguished in the sanguinary field of Athenry, where Phelim O'Connor, the king of Connaught, attacked the Anglo-Irish under Lord Richard Bermingham. The natives, in a confused mass, rushed on a resolute and disciplined enemy; the battle or slaughter lasted from dawn till sunset; and among eleven thousand dead bodies were found those of Phelim himself, and of twenty-nine subordinate chieftains of the same name. The sept of the O'Connors was nearly extinguished.

To balance the exultation caused by this victory, intelligence was brought to Dublin that Robert Bruce, the king of Scotland, had landed with a numerous army in Ulster. The Anglo-Irish garrison of Carrickfergus, after a most obstinate defence, was compelled to surrender. The two brothers, at the head of twenty thousand men, Scots and Irish, advanced into the more southern counties; and the citizens of Dublin were compelled to burn the suburbs for their own protection. But the Scots, unprepared to besiege the place, ravaged the country. They successively encamped at Leixlip, Naas, and Callen; and at last penetrated as far as the vicinity of Limerick. But it was the depth of winter; numbers perished through want, fatigue, and the inclemency of the season; and the English had assembled an army at Kilkenny to intercept their return. With difficulty the Bruces eluded the vigilance of the enemy, and retired into Ulster. It is not easy to assign the reason of this romantic expedition, undertaken at such a season, and without any prospect of permanent conquest. To the Scots it was more destructive than a defeat; and Robert Bruce, dissatisfied with his Irish expedition, hastened back to his native dominions.

But notwithstanding the severe defeats which the natives had suffered, the flame of patrictism was kept alive by the exhortations of many among the clergy. The English government complained of their conduct to the papal court; and John XXII commissioned the archbishops of Dublin and Cashel to admonish those who fomented the rebellion, and to excommunicate all who should persist in their disobedience.

This commission created a deep sensation among the septs. A justification of their conduct was signed by O'Neill and the majority of the chieftains. The important instrument begins by stating that during forty centuries Ireland had been governed by its own monarchs of the race of Milesius, till the year 1170, when Adrian IV, an Englishman, conferred against all manner of right the sovereignty of the island on Henry II, the murderer of St. Thomas, whom for that very crime he ought rather to have deprived of his own crown.[1]

After this introduction it argues that the original grant is become void,

[1] It is singular that they were not aware of the anachronism in making Adrian live after the murder of the archbishop, though he died twelve years before it.

because none of the conditions on which it was made have been fulfilled. Henry had promised for himself and his successors to protect the church, and yet they had despoiled it of one-half of its possessions; to establish good laws, and they had enacted others repugnant to every notion of justice;[1] to extirpate the vices of the natives, and they had introduced among them a race of men more wicked than existed in any other country upon earth; men whose rapacity was insatiable, who employed indifferently force or treachery to effect their purposes, and who publicly taught that the murder of an Irishman was not a crime.

It was to free themselves from the oppression of these tyrants that they had taken up arms; they were not rebels to the king of England, for they had never sworn fealty to him; they were freemen waging mortal war against their foes, and for their own protection they had chosen Edward de Bruce, earl of Carrick, for their sovereign. The pope wrote to the king and commissioned his legates to speak to him in favour of the Irish. Urged by their repeated remonstrances, Edward attempted to justify himself by declaring that if they had been oppressed it was without his knowledge, and contrary to his intention; and promised that he would take them under his protection, and make it his care that they should be treated with lenity and justice.

This promise was hardly given before the war in Ireland was terminated. Sir Roger Mortimer had been intrusted with the government (1318), and during the year of his administration, though it was not distinguished by any signal victory, he had gradually confirmed the superiority of the English. The barons accused of favouring the Scots, particularly the Lacys, were attainted; De Burgh, the earl of Ulster, who had been imprisoned by the officious loyalty of the citizens of Dublin, was released; and the O'Briens and Archbolds were received to the king's peace. The men of Connaught by their dissensions aided the cause of their enemies; and no less than eight thousand of them are said to have perished in civil war.

Soon after the departure of Mortimer, Edward Bruce advanced to the neighbourhood of Dundalk. He was met by Sir John de Bermingham [with a force of Anglo-Irish more numerous than his own], and fell in battle with the greater part of his army [October 19th, 1318]. His quarters were sent, as those of a traitor, to the four principal towns; and his head was presented to Edward by Bermingham, who received the dignity and emoluments of earl of Louth as a reward. With Bruce fell the hopes of the Irish patriots; the ascendency of the English was restored, and the ancient system of depredation and revenge universally revived. The king's attention had, however, been directed to the state of Ireland by a petition presented to him in parliament, stating that to establish tranquillity it was requisite to abolish charters of pardon for murders perpetrated by Englishmen, and that the natives, admitted to the benefit of the English law, should fully enjoy the legal protection of life and limb. Both points were granted, and it was afterwards provided that no royal officer should acquire lands within the extent of his jurisdiction, or levy purveyance, unless it were in case of necessity, with the permission of the council and under a writ from the chancery.

[1] The laws of which they chiefly complained are: (1) That though the king's courts were open to every man who brought an action against an Irishman, yet, if a native were the plaintiff, the very fact of his birth was allowed to be an effectual bar to his claim. (2) That if an Irishman was murdered, whatever were his rank in the church or state, no court would undertake to punish the murderer. (3) That no widow, if she were a native, was admitted to the claim of dower. (4) That the last wills of the natives were declared void, and their property disposed of according to the will of their lords.

ANARCHY AND MISRULE (1319–1377 A.D.)

After the fall of Bruce, Edward II was too much occupied by his domestic enemies, and Edward III by his wars with Scotland and France, to attend to the concerns of the sister island; and the natives by successive encroachments gradually confined the English territories within narrower limits. Had the natives united in one common effort, they might have driven the invaders into the ocean; but they lost the glorious opportunity by their own dissensions and folly. Their hostilities were generally the sudden result of a particular provocation, not of any plan for the liberation of the island; their arms were as often turned against their own countrymen as against their national enemies; and several septs received annual pensions from the English government as the price of their services in protecting the borders from the inroads of the more hostile Irish.[c]

John de Bermingham, earl of Louth, the conqueror of Bruce, was murdered in 1329 by the Gernons, Cusacks, Everards, and other English of that country, who disliked his firm government. They were never brought to justice. Talbot of Malahide and two hundred of Bermingham's relations and adherents were massacred at the same time. In 1333 the young earl of Ulster was murdered by the Mandevilles and others; in this case signal vengeance was taken, but the feudal dominion never recovered the blow, and on the north-east coast the English laws and language were soon confined to Drogheda and Dundalk. The earl left one daughter, Elizabeth, who was, of course, a royal ward. She married Lionel, duke of Clarence, and from her springs the



RUINS OF THE CATHEDRAL, KILDARE

royal line of England from Edward IV, as well as James V of Scotland and his descendants.

The two chief men among the De Burghs were loth to hold their lands of a little absentee girl. Having no grounds for opposing the royal title to the wardship of the heiress, they abjured English law and became Irish chieftains. As such they were obeyed, for the king's arm was short in Ireland.

The two great earldoms whose contests form a large part of the history of the south of Ireland were created by Edward III. James Butler, eldest son

of Edmund, earl of Carrick, became earl of Ormonde and palatine of Tipperary in 1328. Next year Maurice Fitzthomas Fitzgerald was made earl of Desmond, and from his three brethren descended the historic houses of the White Knight, the knight of Glyn, and the knight of Kerry. The earldom of Kildare dates from 1316.[b]

THE STATUTE OF KILKENNY

The settlers in the English Pale were divided into two classes, the English by race and the English by birth. The former were the descendants of the first invaders, and considered themselves as the rightful heirs to the lands and emoluments which had been won by the swords of their progenitors. The further they were removed from their seat of government the less did they respect its authority; and as they lived in the constant violation of the English laws, naturally sought to emancipate themselves from their control. Hence many adopted the dress, the manners, the language, and the laws of the natives, and were insensibly transformed from English barons into Irish chieftains.

The English by birth comprised the persons born in England whom the king had invested with office in Ireland, and the crowds of adventurers whom penury or crime annually banished from their own country. To the old settlers they were objects of peculiar jealousy and hatred; by the government they were trusted and advanced, as a counterpoise to the disaffection of the others. Edward III had gone so far as to forbid any person to hold office under the Irish government who was not an Englishman and possessed of lands, tenements, or benefices in England; but the prohibition aroused the indignation of the English by race; in defiance of his authority they assembled in convention at Kilkenny, and so spirited were their remonstrances that he revoked the order and confirmed to them the rights which they had inherited from their ancestors.

Edward III had appointed his son Lionel, duke of Clarence, to the government of Ireland. The prince landed with an army (1361), obtained some advantages over the natives, and left the island, having rather inflamed than appeased the jealousy between the two parties. Three years later he returned; a parliament was held under his influence, and the result was the celebrated Statute of Kilkenny (1364). Its provisions were directed not against the natives, but the descendants of the English settlers who, "to the ruin of the common weal, had rejected the laws of England for those of Ireland."[c]

The act contains thirty-five chapters, of which the following are the most important provisions:

Intermarriage, fosterage, gossipred, traffic, and intimate relations of any kind with the Irish were forbidden as high treason—punishment, death.

If any man took a name after the Irish fashion, used the Irish language, or dress, or mode of riding (without saddle), or adopted any other Irish customs, all his lands and houses were forfeited, and he himself was put into jail till he could find security that he would comply with the law. The Irish living among the English were permitted to remain, but were forbidden to use the Irish language under the same penalty. To use or submit to the Brehon law or to exact coyne and livery was treason. No Englishman was to make war on the Irish without the special warrant of the government, who would conduct, supply, and finish all such wars, "so that the Irish enemies shall not be admitted to peace until they be finally destroyed or shall make restitution fully of the costs and charges of that war."

The Irish were forbidden to *booley* or pasture on those of the march lands belonging to the English; if they did so the English owner of the lands might impound the cattle as a distress for damage; but in doing so he was to keep the cattle together, so that they might be delivered up whole and uninjured to the Irish owner if he came to pay the damages.

According to Brehon law, the whole sept were liable for the offences and debts of each member. In order to avoid quarrels, the act ordains that an English creditor must sue an Irish debtor personally, not any other member of the sept. This at least was a wise provision. No native Irish clergyman was to be appointed to any position in the church within the English district, and no Irishman was to be received into any English religious house in Ireland. It was forbidden to receive or entertain Irish bards, pipers, story-tellers, or mowers, because these and such like often came as spies on the English.

The Statute of Kilkenny, though not exhibiting quite so hostile a spirit against the Irish as we find sometimes represented, yet carried out consistently the vicious and fatal policy of separation adopted by the government from the beginning. It was intended to apply only to the English, and was framed entirely in their interests. Its chief aim was to withdraw them from all contact with the "Irish enemies"—so the natives are designated all through the act—to separate the two races for evermore.

But this new law designed to effect so much was found to be impracticable, and turned out after a little while a dead letter. Coyne and livery continued to be exacted from the colonists by the three great earls, Kildare, Desmond, and Ormonde; and the Irish and English went on intermarrying, gossiping, fostering, and quarrelling on their own account, just the same as before.

The reign of Edward III was a glorious one for England abroad, but was disastrous to the English dominion in Ireland. At the very time of the battle of Crécy, the settlement had been almost wiped out of existence—not more than four counties now remained to the English. If one-half of the energy and solicitude expended uselessly in France had been directed to Ireland, which was more important than all the French possessions, the country could have been easily pacified and compacted into one great empire with England.[d]

THE EXPEDITIONS OF RICHARD II

Still even after the passage of the Statute of Kilkenny the former dissensions prevailed among the Anglo-Irish, and the Irish gradually extended their conquests. To restore tranquillity, Richard in his ninth year created the earl of Oxford, his favourite, marquess of Dublin, and afterwards duke of Ireland; bestowed on him the government of Ireland for life, and granted to him and his heirs all the lands which he should conquer from the natives, with the exception of such as had already been annexed to the crown, or conferred on former adventurers. Thirty thousand marks were allotted for the expedition by parliament, and the most sanguine hopes of success were generally cherished, when the whole plan was defeated by the dissension between the king and his barons, and the subsequent exile and death of the duke.[e]

In the mean time matters had been going from bad to worse in Ireland; and the native Irish had at last found a leader whose warlike genius and intrepidity made the English power in Ireland precarious indeed. This was Art McMurrough Kavanagh, or as he is more commonly called, Art McMurrough, the king of Leinster. He had married the daughter of Maurice Fitzgerald, the earl of Kildare, whereupon the English authorities had seized her lands on the ground that she had violated the Statute of Kilkenny. McMur-

rough had thereupon begun a series of raids in Wexford, Kilkenny, and Kildare. The Dublin government at length, by making concessions in regard to his "black-rent" which was in question, secured a short armistice.[a]

The moment then seemed to have arrived when the English ascendency might be restored, and the natives reduced to the most complete submission. With four thousand men-at-arms and thirty thousand archers Richard landed at Waterford; the duke of Gloucester, the earls of Rutland and Nottingham, aided him with their advice; and though the state of the country, intersected with lakes, morasses, and forests, impeded his progress; though the enemy, by retiring into inaccessible fortresses, shunned his approach; yet in a short time the idea of resistance was abandoned; the northern chieftains met the king at Drogheda, the southern attended his deputy, the earl of Nottingham, at Carlow; and all, seventy-five in number, did homage, promised to keep the peace, and submitted to pay a yearly tribute.

The four principal kings, O'Neill, O'Connor, O'Brien, and McMurrough, followed Richard to Dublin (1395), where they were instructed in the manners of the English by Sir Henry Castide, or Christal,[1] submitted to receive, though with some reluctance, the honour of knighthood, and, arrayed in robes of state, were feasted at the king's table. But a distinction was made between the natives who had not previously sworn fealty and those who had done so and rebelled, the "Irrois savages and Irrois rebels," as the king denominated them. Yet the latter on their submission were taken under protection, and obtained the promise of a full pardon on the payment of a proportionate fine. Richard, though he devoted much of his time to parade, did not neglect the reformation of the government. Grievances were redressed, the laws enforced, tyrannical officers removed, and the minds of the natives gradually reconciled to the superiority of the English.[c]

Richard's second Irish expedition was undertaken in the last year of his reign, and is of more importance from its influence in English history than in Irish. It was at a moment most pregnant with danger to himself and his crown that Richard determined to leave England and cross to Ireland. His ostensible purpose was to avenge the death of his cousin and heir, Roger Mortimer, earl of March, whom he had left as his deputy in Ireland in 1395, and who had been killed in a bloody fight with McMurrough's followers in Kilkenny in 1397. But it is more than likely it was a shrinking from meeting the crisis that he must have felt was impending and a mad idea that he could avert it by the simple procedure of refusing to see it, that led him to take the step. At any rate, it was the decisive step that led to his deposition.[a]

At Milford Haven Richard, having appointed his uncle, the duke of York, regent during his absence, joined his army (May 29th, 1399), and embarking in a fleet of two hundred sail, arrived in two days in the port of Waterford. His cousin, the duke of Albemarle, had been ordered to follow with a hundred more; and three weeks were consumed in waiting for that nobleman, whose delay was afterwards attributed to a secret understanding with the king's enemies. At length Richard led his forces from Kilkenny against the Irish; several of the inferior chiefs hastened barefoot, and with halters round their necks, to implore his mercy; but McMurrough spurned the idea of submission, and

[1] Castide, who gave the account of this expedition to Froissart (printed on the next page), had formerly been made prisoner by one of the natives, a powerful man, who unexpectedly leaped up behind him, embraced him tightly, and, urging the horse forward with his heels, fairly carried him off. During his captivity he had learned the Irish language, and on that account was now charged with the care of the four kings. His great difficulty was to induce them to dine at a different table from their servants, and to wear breeches, and mantles trimmed with the fur of squirrels.

[1399 A.D.]

boasted that he would extirpate the invaders. He dared not, indeed, meet them in open combat; but it was his policy to flee before them, and draw them into woods and morasses, where they could neither fight with advantage, nor procure subsistence. The want of provisions and the clamour of the soldiers compelled the king to give up the pursuit, and to direct his march towards Dublin; and McMurrough, when he could no longer impede their progress, solicited and obtained a parley with the earl of Gloucester, the commander of the rear-guard. The chieftain was an athletic man; he came to the conference mounted on a grey charger, which had cost him four hundred head of cattle, and brandished with ease and dexterity a heavy spear in his hand. He seemed willing to become the nominal vassal of the king of England, but refused to submit to any conditions. Richard set a price on his head, proceeded to Dublin, and at the expiration of a fortnight was joined by the duke of Albemarle with men and provisions. This seasonable supply enabled him to recommence the pursuit of McMurrough; but while he was thus occupied with objects of inferior interest in Ireland a revolution had occurred in England, which eventually deprived him both of his crown and his life.[c] He hurried back to England, but it was too late. As Bagwell[b] truly says, "but for McMurrough and his allies the house of Lancaster might never have reigned in England." No English king again visited Ireland till James II arrived there as a fugitive in 1689.

Irish Warfare in the Fourteenth Century

In the pages of Froissart's *Chronicle*[c] we find a curious account of the Irish method of making war during the last years of the fourteenth century. Froissart gives it in the words of Sir Henry Castide (or Christal), from whom he says he got the information. Castide had been a prisoner in Ireland in his youth for seven years and had married while there the daughter of an Irish nobleman. Castide's comment on Richard's first expedition follows:[a]

"It is not in the memory of man that any king of England ever led so large an armament of men-at-arms and archers to make war on the Irish as the present king. He remained upwards of nine months in Ireland, at great expense, which, however, was cheerfully defrayed by his kingdom; for the principal cities and towns of England thought it was well laid out, when they saw their king return home with honour. Only gentlemen and archers had been employed on this expedition; and there were with the king four thousand knights and squires and thirty thousand archers, all regularly paid every week, and so well they were satisfied.

"To tell you the truth, Ireland is one of the worst countries to make war in, or to conquer; for there are such impenetrable and extensive forests, lakes, and bogs, there is no knowing how to pass them and carry on war advantageously; it is so thinly inhabited that whenever the Irish please they desert the towns, and take refuge in these forests, and live in huts made of boughs, like wild beasts; and whenever they perceive any parties advancing with hostile dispositions, and about to enter their country, they fly to such narrow passes it is impossible to follow them.

"When they find a favourable opportunity to attack their enemies to advantage, which frequently happens, from their knowledge of the country, they fail not to seize it; and no man-at-arms, be he ever so well mounted, can overtake them, so light are they of foot. Sometimes they leap from the ground behind a horseman, and embrace the rider (for they are very strong in their arms) so tightly that he can no way get rid of them. The Irish have

pointed knives, with broad blades, sharp on both sides like a dart-head, with which they kill their enemies; but they never consider them as dead until they have cut their throats like sheep, opened their bellies, and taken out their hearts, which they carry off with them, and some say, who are well acquainted with their manners, that they devour them as delicious morsels. They never accept of ransom for their prisoners; and when they find they have not the advantage in any skirmishes, they instantly separate, and hide themselves in hedges, bushes, or holes under ground, so that they seem to disappear, no one knows whither.

"They are a very hardy race, of great subtlety, and of various tempers, paying no attention to cleanliness, nor to any gentleman—although their country is governed by kings, of whom there are several—but seem desirous to remain in the savage state they have been brought up in. True it is that four of the most potent kings in Ireland have submitted to the king of England, but more through love and good-humour than by battle or force. The earl of Ormonde, whose lands join their kingdoms, took great pains to induce them to go to Dublin, where the king our lord resided, and to submit themselves to him and to the crown of England. This was considered by every one as a great acquisition, and the object of the armament accomplished; for during the whole of King Edward's reign, of happy memory, he had never such success as King Richard. The honour is great, but the advantage little, for with such savages nothing can be done."[e]

IRELAND UNDER THE THREE HENRYS

Henry IV had a bad title, and his necessities were conducive to the growth of the English constitution, but fatal to the Anglo-Irish. His son Thomas was viceroy in Ireland in 1401, but did very little. "Your son," wrote the Irish council to Henry, "is so destitute of money that he has not a penny in the world, nor can borrow a single penny, because all his jewels and his plate that he can spare, and those which he must of necessity keep, are pledged to lie in pawn." The nobles waged private war unrestrained, and the game of playing off one chieftain against another was carried on with varying success. The provisions of the statute of Kilkenny against trading with the Irish failed, for markets cannot exist without buyers.[b]

After Richard II's departure Art McMurrough's raids became so intolerable that the government of Henry IV was glad to treat with him. But two years later (1401) he made a terrible raid into Wexford. This was avenged by the Dublin English, who in the following year administered a crushing defeat to the O'Briens near Bray. Again in 1405 McMurrough overran Wexford, but in 1407 the English lord deputy, Sir Stephen Scroope, utterly defeated him in Kilkenny and soon afterward suddenly fell upon his ally, O'Carroll, and slew him and eight hundred of his followers. After this defeat McMurrough was quiet for a time, but in 1413 he began his raiding again and in 1416 signally defeated the English at Wexford. This was his last exploit. He died in the next year after having been king of Leinster for forty-two years. "He was," says Joyce,[d] "the most heroic, persevering, and indomitable defender of his country, from Brian Boru to Hugh O'Neill; and he maintained his independence for nearly half a century just beside the Pale, in spite of every effort to reduce him to submission."[a]

The brilliant reign of Henry V was a time of extreme misery to the colony in Ireland. Half the English-speaking people fled to England, where they were not welcome. An act of Henry V ordered all "Irishmen and Irish

[1413–1459 A.D.]

clerks, beggars, called chamber deacons, to depart before the feast of All Souls, for quietness and peace in this realm of England." Irish soldiers were drawn by high pay to Henry's French wars, and a contemporary writer, Robert Redman,[r] recounts how they "with very sharp and missile balls (*catapultariis pilis*) wounded their enemies severely, easily avoiding their onset by their own swiftness of foot."

The disastrous reign of the third Lancastrian, Henry VI, completed the discomfiture of the original colony in Ireland. Quarrels between the Ormonde and Talbot parties paralysed the government, and a Pale of thirty miles by twenty was all that remained. Even the walled towns were almost starved out; Waterford itself was half ruined and half deserted. Only one parliament was held for thirty years, but taxation was not remitted on that account. No viceroy even pretended to reside continuously. The north and west were still worse off than the south. Some thoughtful men saw clearly the danger of leaving Ireland to be seized by the first chance comer, and the *Libel of English Policy*,[s] written about 1436, contains a long and interesting passage declaring England's interest in protecting Ireland as "a boterasse and a poste" of her own power.

Sir John Talbot, immortalised by Shakespeare, was several times viceroy; he was almost uniformly successful in the field, but feeble in council. He held a parliament at Trim which made one law against men of English race wearing moustaches, lest they should be mistaken for Irishmen, and another obliging the sons of agricultural labourers to follow their father's vocation under pain of fine and imprisonment. The Ulster annalists, *The Four Masters*,[t] estimate the great Talbot very differently from Shakespeare—"A son of curses for his venom and a devil for his evils; and the learned say of him that there came not from the time of Herod, by whom Christ was crucified, any one so wicked in evil deeds."

IRELAND IN THE WARS OF THE ROSES

In 1449 Richard, duke of York, right heir by blood to the throne of Edward III, was forced to yield the regency of France to his rival Somerset, and to accept the Irish viceroyalty. He landed at Howth with his wife Cicely Neville, the beautiful "Rose of Raby," and Margaret of Anjou hoped thus to get rid of one who was too great for a subject. The Irish government was given to him for ten years on unusually liberal terms. He ingratiated himself with both races, taking care to avoid identification with any particular family. At the baptism of his son—"false, fleeting, perjured Clarence"—who was born in Dublin Castle, Desmond and Ormonde stood sponsors together.

The rebellion of Jack Cade, claiming to be a Mortimer and cousin to the duke of York, took place at this time. This adventurer, at once ludicrous and formidable, was a native of Ireland, and was thought to be put forward by Richard to test the popularity of the Yorkist cause. Returning suddenly to England in 1450, Richard left the government to James, earl of Ormonde and Wiltshire, who had married Lady Eleanor Beaufort, and was deeply engaged on the Lancastrian side. This earl began the deadly feud with the house of Kildare which lasted for generations. After Blore Heath Richard was attainted by the Lancastrian parliament, and returned to Dublin, where the colonial parliament acknowledged him and assumed virtual independence. A separate coinage was established, and the authority of the English parliament was repudiated. William Overy, a bold squire of Ormonde's, offered to arrest Richard as an attainted traitor, but was seized, tried before the man

whom he had come to take, and hanged, drawn, and quartered. The duke only maintained his separate kingdom about a year. His party triumphed in England, but he himself fell at Wakefield.[b]

During these years a miniature War of the Roses was fought out in Ireland. The Geraldines both of Desmond and Kildare espoused the Yorkist cause; the Butlers, the adherents of the earl of Ormonde, sided with the Lancastrians. They fought not in Ireland alone, but crossed over to England, and on many a battlefield the Anglo-Irish nobility fell side by side with their English partisans. Ormonde was taken at Towton and his head long adorned London Bridge. In 1462 the two Irish factions fought at Pilltown, in Kilkenny, and the Butlers were defeated.[a]

Thomas, the eighth earl of Desmond—the "great earl," as he was called—was appointed lord deputy in 1463, under his godson, the young duke of Clarence, the brother of Edward IV, who though appointed lord lieutenant never came to Ireland. Desmond was well received by the Irish of both races. His love for learning is shown by the fact that he founded the college of Youghal, which was richly endowed by him and his successors.

The Irish parliament passed an act in 1465 that every Irishman dwelling in the Pale was to dress and shave like the English, and take an English surname on pain of forfeiture of his goods. Another and more mischievous measure forbade ships from fishing in the seas of Irish countries, "because the dues went to make the Irish people prosperous and strong." But the worst enactment of all was one providing that it was lawful to decapitate thieves found robbing "or going or coming anywhere" unless they had an Englishman in their company. And whoever did so, on bringing the head to the mayor of the nearest town, was licensed to levy a good sum off the barony. This put it in the power of any evil-minded person to kill the first Irishman he met, pretending he was a thief, and to raise money on his head. This, indeed, was not the intention of the legislators; the act was merely a desperate attempt to keep down marauders who swarmed at this time all through the Pale.

With all the earl of Desmond's popularity he was unable to restore tranquillity to the distracted country. He was defeated in open fight in 1466 by his own brother-in-law, O'Connor of Offaly, who took him prisoner and confined him in Carbury Castle in Kildare; from which, however, he was rescued in a few days by the people of Dublin. Neither was he able to prevent the septs from ravaging the Pale. The "great earl" was struck down in the midst of his career by an act of base treachery under the guise of law. He was first replaced in 1467 by John Tiptoft,[1] earl of Worcester—"the Butcher," as he was called from his cruelty—who came determined to ruin him. Acting on the secret instructions of the queen, he caused the earls of Desmond and Kildare to be arrested, and had them attainted for exacting coyne and livery, and for making alliance with the Irish, contrary to the statute of Kilkenny. Desmond was at once executed; Kildare was pardoned, and "the Butcher" returned to England, where he was himself executed soon after.[a]

HENRY VII AND POYNINGS' LAW

During Richard III's short reign Garret Fitzgerald, the earl of Kildare, head of the Irish Yorkists, was the strongest man in Ireland. After the accession of Henry VII he espoused the cause of Lambert Simnel (1487),

[1 Tiptoft was an Oxonian, and an accomplished Latin scholar. Once at Rome he made a speech in Latin that was so eloquent that it is said to have brought tears to the eyes of the great patron of letters, Pope Pius II (Æneas Sylvius).]

whom the Irish in general seem always to have thought a true Plantagenet. The Italian primate, Octavian de Palatio, knew better, and incurred the wrath of Kildare by refusing to officiate at the impostor's coronation. The local magnates and several distinguished visitors attended, and Lambert was shown to the people borne aloft on "great D'Arcy of Platten's" shoulders. His enterprise ended in the battle of Stoke, where the flower of the Anglo-Irish soldiery fell. "The Irish," says Bacon, "did not fail in courage or fierceness, but, being almost naked men, only armed with darts and skeins, it was rather an execution than a fight upon them." Conspicuous among Henry's adherents in Ireland were the citizens of Waterford, who, with the men of Clonmel, Callan, Fethard, and the Butler connection generally, were prepared to take the field in his favour. Waterford was equally conspicuous some years later in resisting Perkin Warbeck, who besieged it unsuccessfully, and was chased by the citizens, who fitted out a fleet at their own charge. The king conferred honour and rewards on the loyal city, to which he gave the proud title of *urbs intacta*. Many doubtless believed that Perkin was really the duke of York; but it is now certain that he was an impostor.[b]

The king now saw that his Irish subjects were ready to rise in rebellion for the house of York at every opportunity. He came to the resolution, therefore, to lessen their power by destroying the independence of their parliament; and having given Sir Edward Poynings instructions to this effect, he sent him over as deputy.

Poynings' first act was to lead an expedition to the north against O'Hanlon and Magennis, who had given shelter to some of the supporters of Warbeck. But he heard a rumour that the earl of Kildare was conspiring with O'Hanlon and Magennis to intercept and destroy himself and his army; and news came also that Kildare's brother had risen in open rebellion and had seized the castle of Carlow. On this Poynings returned south and recovered the castle.

He convened a parliament at Drogheda in November, 1494, the memorable parliament in which the act since known as Poynings' law was passed. The following are the most important provisions of this law:

(1) No parliament was in future to be held in Ireland until the Irish chief governor and privy council had sent the king information of all the acts intended to be passed in it, with a full statement of the reasons why they were required, and until these acts had been approved and permission granted by the king and privy council of England. This single provision is what is popularly known as Poynings' law.

(2) All the laws lately made in England affecting the public weal should hold good in Ireland. This referred only to English laws then existing; it gave no power to the English parliament to make laws for Ireland in the future.

(3) The Statute of Kilkenny was revived and confirmed, except the part forbidding the use of the Irish tongue, which could not be carried out, as the language was now used everywhere, even through the English settlements.

(4) For the purpose of protecting the settlement, it was made felony to permit enemies or rebels to pass through the marches; and the owners of march lands were obliged to reside on them or send proper deputies on pain of losing their estates.

(5) The exaction of coyne and livery was forbidden in any shape or form.

(6) Many of the Anglo-Irish families had adopted the Irish war-cries; the use of these was now strictly forbidden.[1]

[1] The war-cry of the O'Neills was *Lamh-derg abu*, *i.e.*, the Red hand to victory (*lamh*, pron. lauv, a hand). That of the O'Briens and MacCarthys, *Lamh-laidir abu* the Strong-

In this parliament the earl of Kildare was attainted for high treason, mainly on account of his supposed conspiracy with O'Hanlon to destroy the deputy; in consequence of which he was soon afterwards arrested and sent a prisoner to England.

Up to this the Irish parliament had been independent; it was convened by the chief governor whenever and wherever he pleased; and it made its laws without any interference from the parliament of England. Now Poynings' law took away all this power and made the parliament a mere shadow, entirely dependent on the English king and council. This, indeed, was of small consequence at the time; for the parliament was only for the Pale, and no native Irishman could sit in it. But when at a later period English law was made to extend over the whole country, and the Irish parliament made laws for all the people of Ireland, then Poynings' law, which still remained in force, was felt by the people of Ireland to be one of their greatest grievances.

During the whole time that this parliament was sitting the Warbeck party were actively at work in the south. But Warbeck had at last to fly; and the rest of his career belongs to English rather than to Irish history. In 1499 he was hanged at Tyburn, with John Walter, mayor of Cork, his chief supporter in that city.[a]

THE GERALDINE SUPREMACY

Henry VII now took the extraordinary step of appointing Garrett Fitzgerald, earl of Kildare, lord deputy. This man, known as the "great earl," had been a foremost figure in Ireland ever since he succeeded to the earldom in 1477. He had been an ardent Yorkist and as such had espoused the cause of both the pretenders, Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck. During Poynings' lord-lieutenancy he had been attainted for high treason by the Irish parliament, and now lay a prisoner in the Tower. Nevertheless Henry determined to name him lord deputy.[a] A whole crowd of enemies came forward to accuse him. He was charged with burning the church of Cashel, to which he replied that it was true enough, but that he would not have done so only he thought the archbishop was in it. The archbishop himself was present listening, and this reply was so unexpectedly plain and blunt that the king burst out laughing.

The king advised him to have the aid of counsel, saying that he might have any one he pleased: to which the earl answered that he would have the best counsel in England, namely, the king himself; at which his majesty laughed as heartily as before. At last when one of his accusers (the bishop of Meath) exclaimed with great vehemence, "All Ireland cannot rule this man!" the king ended the matter by replying, "Then if all Ireland cannot rule him, he shall rule all Ireland!"

Thus the "great earl" triumphed; and the king restored him, and made him lord deputy of Ireland (1496).[a]

Hence arose the Geraldine supremacy, which, with some interruptions, lasted till 1534. So utterly perverted during this period was the government to the private purposes of the Geraldines that in consequence of a personal feud between the earl of Kildare and his son-in-law, MacWilliam of Clanricard, the royal banner was carried at the battle of Knock-Tow; in which

hand to victory (*laidir*, pron. lauder, strong). The Kildare Fitzgeralds took as their cry *Crom abu*, from the great Geraldine castle of Crom or Croom in Limerick; the earl of Desmond *Shanit abu*, from the castle of Shanid in Limerick. Most of the other chiefs, both native and Anglo-Irish, had their several cries.

[Ca. 1509 A.D.]

the De Burghs, the O'Briens, MacNamaras, O'Carrolls, and other southern chiefs were defeated by the combined forces of the Pale and the O'Reillys, MacMahons, O'Farrells, O'Donells, and other northern chiefs. The Geraldines, though brave and enterprising, courteous and generous, and possessing all the qualities which insure personal popularity, were totally devoid of any of the qualities requisite for the character of a statesman, and had no higher views than the maintenance of their position as chiefs of the most powerful Irish clan.

THE STATE OF IRELAND AT HENRY VIII'S SUCCESSION

To what condition was Ireland reduced by the first three centuries and a half of English rule? We shall not ourselves attempt to describe it, nor refer to any Irish author. The tale is told in the great document which stands first in the Irish State Papers of the reign of Henry VIII, "The State of Ireland, and the Plan of its Reformation."

"Who list make surmise unto the King for the reformation of his Land of Ireland, it is necessary to show him the estate of all the noble folks of the same, as well as of the King's subjects and English rebels, as of Irish enemies. And first of all to make His Grace understand that there were more than sixty counties, called Regions, in Ireland, inhabited with the King's Irish enemies; some regions as big as a shire, some more, some less, unto a little; some as big as half a shire, and some a little less; where reigneth more than sixty chief captains, whereof some calleth themselves King's, some King's peers in their language, some Princes, some Dukes, some Archdukes, that liveth only by the sword, and obeyeth unto no other temporal person, but only to himself that is strong; and every of the said captains maketh war and peace for himself, and holdeth by the sword, and hath imperial jurisdiction within his room, and obeyeth to no other person, English or Irish, except only to such persons as may subdue him by the sword—also the son of any of the said captains shall not succeed to his father without he be the strongest of all his nation; for there shall be none chief captain in any of the said regions by lawful succession, but by fort mayne and election; and he that hath strongest army and hardiest sword among them, hath best right and title; and by reason thereof there be but few of the regions that be in peace within themself, but commonly rebelleth against their chief captain. Also in every of the said regions there be diverse petty captains, and every of them maketh war and peace for himself, without licence of the chief captain.

"Also, there be thirty great captains of the English folk, that followeth the same Irish order and keepeth the same rule, and every of them maketh war and peace for himself without any licence of the King or of any other temporal person, save to him that is strongest, and of such that may subdue them with the sword. Here followeth the names of the counties that obey not the King's laws, and have neither justice, neither sheriff under the King, the county of Waterford, the county of Cork, the county of Kilkenny, the county of Limerick, the county of Kerry, the county of Connaught, the county of Ulster, the county of Carlow, half the county of Urvel, half the county of Meath, half the county of Dublin, half the county of Kildare, half the county of Wexford. All English folks of the s[d] counties be of Irish habits, of Irish language, and of Irish conditions, except the cities and the walled towns. Also, all the English folk of the said counties for the more party would be right glad to obey the King's laws, if they might be defended by the King of the Irish enemies; and because they defend them not, and the King's deputy may not defend them, therefore they are all turned from the obeisance of

the King's laws, and liveth by the sword after the manner of the Irish enemies; and though that many of them obey the King's deputy, when it pleaseth them yet there is none of them all, that obeyeth the King's laws. Also, there is no folk daily subject to the King's laws, but half the county Uryel, half the county of Meath, half the county of Dublin, half the county of Kildare; and there be as many Justices of the King's Bench, and of the Common Pleas, and as many Barons of the Exchequer, and as many officers, ministers, and clerks in every of the said counties as ever there was, when all the land for the most part was subject to the laws.

"Wherefore the said subjects be so grievously vexed daily with the said Courts, that they be glad to sell their freeholds forever, rather than to suffer always the exactions of the said Courts, like as the freeholders of the marches, where the King's laws be not obeyed, be so vexed with extortion, that they be glad in likewise to sell their lands and freeholds to such persons, that compelleth them, by means of extortion, to make alienation thereof, rather than always to bear and be under the said extortion.

"And so, what with the extortion of coygne and livery daily, and with the wrongful exaction of hosting money of carriage and cartage daily, and which with the King's great subsidy yearly, and with the said tribute and black rent to the King's Irish enemies, and other infinite extortion and daily exactions, all the English folk of the counties of Dublin, Kildare, Meath, and Uryel, be more oppressed than any other folk of this land, English or Irish, and of worse condition be they at this side than in the marches.

"The Pandar showeth in the first chapter of his book, called *Salus Populi*,[1] that the holy woman Brigitta used to enquire of her good angel many questions of secret divine, and among all other, she enquired of what Christian land was the most souls damned? The angel showed her a land in the west part of the world. She enquired the cause why? The angel said for there the Christian folk dieth most out of charity; she enquired the cause why? The angel said, for there is most continual war, root of hate and envy, and of vices contrary to charity; and without charity the souls cannot be saved. And the angel did show to her the lapse of the souls of Christian folk of that land, how they fell down into hell as thick as any hail shower. And pity thereof moved Pandar to consign his said book, as in the said chapter plainly doth appear, for after his opinion this is the land the angel understood; for there is no land in the world of so long continued war within himself, ne of so great shedding of Christian blood, ne of so great robbing, spoiling, praying, and burning, ne of so great wrongful extortion continually as Ireland. Wherefore it cannot be denied that the angel did understand the land of Ireland.

"What might the King do more than he has done? He did conquer all the land unto little, and did inhabit the same with English folk, subject to his laws, after the manner of England, and so the land did continue and prosper 100 years and more; and since the land hath grown and increased near hand 200 years in rebellion against the king and his laws. Many folk doth enquire the cause why that the Irish folk be grown so strong, and the King's subjects so feeble, and fallen in so great rebellion for the more part.

"What pity is it to hear, what ruth is it to report, there is no tongue that can tell, no pen that can write. It passeth for the orators, and the Muses, all to show all the order of the noble folk, and how cruel they enterith the poor common people, what danger is to the king anent God, to suffer the land

[1 Panderus was an Irish author of whom almost nothing is known save that he was the author of the book, *De Salute Populi*, and flourished in the last quarter of the fifteenth and first quarter of the sixteenth centuries.]

[ca. 1509 A.D.]

whereof he bear the charge, and the care temporal under God, under the see Apostolical, to be of said misorder, so long without remedy; it were more honour and worship to surrender his claim thereto, and to make no longer persecution thereof, than to suffer his poor subjects always to be so suppressed, and all the noble folk of the land to be at war within themselves, in shedding of Christian blood always without remedy. The herde must render account of his folk and the king for his.

"Some sayeth that the prelates of the Church and clergy is much cause of all the misorder of the land; for there is no arch-bishop, ne bishop, abbot, ne prior, parson, ne vicar, ne any other person of the Church, high or low, great or small, English or Irish, that useth to preach the word of God, saving the poor friars beggars; and where the word of God do cease, there can be no grace, and without the special [grace] of God the land may never be reformed; and by the teaching and preaching of prelates of the Church, and by prayer or orison of the devout persons in the same, God useth always to grant his abundant grace; ergo the Church not using the premises is much cause of all the said misorder of this land."

Such was the condition of Ireland after more than three centuries of English so-called government.

In the twelfth century the Irish Celts were in a state of political disorganisation, but they still had a feeling of nationality, and had the form at least of a national monarchy; and justice, criminal and civil, was administered among them according to a definite code of law.

At the commencement of the sixteenth century there remained no tradition of national unity, no trace of an organisation by which they could be united into one people; the separate tribes had been disorganised by civil wars, and the original tribesmen were supplanted and oppressed by the mercenary followers of the several rivals for the chieftaincies. The Celtic population had found the rule of England scarcely less injurious to them than the invasions of the Danes. The Anglo-Normans, thwarted in their first attempts at colonisation by the watchful jealousy of England, had been since subjected to constant injustice and oppression, and in a relapse to a lower political and social state sought for personal security and freedom and an escape from the exactions of an inefficient and corrupt executive.

Every trace of English government, save the miseries which it had caused, had passed away from Ireland. The English king had no force in Ireland, nor any ally, save the hereditary enemies of the house of Kildare. The English conquest was confessedly a failure. The Anglo-Norman colony had disappeared or been absorbed in the Celtic population. If the king of England were any longer to be lord of Ireland, the conquest of the island must be commenced again. The Irish question rose before English statesmen, Was England to hold Ireland, and if so, how? Long the Tudor princes shrunk from looking this difficulty in the face; they temporised, vacillated, and sought some middle course, some compromise. But the Irish question became at length (amid the complications of the sixteenth century) the question of English politics. England found that she must either conquer Ireland, or herself succumb in the struggle.[f]

THE REVOLT OF LORD THOMAS FITZGERALD

When Henry VIII ascended the throne, the exercise of the royal authority in Ireland was circumscribed within the very narrow limits known as the English Pale, comprising only the principal seaports, with one-half of the

five counties of Louth, Westmeath, Dublin, Kildare, and Wexford; the rest of the island was unequally divided among sixty chieftains of Irish, and thirty of English origin, who governed the inhabitants of their respective domains, and made war upon each other as freely and as recklessly as if they had been independent sovereigns. To Wolsey it appeared that one great cause of the decay of the English power was the jealousy and the dissension between the two rival families of the Fitzgeralds (Geraldines) and the Butlers, under their respective chiefs, the earls of Kildare and of Ormonde or Ossory. That he might extinguish or repress these hereditary feuds, he determined to intrust the government to the more impartial sway of an English nobleman, and Garrett Fitzgerald, the young earl of Kildare, son of the "great earl," who had succeeded his father, was removed from the office of lord deputy (1520), to make place for Thomas Howard, the earl of Surrey, afterwards duke of Norfolk.

During two years the English governor overawed the turbulence of the Irish lords by the vigour of his administration, and won the esteem of the natives by his hospitality and munificence. But when Henry declared war against France (1522), Surrey was recalled to take command of the army; and the government of Ireland was conferred on Butler, earl of Ormonde. Ormonde was soon compelled to resign it to Kildare; Kildare transmitted it to Sir William Skeffington, an English knight, deputy to the duke of Richmond; and Skeffington, after a short interval, replaced it in the hands of his immediate predecessor. Thus Kildare saw himself for the third time invested with the chief authority in the island, but no longer awed by the frowns of Wolsey, who had fallen into disgrace, he indulged in such acts of extravagance that his very friends attributed them to occasional derangement of intellect.

The complaints of the Butlers induced Henry to call the deputy to London (1534), and to confine him in the Tower. At his departure the reins of government dropped into the hands of his son, Lord Thomas Fitzgerald, known as "Silken Thomas," a young man in his twenty-first year, generous, violent, and brave. His credulity was deceived by a false report that his father had been beheaded, and his resentment urged him to the fatal resolution of bidding defiance to his sovereign. At the head of one hundred and forty followers he presented himself before the council on June 11th, 1534, resigned the sword of state, the emblem of his authority, and in a loud tone declared war against Henry VIII, king of England.

Cromer, archbishop of Armagh, seizing him by the hand, most earnestly besought him not to plunge himself and his family into irremediable ruin; but the voice of the prelate was drowned in the strains of an Irish minstrel who in his native tongue called on the hero to revenge the blood of his father; and the precipitate youth, unfurling the standard of rebellion, commenced his career with laying waste the rich district of Fingal.

A gleam of success cast a temporary lustre on his arms; and his revenge was gratified with the punishment of the supposed accuser of his father, Allen, archbishop of Dublin, who was surprised and put to death by the Geraldines.[1] He now sent an agent to the emperor, Charles V, to demand assistance against the man who by divorcing Catherine had insulted the honour of the imperial family, and wrote to the pope, offering to protect with his sword the interests

[1] Lord Thomas was apparently not directly responsible for his death. The archbishop was captured by Fitzgerald's followers, but upon throwing himself on the young man's mercy received a pardon, which was not, however, respected by some Geraldine partisans, who murdered him in cold blood and pretended to have Fitzgerald's warrant for it. The crime brought a sentence of excommunication against Lord Thomas and his followers.]

of the church against an apostate prince, and to hold the crown of Ireland of the Holy See by the payment of a yearly tribute. But fortune quickly deserted him. He was repulsed from the walls of Dublin Castle, although he secured entrance to the city; Skeffington, again appointed lord deputy, opposed to his undisciplined followers a numerous body of veterans; his own strong castle of Maynooth was carried by assault, and Lord Leonard Grey hunted the ill-fated insurgent into the fastnesses of Munster. Here by the advice of his friends he offered to submit; but his simplicity was no match for the subtlety of his opponent; he suffered himself to be deceived by assurances of pardon, dismissed his adherents, accompanied Grey to Dublin (August 20th, 1535), and thence sailed to England, that he might throw himself at the feet of his sovereign.[1]

Henry was at a loss in what manner to receive him. Could it be to his honour to allow a subject to live who had taken up arms against him? But then, was it for his interest to teach the Irish that no faith was to be put in the promises of his lieutenants? He, therefore, committed young Fitzgerald to the Tower; soon afterwards Grey, who had succeeded Skeffington as lord deputy, perfidiously apprehended the five uncles of the captive at a banquet; and the year following all six, though it is said that three had never joined in the rebellion, were beheaded (February 3rd, 1537) in consequence of an act of attainder passed by the English parliament.[2]

Fitzgerald's father, the earl of Kildare, had already died of a broken heart, and the last hopes of the family centred in Gerald, the brother of Thomas, a boy about twelve years old. By the contrivance of his aunt he was conveyed beyond the reach of Henry, and intrusted to the fidelity of two native chieftains, O'Neill and O'Donnell. Two years later he had the good fortune to escape to the Continent, but was followed by the vengeance of King Henry, who demanded him of the king of France, and afterwards of the governor of Flanders, in virtue of preceding treaties. Expelled from Flanders, he was, at the recommendation of the pope, Paul III, taken under the protection of the prince bishop of Liège, and afterwards into the family of his kinsman, Cardinal Pole, who watched over his education and provided for his support till at length he recovered the honours and the estates of his ancestors, the former earls of Kildare.

Henry's innovations in religion were viewed with equal abhorrence by the indigenous Irish and the descendants of the English colonists. Fitzgerald, aware of this circumstance, had proclaimed himself the champion of the ancient faith; and after the imprisonment of Fitzgerald, his place was supplied by Cromer, archbishop of Armagh. On the other hand, the cause of the king was supported by a more courtly prelate, Brown, who, from the office of provincial of the Augustinian friars in England, had been raised to the archiepiscopal see of Dublin, in reward for his subserviency to the politics of Cromwell. But Henry determined to enforce submission.

A parliament was summoned by Lord Grey, who had succeeded Skeffington, and to elude the opposition of the clergy their proctors, who had hitherto voted in the Irish parliaments, were by a declaratory act pronounced

[1] Skeffington, indeed, says that he had surrendered "without condition." But that he was prevailed upon to do so by assurances of pardon is plain from the letters of the Irish council and of Norfolk, and the answer of Henry, "if he had beene apprended after suche sorte as was convenable to his deservyngs, the same had beene much more thankfull, and better to our contentacion."

[2] A letter of Fitzgerald from the Tower states his miserable condition, and that he must have gone naked, "but that pore prysoners of ther gentylnes hathe sumtyme gevyn me old hosyn, and shoys, and old shyrtes."

to be nothing more than assistants, whose advice might be received, but whose assent was not required. The statutes which were now passed were copied from the proceedings in England. The papal authority was abolished; Henry was declared head of the Irish church; and the first-fruits of all ecclesiastical livings were given to the king.

But ignorance of the recent occurrences in the sister island gave occasion to a most singular blunder. One day the parliament confirmed the marriage of the king with Anne Boleyn; and the next, in consequence of the arrival of a courier, declared it to have been invalid from the beginning. It was, however, more easy to procure the enactment of these statutes, than to enforce their execution. The two races combined in defence of their common faith; and repeated insurrections exercised the patience of the deputy, till his brilliant victory at Bellahoe broke the power of O'Neill, the northern chieftain, and confirmed the ascendency of the royal cause.

This was the last service performed by Lord Grey. He was uncle by his sister to the young Gerald Fitzgerald, and therefore suspected of having connived at his escape. This, with numerous other charges from his enemies, was laid before the king; and he solicited permission to return, and plead his cause in the presence of his sovereign. The petition was granted; but the unfortunate deputy soon found himself a prisoner in the Tower, and was afterwards arraigned under the charge of treason for having aided and abetted the king's rebels. Oppressed by fear, or induced by the hope of mercy, he pleaded guilty; and his head was struck off by the command of the thankless sovereign whom he had so often and so usefully served.

After the departure of Grey, successive but partial insurrections broke out in the island. They speedily subsided of themselves; and the new deputy, Sir Anthony St. Leger, found both the Irish chieftains and the lords of the Pale anxious to outstrip each other in professions of obedience to his authority. A parliament was assembled; Ireland from a lordship was raised to the higher rank of a kingdom; Henry was declared head of the church, regulations were made for the administration of justice in Connaught and Munster; and commissioners were appointed with power to hear and determine all causes which might be brought before them from the other provinces. The peerage of the new kingdom was sought and obtained, not only by the lords who had hitherto acknowledged the authority of the English crown, but even by the most powerful of the chieftains, who, though nominally vassals, had maintained a real independence; by Ulliac de Burgh, now created earl of Clanricard; by Murrough O'Brien, made earl of Thomond; and by the redoubted O'Neill, henceforth known by his new title of earl of Tyrone. These, with the chief of their kindred, swore fealty, consented to hold their lands by the tenure of military service, and accepted from their sovereign houses in Dublin for their accommodation, as often as they should attend their duty in parliament. Never, since the first invasion of the island by Henry II, did the English ascendency in Ireland appear to rest on so firm a basis as during the last years of Henry VIII.[c]

THE IRISH CHURCH

The reign in which Protestantism and Ultramontanism began their still unfinished struggle in Ireland is a fit place to notice the chief points in Irish church history. Less than two years before Strongbow's arrival Pope Eugenius had established an ecclesiastical constitution in Ireland depending on Rome, but the annexation was very imperfectly carried out, and the hope of

fully asserting the Petrine claims was a main cause of Adrian's gift to Henry II. Hitherto the Scandinavian section of the church in Ireland had been most decidedly inclined to receive the hierarchical and diocesan as distinguished from the monastic and quasi-tribal system. The bishops or abbots of Dublin derived their succession from Canterbury from 1038 to 1162, and the bishops of Waterford and Limerick also sought consecration there. But both Celt and Northman acknowledged the polity of Eugenius, and it was chiefly



ABBEY OF MOYNE, IRELAND

in the matters of tithe, Peter's pence, canonical degrees, and the observance of festivals that Rome had still victories to gain.

Between churchmen of Irish and English race there was bitter rivalry; but the theory that the ancient Patrician church remained independent, and as it were Protestant, while the English colony submitted to the Vatican, is a mere controversial figment. The crown was weak and papal aggression made rapid progress. It was in the Irish church, about the middle of the thirteenth century, that the system of giving jurisdiction to the bishops *in temporalibus* was adopted by Innocent IV. The vigour of Edward I obtained a renunciation in particular cases, but the practice continued unabated. The system of provisions was soon introduced at the expense of free election, and was acknowledged by the Statute of Kilkenny. In the more remote districts it must have been almost a matter of necessity.

Many Irish parishes grew out of primitive monasteries, but other early settlements remained monastic, and were compelled by the popes to adopt the rule of authorised orders, generally that of the Augustinian canons. That order became much the most numerous in Ireland, having not less than three hundred houses. Of other sedentary orders the Cistercians were the most important and the mendicants were very numerous. Both Celtic chiefs and Norman nobles founded convents after Henry II's time, but the latter being wealthier were most distinguished in this way. Religious houses were useful as abodes of peace in a turbulent country, and the lands attached were better cultivated than those of lay proprietors.

Ample evidence exists that the Irish church was full of abuses before the movement under Henry VIII. In Dublin strange things happened: thus the archiepiscopal crozier was in pawn for eighty years from 1449. The morals of the clergy were no better than in other countries, and we have evi-

dence of many scandalous irregularities. Where his hand reached Henry had little difficulty in suppressing the monasteries or taking their lands, which Irish chiefs swallowed as greedily as men of English blood. But the friars, though pretty generally turned out of doors, were themselves beyond Henry's power, and continued to preach everywhere among the people. Their devotion and energy may be freely admitted; but the mendicant orders, especially the Carmelites, were not uniformly distinguished for morality.

The Jesuits, placed by Paul III under the protection of Con O'Neill, "prince of the Irish of Ulster," came to Ireland towards the end of Henry's reign, and helped to keep alive the Roman tradition. It is not surprising that Anglicanism—the gospel light that dawned from Boleyn's eyes—recommended by such prelates as Browne and Bale, should have been regarded as a symbol of conquest and intrusion. *The Four Masters* thus describe the Reformation: "A heresy and new error arising in England, through pride, vain glory, avarice, and lust, and through many strange sciences, so that the men of England went into opposition to the pope and to Rome." The destruction of relics and images and the establishment of a schismatic hierarchy is thus recorded: "Though great was the persecution of the Roman emperors against the church, scarcely had there ever come so great a persecution from Rome as this." Such was Roman Catholic opinion in Ireland in the sixteenth century.

EDWARD VI AND THE REFORMATION IN IRELAND

The able opportunist Sir Anthony St. Leger, who was accused by one party of opposing the Reformation and by the other of lampooning the real presence, continued to rule during the early days of the protectorate. To him succeeded Sir Edward Bellingham, a Puritan soldier whose hand was heavy on all who disobeyed his dear young master, as he affectionately called the king. He bridled Connaught by a castle at Athlone, and Munster by a garrison at Leighlin Bridge. The O'Mores and O'Connors were brought low, and forts erected where Maryborough and Philipstown now stand. Both chiefs and nobles were forced to respect the king's representative, but Bellingham was not wont to flatter those in power, and his administration found little favour in England. Sir F. Bryan, Henry VIII's favourite, succeeded him, and on his death St. Leger was again appointed. Neither St. Leger nor his successor Crofts could do anything with Ulster, where the papal primate Wauchop, a Scot by birth, stirred up rebellion among the natives and among the Hebridean invaders. But little was done under Edward VI to advance the power of the crown, and that little was done by Bellingham.

The English government long hesitated about the official establishment of Protestantism, and the royal order to that effect was withheld until 1551. Copies of the new liturgy were sent over, and St. Leger had the communion service translated into Latin, for the use of priests and others who could read, but not in English. The popular feeling was strong against innovation, as Staples, bishop of Meath, found to his cost. The opinions of Staples, like those of Cranmer, advanced gradually, until at last he went to Dublin and preached boldly against the mass. He saw men shrink from him on all sides. "My lord," said a beneficed priest, whom he had himself promoted, and who wept as he spoke, "before ye went last to Dublin ye were the best-beloved man in your diocese that ever came in it, now ye are the worst beloved. Ye have preached against the sacrament of the altar and the saints, and will make us

worse than Jews. The country folk would eat you. Ye have more curses than ye have hairs of your head, and I advise you for Christ's sake not to preach at the Navan." Staples answered that preaching was his duty, and that he would not fail; but he feared for his life.

On the same prelate fell the task of conducting a public controversy with Primate Dowdall, which, of course, ended in the conversion of neither. Dowdall fled; his see was treated as vacant, and Cranmer cast about for a Protestant to fill St. Patrick's chair. His first nominee, Dr. Turner, resolutely declined the honour, declaring that he would be unintelligible to the people; and Cranmer could only answer that English was spoken in Ireland, though he did, indeed, doubt whether it was spoken in the diocese of Armagh. John Bale, a man of great learning and ability, became bishop of Ossory. There is no reason to doubt his sincerity, but he was coarse and intemperate—Mr. Froude roundly calls him a foul-mouthed ruffian—without the wisdom of the serpent or the harmlessness of the dove. His choice rhetoric stigmatised the dean of St. Patrick's as ass-headed, a blockhead who cared only for his kitchen and his belly. Archbishop Browne was gluttonous and a great epicure. If Staples was generally hated, what feelings must Bale have excited?[b]

THE IRISH POLICY OF QUEEN MARY

Though Mary, as a Catholic, was desirous to reunite the church to the Catholic church of the Continent, to restore the ancient dogmas and ritual, as a Tudor she was unwilling to resign any prerogative of the crown, or to restore any property within her grasp. With the exception of the papal supremacy, which she rather admitted in theory than submitted to in practice, her church policy was substantially the same as that of her father. The queen professed to be most zealous on behalf of the Catholic church. How far was the spirit of her instructions actually carried out? The mass was restored by Sir Anthony St. Leger under an order in council, and the reformed bishops expelled from their sees. But beyond this, the queen had no intention of surrendering any power or title, or of restoring any of the confiscated property of the church.

The letter from the English privy council announcing her accession describes her as "Queen of England, France, *and Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, and *on earth the supreme head of the churches of England and Ireland*." As such supreme head she appointed the new bishops; she reinstated as primate Dowdall, who had been appointed by Henry VIII, and had never obtained any bull of confirmation from the holy see, instead of Wauchop, who had been appointed by the pope to that office. The papal power of appointing by proviso was not admitted by her government. In the matter of the former property of the church, she granted it away as freely as her father or brother. Although the mass had been restored, all the acts of Henry VIII remained upon the statute book, nor was it until 1556 that parliament was required to assist in the restoration of the Catholic church. In 1555 a bull was enrolled in chancery, dated June 7th, 1555, whereby the pope absolved the king and queen from all excommunications and ecclesiastical censures and erected Ireland into a kingdom. A subsequent bull was obtained from the pope, Paul IV, to legalise the course of legislation intended to be taken with regard to the church property.

The crown, established in its possession of the estates of the monasteries, continued to make grants of them down to the end of the reign. No attempt whatsoever was made to unite the English and Irish inhabitants upon the basis of a common religious confession; the bishops under Mary were as

willing as their predecessors, under Henry VIII, to employ the powers of the church against the wild Irish.

Except the temporary establishment of the Roman ritual, the Catholic church was in no degree benefited by the accession of Mary: none of the evils which had paralyzed the action of the church before the break with Rome were remedied; none of the wounds inflicted upon that church during the reigns of Henry and Edward were cured; no attempt was made to restore the monasteries, or to re-establish and strengthen the parochial secular clergy, or to enable the church to act as an organised living body, or to unite the English and the natives in one national church: on the contrary, the confiscation of church properties was confirmed, and the undisposed-of residue of them leased out or granted away; the bishops were appointed in most instances by the crown, as in the time of Henry VIII; the contempt of high English ecclesiastics for the mere Irish was exhibited as before. When Mary died the Catholic church was a mere shadow of its former self, with its monastic element totally destroyed, and the independence of its secular members, or of such of them as still existed, crushed out. Upon the accession of Elizabeth, as an institution, it retained no elements of resistance.

The history of the reign of Mary contradicts the theory that in the sixteenth century religious differences had any connection with the conduct of the native Irish or of the English government. The accession of Mary was attended with an outbreak of some of the native chiefs who, if they believed that the hand of a Catholic sovereign would be lighter than that of Henry VIII, were soon disappointed. Catholic sovereigns thought it was necessary to enforce order in Ireland by the strong hand, as Protestant sovereigns had done before them; Catholic deputies thought themselves justified in burning villages, raiding upon native tribes, and shooting down rebels, as much as Protestant deputies had done.

The government fell back during this reign into the feeble, yet violent measures of former days. The lord-deputies neither, as St. Leger, conciliated, nor, as Bellingham, for a time at least, over-awed the native chiefs. The lord-deputy (the earl of Sussex) returned to the old system of ineffectual and exasperating raiding. Expeditions of this description were enough to undo the web of policy which Sir Anthony St. Leger had woven for years. These expeditions are always represented in official documents in the most favourable light. What the English soldiers thought of such operations may be imagined from the following passage found in the *Harleian Miscellany*:[1] "The deputy, according to his commission, marched into the north. But, alas, he neither found France to travel in, nor Frenchmen to fight withal. There were no glorious towns to load the soldiers home with spoils, nor pleasant vineyards to refresh them with wine. Here were no plentiful markets to supply the salary of the army if they wanted, or stood in need; here were no cities of refuge, nor places of garrison to retire into in the times of danger and extremity of weather; here were no musters ordered, nor lieutenants of shires to raise new armies; here was no supplement of men or provisions, especially of Irish against Irish; nor any one promise kept according to his expectation; here were in plain terms bogs and woods to lie in, fogs and mists to trouble you, grass and fern to welcome your horses and corrupt and putrefy your bodies; here was killing of kine and eating fresh beef, to breed diseases; here was oats without bread, and fire without wood; here were smoky cabins and nasty holes; here were bogs on the tops of mountains, and few passages, but over marshes or through strange places; here was retiring into fastnesses and glens, and no fighting, but when they pleased themselves; here was ground

[1556 A.D.]

enough to bury your people in being dead, but no place to please them while alive; here you might spend what you brought with you, but be assured there was no hopes of relief; here was room for all your losses, but scarce a castle to receive your spoil and treasure. To conclude: here was all glory and virtue buried in obscurity and oblivion, and not so much as a glimmering hope that how valiantly soever a man demeaned himself it should be registered or remembered."

THE PLANTATIONS IN LEIX AND OFFALY

But if the English were weary of the tedious policy of conciliation, and raidings and plunderings did not promise to lead to a conquest of the island, there was yet a third course which might be adopted—the confiscation of the Irish districts, and their plantation by English colonists. Such a scheme, the fruitful cause of misery to Ireland ever since, was for the first time adopted by the government of Queen Mary. No Irish tribe had been the cause of such constant annoyance to the English government as the O'Connors. They, with the O'Mores, occupied the districts of Leix and Offaly in the present King's and Queen's counties. The territory they occupied was theoretically a portion of the estate of the earls of Kildare. It menaced the Pale on the southwest, and on one side threatened the communications between Dublin and Kilkenny, as did the Wicklow mountaineers on the other.[f]

The O'Connors had been concerned in the revolt of Lord Thomas Fitzgerald in 1534. Much of the O'Connor and O'More property was granted by the crown as a portion of the forfeited estates of the Geraldines, and their hostility to the English became more irreconcilable. Two English garrisons were planted in Leix and Offaly in the reign of Edward, and fighting was kept up without cessation. On Mary's accession the O'Mores expelled all the English from their territories.[a]

The queen might have remembered that the origin of the misfortunes of the O'Connors had been their supporting a rebellion which was in favour of the Catholic church, or at least professed to be so, and following as allies or vassals the head of the great Geraldine house. The queen pursued the previous English policy as to the O'Connors; but the contest was no longer to be between the natives and the royal patentees—the entire district was to be taken into the hands of the crown, to be made shire land; tribe rights, Celtic laws, language, and manners were to disappear, and the districts were to form the first English settlement or plantation.

The government intended, in the case of Leix and Offaly, to adopt a regular system of colonisation. In December, 1556, orders were given as to the county of Leix, to divide each country between the English and Irish; to appoint for the O'Mores all the country beyond the bog; that the chief of every sept (the Irish) should appoint how many of his sept he would answer for; that they should hold their lands of the fort, and should answer the laws of the realm as the English do; that the freeholders should cause their children to learn to speak English; that they should keep open the fords, destroy the fastnesses, and cut the passes; that none of them should marry or foster with any but such as should be of English blood, without licence of the deputy under his handwriting, under pain of forfeiture of his estate.

As the country had not been conquered effectually, the result of this project was to introduce into these districts a body of English colonists who had to fight for the lands granted to them, and to maintain them when conquered by the strong hand. The warfare which ensued resembled that waged by the

early settlers in America with the native tribes. No mercy whatever was shown, no act of treachery was considered dishonourable, no personal tortures and indignities were spared to the captives. The atrocities of western border warfare were perpetrated year after year in these districts, and the government in Dublin acquiesced in what was done, and supported their grantees in the properties which the crown had guaranteed them. The merciless struggle went on far into Elizabeth's reign between the natives and the colonists, until the Celtic tribes, decimated and utterly savage, sunk to the level of banditti and ultimately disappeared.[f]

THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH

"The absolute command of Ireland was essential for the safety of Elizabeth; for this purpose she had to satisfy or crush any chief of sufficient importance to intrigue with her continental enemies, and after 1569 to wage a constant war against the religion of the inhabitants of the country." These words of the Irish historian Richey[f] serve well as a key to the history of Ireland during the reign of Elizabeth. As he points out, it was neither a desire to better the condition of the Irish people by the introduction of civilising arts and industries, or the lust of conquest for the sake of conquest and exploitation, that led the English to enter with such vigour on an undertaking that involved such an extraordinary loss of life and property. And the result, although it did, it is true, secure England for the time being from the dangers of foreign attack through Ireland, in the end involved her in further difficulty by arousing the hereditary hostility of a large part of the Irish people.[a]

Sir Henry Sidney was sworn lord-justice upon Elizabeth's succession with the full Catholic ritual. When Sussex superseded him as lord-lieutenant, the litany was chanted in English, both cathedrals having been painted and Scripture texts substituted for "pictures and popish fancies." At the beginning of 1560 a parliament was held which restored the ecclesiastical legislation of Henry and Edward. In two important points the Irish church was made more dependent on the state than in England: *congés d'élire* were abolished and heretics made amenable to royal commissioners or to parliament without reference to any synod or convocation. Elizabeth connived at what she could not prevent, and hardly pretended to enforce uniformity except in the Pale and in the large towns.

THE REVOLT OF SHANE O'NEILL

Ulster demanded the immediate attention of Elizabeth. Her father had conferred the earldom of Tyrone on Con Bacagh O'Neill, with remainder to his supposed son Matthew, the offspring of a smith's wife at Dundalk, who in her husband's lifetime brought the child to Con as his own. When the chief's legitimate son, Shane, grew up he declined to be bound by this arrangement, which the king may have made in partial ignorance of the facts. "Being a gentleman," he said, "my father never refusid no child that any woman namyd to be his." When Tyrone died, Matthew, already created baron of Dungannon, claimed his earldom under the patent. Shane being chosen O'Neill by his tribe, claimed to be the chief by election and earl as Con's lawful son. Thus the English government was committed to the cause of one who was at best an adulterine bastard, while Shane appeared as champion of hereditary right. To secure his position he murdered the baron of Dungannon, whose prowess in the field he had reason to dread, and the eldest of two surviving sons be-

came official candidate for the earldom. Shane maintained a contest which had begun under Mary until 1567, with great ability and a total absence of morality, in which Sussex had no advantage over him. The lord-lieutenant twice tried to have Shane murdered; once he proposed to break his safe-conduct; and he held out hopes of his sister's hand as a snare. Shane was induced to visit London, where his strange appearance and followers caused much amusement, and where he spent his time intriguing with the Spanish ambassador and making himself agreeable to Lord Robert Dudley. The government detained him rather unfairly, and the young baron of Dungannon suffered his father's fate, leaving a brother who at last gained the coveted earldom and became a more dangerous enemy to England than even Shane had been. Sussex was outmatched both in war and diplomacy; the loyal chiefs were crushed one by one, and the English suffered checks of which the moral effect was ruinous. Shane always fully acknowledged Elizabeth as his sovereign, and sometimes played the part of a loyal subject, wreaking his private vengeance under colour of expelling the island Scots from Ulster."

In Sir Henry Sidney, whom the queen sent against him in 1566, Shane found a very different antagonist from the earl of Sussex. The plan adopted for the conquest of Ulster was to restore to their several territories the chiefs expelled by The O'Neill, to assail his rear by establishing a garrison in the north, at Derry, and to support these operations by an invasion from the Pale. The power of O'Neill, founded not upon a voluntary alliance of the Ulster chiefs, but upon their compulsory subjection to the ruling house, was rapidly broken up. Harassed by attacks from every quarter, bewildered by the number of his enemies, O'Neill was unable to offer an effectual resistance. In his final struggle he attempted to rally to himself the Catholic party; but his appeal to the king of France and the cardinals of Lorraine and Guise met with no response; and deserted or assailed by the vassals who had formerly been his strength, he was forced to fight his last battle, not against the Saxon enemy, but against the ancient Celtic antagonists of his race. The battle which decided the fate of The O'Neill was fought near Lifford, between the two royal races of Ulster—the O'Donnell and O'Neill.

Utterly defeated, Shane, as a last refuge, fled to the settlement of the Scotch islanders, whom so shortly before he had assailed, in the hope of finding among them a fresh alliance, or at least a temporary refuge; his fate is thus detailed in a contemporary English account included in the act of attainder subsequently passed upon him: "The 2nd of June, 1567, feeling himself all weakened, and beholding his declination and fall near at hand, [he] avowed and fully determined to come in disguised manner, for fear of intercepting, with a collar about his neck, to the presence of the lord deputy, and to submit himself as a most wretched man, hoping by that order of humility to have found some mercy and grace at your majesty's hands, but he was stayed against his will by such as pretended to be his trustiest friends, and in especial the persuasion of a barbarous clerk, named Neyll MacKever, whom he had in most reputation and used for his secretary, by whose counsel the said rebel was drawn first to try and treat the friendship of the Scots in joining with them for the maintaining of that his traitorous rebellion, which if he might not obtain, then agreed that his first determination was the likeliest way to save his life with the loss of his land and reputation, and thereupon took his journey towards the Scots, who were encamped in Clandeboy to the number of six hundred, under the leading of Alexander Oge, brother to James MacConell and one MacGilly Asspuke, his nephew, son to Agnes Jyle, brother also to the said James, which was slain in the late overthrow given by the said Shane

O'Neill to the Scots, and so entered the tent of the said Alexander, accompanied with O'Donnell's wife, whom he kept, Swarly Boy, brother to the said Alexander, the said secretary, and the number of fifty horsemen, where after a few dissembled gratulatory words used betwixt them, they fell to quaffing and drinking of wine. This Agnes Jyle's son, all inflamed with malice and desire of revenge for the death of his father and uncle, began to administer quarrelling talk to O'Neill, who took the same very hot, and after some reproachful words passed betwixt them, the said Gillasspuke demanded of the secretary whether he had bruited abroad that the lady, his aunt, wife unto James MacConell, did offer to come out of Scotland into Ireland to marry with O'Neill. The secretary affirmed himself to be the author of that report, and said withal, that if his aunt were queen of Scotland, she might well be contented to match herself with O'Neill; the other with that gave him the lie, and said that the lady, his aunt, was a woman of that honesty and reputation as would not take him, that was the betrayer and murderer of her worthy husband. O'Neill, giving ear to the talk, began to maintain his secretary's quarrel, and thereupon Gillasspuke withdrew himself out of the tent and came abroad amongst his men, who forthwith raised a fray, and fell to the killing of O'Neill's men; and the Scots, as people thirsty of O'Neill's blood, for requiting the slaughter of their master and kinsfolk, assembled together in a throng and thrust into the tent where the said O'Neill was, and there with their slaughter swords hewed him to pieces, slew his secretary and all those that were with him, except a very few which escaped by their horses. Alexander Oge, after this bouchery handling of this cruel tyrant, caused his mangled carcass to be carried into an old ruinous church near unto the camp, where, for lack of a better shroud, he was wrapped in a kerne's old shirt, and there miserably interred—a fit end for such a beginning, and a funeral pomp convenient for so great a defacer of God's temples and a withstander of his prince's laws and regal authority. And after being four days in earth was taken up by William Piers; and his head, sundered from his body, was brought unto the said lord deputy to Drogheda, the 21st day of June, 1567, and from thence carried into the city of Dublin, where it was bodied with a stake and standeth on the top of your majesty's castle of Dublin."[f]

Shane the Proud, as his countrymen called him, was perhaps the ablest of Elizabeth's Irish opponents. Alone he bore the brunt of the contest, and he must have cost the English crown a sum altogether out of proportion to his own resources. Shane was cruel and tyrannical, and his moral character was as bad as possible. He had an oriental want of scruple about murdering inconvenient people, and he had no regard for truth. By far the most remarkable Irishman of his time, he cannot be regarded in any sense as a national hero. His ambition was limited to making himself supreme in Ulster.[h]

THE GERALDINE REBELLION

Peace was soon broken by disturbances in the south. The earl of Desmond[1] having shown rebellious tendencies was detained for six years in London. Treated leniently, but grievously pressed for money, he tried to escape, and,

[1 The Anglo-Norman Desmonds had lived long enough in Ireland to imbibe the unfailing humour of the race. It is related that during this period of struggle between the Butlers and the Desmonds the Butlers in a night attack surprised and defeated the earl of Desmond's force. The earl himself was severely wounded and taken prisoner. Borne from the field on a litter carried on the shoulders of four of the Butlers, he was taunted by them on his defeat. "Where is now the great earl of Desmond?" asked one. "Where it is fitting he should be—on the necks of the Butlers," came the instant reply.]

the attempt being judged treasonable, he was persuaded to surrender his estates—to receive them back or not at the queen's discretion. Seizing the opportunity, English adventurers proposed to plant a military colony from the Shannon to Cork harbour. Some who held obsolete title-deeds were encouraged to go to work at once by the example of Sir Peter Carew, who had established his claims in Carlow. Carew's title had been in abeyance for a century and a half, yet most of the Kavanaghs attorned to him. Falling foul of Ormonde's brothers, seizing their property and using great cruelty and violence, Sir Peter drove the Butlers, the only one among the great families really loyal, into rebellion. Ormonde, who was in London, could alone restore peace; all his disputes with Desmond were at once settled in his favour, and he was even allowed to resume the exaction of coyne and livery, the abolition of which had been the darling wish of statesmen. The Butlers returned to their allegiance, but continued to oppose Carew, and great atrocities were committed on both sides. Sir Peter had great but undefined claims in Munster also, and the people there took warning. His imitators in Cork were swept away. Sidney first, and after him Humphrey Gilbert, could only circumscribe the rebellion. The presidency of Munster, an office the creation of which had long been contemplated, was then conferred on Sir John Perrott, who drove Fitzmaurice into the mountains, reduced castles everywhere, and destroyed a Scottish contingent which had come from Ulster to help the rebels. Fitzmaurice came in and knelt in the mud at the president's feet, confessing his sins; but he remained the real victor. The colonising scheme was dropped, and the first presidency of Munster left the Desmonds and their allies in possession.[b]

After the attainder of Shane O'Neill more than half of Ulster was confiscated; and the attempt to clear off the old natives and plant new settlers was commenced without delay. In 1570 the peninsula of Ardes in Down was granted to the queen's secretary, Sir Thomas Smith, who sent his illegitimate son with a colony to take possession. But this plantation was a failure, for the owners, the O'Neills of Clandeboye, not feeling inclined to part with their rights without a struggle, attacked and killed the young undertaker in 1573.

The next undertaker was a more important man, Walter Devereux, earl of Essex.[d] In 1573 he undertook to subdue and colonise with one thousand two hundred men the district of Clanhuboy, in the province of Ulster. By a contract between him and Elizabeth, it was agreed that each should furnish an equal share of the expense; and that the colony should be equally divided between them, as soon as it had been planted with two thousand settlers. Essex was dazzled with the splendid prospect before him; and his enemies at court stimulated him with predictions of success, though they had no other view than to remove him from the presence of the queen. When he had mortgaged his estates, and proceeded in the enterprise till it would be ruinous to retrace his steps, they began to throw impediments in his way. The summer was almost past before he could reach Ireland. There, Fitzwilliams, the lord deputy, objected to his powers; the natives, under Phelim O'Neill, opposed a formidable resistance; and it was discovered that the provisions furnished by the queen were unsound and her troops ill provided with arms. He maintained himself with difficulty during the winter.

In the spring the enterprise was abandoned, and the earl consented to aid the deputy in suppressing the insurgents in different parts of the island. It would be tedious to follow this adventurous nobleman through his remaining career. He proposed plans which were approved and then rejected; he obtained leave to return home, and was sent back to Ireland with the empty title

of earl marshal; and at length (1576), after a succession of disappointments, he died at Dublin of a dysentery, probably caused by anxiety of mind, though by report his death was attributed to poison, supposed to have been administered to him by the procurement of Leicester.

This new plan of colonisation was viewed with horror by the natives both of Irish and of English extraction. In the expulsion of the adherents of O'Neill they saw, or thought they saw, the fate which was reserved for themselves; and many chieftains, either in person or by messengers, implored the aid of the Catholic powers for the preservation of their property and of their religion. The kings of France and Spain were occupied with concerns of more immediate interest; but Gregory XIII, who had succeeded to the chair of St. Peter, lent a willing ear to their complaints and solicitations. In the bull of his predecessor, Ireland had not been named; but the omission was now supplied; and Gregory signed, though he did not publish, a new bull, by which Elizabeth was declared to have forfeited the crown of Ireland no less than that of England.

Among those who offered to carry it into execution were Thomas Stukely and James Fitzmaurice. Stukely was an English adventurer, without honour or conscience, who had sold his services at the same time to the queen and to the pope, and who alternately abused the confidence and betrayed the secrets of each. Having obtained from the pontiff a ship of war, six hundred disciplined soldiers, and three thousand stand of arms, he sailed from Civita Vecchia to join Fitzmaurice at Lisbon; but immediately offered his services to Sebastian, king of Portugal, and perished in the company of that prince at the battle of Alcazar, against Abd-al-Malik, king of Fez and Morocco. Fitzmaurice was an Irishman, the brother of the earl of Desmond, and an inveterate enemy to the English government. He suffered shipwreck on the coast of Gallicia; but with the aid of the papal ambassador procured other vessels, and, sailing from Portugal, took possession of the port of Smerwick, near Kerry. He had brought with him no more than eighty Spanish soldiers, a few Irish and English exiles, and the celebrated Doctor Saunders, in the capacity of papal legate. But he trusted to the popularity of his name, the resources of his family, and the influence of a bull which granted to his followers all the privileges usually enjoyed by the crusaders.

Fitzmaurice's hopes were however disappointed [although he was joined by two of Desmond's brothers]; the Irish, taught by preceding failures, listened with coldness to his solicitations; he fell in a private quarrel with one of his kinsmen; and the invaders, to save themselves from destruction, sought an asylum among the retainers of the earl of Desmond. Though that nobleman made loud professions of loyalty, his conduct provoked suspicion; he was proclaimed a traitor and his dominions were plundered by the English. At the moment when his fortunes appeared desperate, a ray of hope appeared (1580). Lord Grey de Wilton, the new deputy, was defeated in the vale of Glendalough; and San Giuseppe, an Italian officer in the pay of the pontiff, arrived at Smerwick from Portugal, with several hundred men, a large sum of money, and five thousand stand of arms. But the newcomers had scarcely erected a fort [on the site of the old fort of Dunanore], when they were besieged by the lord deputy on land, and blockaded on the sea side by Admiral Winter. San Giuseppe, in opposition to the advice of the officers, proposed to surrender; the soldiers joined in the opinion of their commander, and an offer was made to deliver the place to the besiegers. By the English it has been asserted that no conditions were granted; by the foreigners, that they had capitulated for their lives. Sir Walter Raleigh entered the fort, received their arms, and then ordered or permitted them to be massacred in cold blood.

[1580–1585 A.D.]

The poet Spenser, secretary to Lord Grey, attempts to vindicate the conduct of the deputy, and says "that the enemy begged they might be allowed to depart with their lives and arms, according to the law of nations. He asked to see their commission from the pope or the king of Spain. They had none, they were the allies of the Irish. But the Irish, replied Grey, are traitors, and you must suffer as traitors. I will make no terms with you; you may submit or not. They yielded, craving 'only mercy;' which it being not thought good to show them, for danger of them, if, being saved, they should afterwards join with the Irish; and also for terror to the Irish, who are much emboldened by those foreign succours, and also put in hope of more ere long; there was no other way but to make that short end of them as was made." Sir Richard Bingham, an eye-witness, says, "that they surrendered overnight to the lord-deputy's will, to have mercy or not," and the next morning the mariners and soldiers entered the place, and fell to "ryfling, and spoyling, and withall kylling, which they never ceased whilest there lyved one." He estimates the slain at betwixt four and five hundred, or five and six hundred.

This disastrous event extinguished the last hope of Desmond; yet he contrived to elude the diligence of his pursuers, and for three years dragged on a miserable existence among the glens and forests. At last (1583) a small party of his enemies, attracted by a glimmering light, entered a hut, in which they found the venerable old man, without attendants, lying on the hearth before the fire. He had only time to exclaim "I am the earl of Desmond," when Kelly of Moriarty struck off his head, which was conveyed, a grateful present, to Elizabeth, and by her order fixed on London bridge.[e]

So ended the great Geraldine rebellion. The horrors of the war are impossible to exaggerate. Munster was a desert. *The Four Masters*[g] tell us that "the lowing of a cow or the voice of a ploughman could scarcely be heard from Dunqueen in the west of Kerry to Cashel." How many were slain it is impossible to know, but we have Ormonde's word that his troops killed five thousand in a few months. The poet Edmund Spenser, an eye-witness, says that famine slew more than the sword.

"Ere one year and a half," he tells us in his *View of the State of Ireland*,[j] "they [the natives] were brought to such wretchedness as that any stony heart would have rued the same. Out of every corner of the woods and glens they came creeping forth upon their hands, for their legs could not bear them; they looked like anatomies of death; they spake like ghosts crying out of their graves; they did eat the dead carrions, happy where they could find them; yea, and one another soon after, insomuch as the very carcasses they spared not to scrape out of their graves; and if they found a plot of water-cresses or shamrocks, there they flocked as to a feast for the time; yet not able long to continue therewithal, that in short space there were none almost left, and a most populous and plentiful country suddenly left void of man and beast; yet sure, in all that war, there perished not many by the sword, but all by the extremity of famine, which they themselves had wrought."[a]

In 1584 Sir John Perrott, the ablest man available after Sidney's retirement, became lord-deputy. Sir John Norris, famed in the Netherland wars, was president of Munster, and so impressed the Irish that they averred him to be in league with the devil. Perrott held a parliament in 1585 in which the number of members was considerably increased. He made a strenuous effort to found a university in Dublin, and proposed to endow it with the revenues of St. Patrick's, reasonably arguing that one cathedral was enough for any city. Here he was opposed by Loftus, archbishop of Dublin and chancellor, who had expressed his anxiety for a college, but had no idea of

endowing it at his own expense. The colonisation of the Munster forfeitures was undertaken at this time. It failed chiefly from the grants to individuals, English farmers, who neglected to plant and were often absentees themselves. Raleigh obtained forty-two thousand acres. The quit rents reserved to the crown were less than one penny per acre. Racked with the stone, hated by the official clique, thwarted on all sides, poor Perrott was goaded into using words capable of a treasonable interpretation. Archbishop Loftus pursued him to the end. He died in the Tower under sentence for treason, and we may charitably hope that Elizabeth would have pardoned him. In his will, written after sentence, he emphatically repudiates any treasonable intention —"I deny my Lord God if ever I proposed the same."[b]

HUGH O'NEILL, EARL OF TYRONE

The exasperation of the northern chiefs against the government may be measured by the fact that at length they became willing to forego their traditional feuds and combine against the common enemy. All now that was wanted for an almost national uprising was a leader of ability, and such was found in Hugh O'Neill, earl of Tyrone.

Hugh O'Neill was the second son of Matthew, the first baron of Dungannon, the reputed son of Con O'Neill, the first earl of Tyrone. If the statements as to paternity of Matthew be correct neither he nor his sons were O'Neills at all, and their only connection with the family was the intrigue of Con O'Neill with the mother of Matthew, and the limitation of the earldom of Tyrone to him in remainder after the death of Con. The baron of Dungannon and his sons became the English claimants for the principality of Ulster, and upon every quarrel with the elected chief were put forward by the government as the rightful lords of Tyrone by virtue of the surrender and regrant of these lands to Con O'Neill by Henry VIII. But whenever it seemed more politic to come to terms with the O'Neill *de facto* (and *de jure*, according to Celtic ideas) the claims of this family were disregarded, and the bastardy of the first baron officially admitted.

The first baron was slain by Shane O'Neill in 1558, and his eldest son by Turlough during Shane's visit to London. Hugh, the third Baron Dungannon, was then young, and his claims were disregarded for many years. In the mean time he was educated among the English; brought over to court by Sidney, given a troop of horse in the queen's service, and to all outward appearance had become an Englishman. He served in the English army in the Irish wars, co-operated with Essex in the settlement of Antrim and the Ulster war, and was commended for his zeal and loyalty in the queen's service. In 1584 he was put in possession of the southeastern portion of Tyrone. In 1587 the queen granted to him by patent the earldom of Tyrone without any reservation.[f]

But the favour of the queen's government was soon to be withdrawn. Many things conspired to bring about a rupture. Turlough O'Neill, the leader of a rival sept of the family, made peace with the English, who therefore no longer needed Tyrone's influence to offset his. Another factor was the hostility of the lord marshal, Sir Henry Bagenal, with whose sister the earl had eloped, incurring thereby his everlasting enmity. The English suspected or pretended to suspect O'Neill of treasonable designs. His orders of lead for roofing the buildings on his estate were suspiciously large. His efforts to win the friendship of the most powerful of the disaffected chiefs, as the O'Donnells, to one of whom, Hugh O'Donnell, he gave his daughter in mar-

riage, were considered as evidence of his guilty intent. He was summoned before the council at Dublin, where his replies to all questions were so satisfactory as almost to allay suspicion. He indignantly repudiated any intention of disloyalty, and a series of charges prepared by Bagenal were tabled for the time being. But the English attitude towards Tyrone was no longer that of a friend, and he realised it.[a]

It was now inevitable that the earl of Tyrone, the lion cub whom the English had reared, should go into rebellion. The question here arises, was he, while professing the utmost loyalty to the queen, a crafty traitor all through, as English writers surmise? An attentive study of his life leads to the opposite conclusion. He succeeded in his object, that of regaining possession of Tyrone, and had to accept the consequences of his success. His character confirms this view of his career; in his course of conduct he was essentially not a Celt; he possessed none of the enthusiasm or instability of his nation; he did not exhibit the reckless audacity, self-confidence, vanity, and uncivilised craft of Shane; his composed and polite manners were in contradistinction to the violent and excited expressions of his chiefs. He never committed himself by any hasty or ill-considered step, yet he was able, when the occasion required it, to put his whole fortune at hazard. He was led astray by neither patriotism nor enthusiasm, as his conduct proved repeatedly; he perfectly knew the measure of his power, and, patient, cool, and conciliatory, was admirably adapted to play a losing game; and, when he had lost his stake, he exhibited the very un-Irish quality of appreciating existing facts, and having failed in his attempt to make himself not merely The O'Neill, but the ruler of Ireland, acquiesced in his position, and was willing to make the best of circumstances by sinking back into the position of an English nobleman. He was not a great (but almost a great) man; a most able adventurer, whose reputation has been dwarfed by the small theatre in which he played his part; yet, after every allowance, he was undoubtedly the ablest man whom the Celtic race since the arrival of the English had produced.

THE REVOLT OF O'NEILL

The conduct of Hugh O'Neill towards the other Irish chiefs was very different from that adopted by Shane; he did not attempt to enforce the feudal pretensions of his family, or endeavour to reduce the power of the rival house of O'Donnell; on the contrary, he made himself the head of a confederacy of those who had suffered wrongs at the hands of the English government; he had bound to himself Hugh O'Donnell by a personal friendship, and, although not holding any ostensible office, contrived to exercise a complete command over the Ulster lords and a directing influence over the chiefs who, by his assistance, rose in rebellion in the other provinces. In November, 1594, the entire force which the Ulster chiefs could put in the field was estimated at 15,130 foot and 2,238 horse; but the vast proportion of these were irregular troops, and no large force could be kept together for any length of time.

The entire English regular force in Ireland in 1595, as appears by the muster master's return of that year, was 657 horse and 4,040 foot, which must be reduced by the deficiencies in the companies occasioned by the captains systematically omitting to report losses, and drawing pay for the nominal strength under their command. The levies of the Pale make no figure in the war.

On the 28th of June, 1595, a proclamation was issued against O'Neill and the confederates, in which the earl was reproached with the bastardy of his father, whose legitimacy the English government had maintained during the

lifetime of Shane O'Neill. On the 18th of June, the deputy and Sir J. Norris invaded Ulster in force, upon whose advance the earl determined neither to be drawn into an action nor to waste his forces in defending unnecessary forts; he destroyed his castle of Dungannon, and confined himself to continual skirmishing with the enemy. The army returned to Dundalk without having effected anything. [The prosecution of the war in Munster was placed absolutely in Norris' hands, and Sir Richard Bingham was put in command in Connaught, where his extreme severity soon drove all the chiefs in the province into open rebellion.]

The queen, being disgusted with the course the war was taking, was now anxious to open negotiations, and O'Neill was anxious to arrange matters on reasonable terms, or if that could not be done, to waste as much time as possible. The object of the government was to induce the various chiefs to negotiate separately, and thus, if possible, to break up the confederacy; but, on the other hand, O'Neill was resolved that the confederates should be represented by himself alone, and all should be included in the one arrangement. Practically the earl carried his point, for all the demands were evidently drawn up by preconcerted arrangement.

As the queen suspected, O'Neill was in communication with Spain. On the 17th of September, 1595, he had written that their only hope of re-establishing the Catholic religion lay with him; now or never the church should be succoured. He declared that with the aid of three thousand soldiers the faith might be established within one year in Ireland, the heretics would disappear, and no other sovereign would be recognised save the king Catholic.

Both the queen and O'Neill overrated the power of Spain to interfere in Ireland. The former greatness of Spain, the possession of the Indies, its fabulous wealth, and ardent Catholicity, still blinded men as to its loss of all real power and energy. They did not yet understand that this great empire was in a state of insolvency; and that even if able to lend assistance to the insurgents, it had the Low Countries and the French war on its hands, and had never postponed secular advantages to the interest of the faith.

An armistice having been arranged on the 13th of January, 1596, two commissioners on the part of the government left Dublin to confer with O'Neill. As the negotiations proceeded, O'Neill and O'Donnell assumed the position of protectors of all insurgents against the queen. The English government, perplexed and exasperated, discovered that Irish affairs were entering into a new phase, and a national league was being formed which would require the utmost strength of England to subdue.[f]

In January, 1597, Bingham was removed from the Connaught command, and Sir Conyers Clifford, an able and humane man, set in his place. Lord Thomas Borough, appointed lord-deputy in 1597, planned an attack on the confederated chiefs in three divisions. The first division, led by Lord Borough himself, succeeded in capturing and garrisoning Portmore, but sustained a defeat at Drumflugh on the Blackwater at O'Neill's hands, the lord-deputy receiving wounds from which he died soon after. The second division, under Clifford, was defeated and turned back by O'Donnell; the last, under Lord Barnewell, was almost annihilated by Tyrrell, and its commander captured.

THE BATTLE OF YELLOW FORD

O'Neill next proceeded to lay siege to the garrison which Lord Borough had left under Captain Williams at Portmore. The food and ammunition of the besieged ran short and their situation was critical.[a]

[1598 A.D.]

When tidings of these events reached Dublin, the council sat in long and anxious deliberation; but at last Marshal Bagenal persuaded them to entrust him with the perilous task of relieving the fort. The Marshal arrived at Armagh (August, 1598) with an army of four thousand foot and three hundred and fifty horse. The five miles highway between the city and Portmore was a narrow strip of uneven ground, with bogs and woods at both sides; and right in the way, at Bellanaboy, or the Yellow Ford, on the little river Callan, two miles north of Armagh, O'Neill had marshalled his forces and determined to dispute the passage. His army was perhaps a little more numerous than that of his adversary, well trained and disciplined, armed and equipped after the English fashion—though not so well as Bagenal's army—and he had the advantage of an excellent position selected by himself. He had with him Hugh Roe O'Donnell, Maguire, and MacDonnell of the Glens, all leaders of ability and experience. At intervals along the way he had dug deep holes and trenches, and had otherwise encumbered the line of march with felled trees and brushwood; and right in front of his main body extended a trench a mile long, five feet deep, and four feet across, with a thick hedge of thorns on top. Over these tremendous obstacles, in face of the whole strength of the Irish army, Bagenal must force his way if he was ever to reach the starving little band cooped up in Portmore.

But Bagenal was not a man easily daunted; and on the morning of the 14th of August, 1598, he began his march with music and drum. The army advanced in six regiments forming three divisions. The first division—two regiments—was commanded by Colonel Percy, the marshal himself, as commander-in-chief, riding in the second regiment. The second division, consisting of the third and fourth regiments, was commanded by Colonel Cosby and Sir Thomas Wingfield, and the third division by Captains Conеys and Billings. The horse formed two divisions, one on each wing, under Sir Calisthenes Brooke, with Captains Montague and Fleming. The regiments marched one behind another at intervals of six hundred or seven hundred paces.

On the night before, O'Neill had sent forward five hundred light-armed kern, who concealed themselves till morning in the woods and thickets along the way, and the English had not advanced far when these opened fire from both sides, which they kept up during the whole march past. Through all obstacles —fire, bog, and pitfalls—the army struggled and fought resolutely till the first regiment reached the great trench. A determined rush across, a brief and fierce hand-to-hand struggle, and in spite of all opposition they got to the other side. Instantly re-forming, they pushed on, but had got only a little way when they were charged by a solid body of Irish and utterly overwhelmed.

It now appeared that a fatal mistake in tactics had been made by Bagenal. The several regiments were too far asunder, and the men of the vanguard were almost all killed before the second regiment could come up. When at last this second line appeared, O'Neill with a body of horse, knowing that Bagenal was at their head, spurred forward to seek him out and settle wrong and quarrel hand to hand. But they were not fated to meet. The brave marshal, fatigued with fighting, lifted his visor for a moment to look about him and take breath; but hardly had he done so when a musket ball pierced his brain and he fell lifeless.

Even after this catastrophe the second regiment passed the trench, and were augmented by those of the first who survived. These soon found themselves hard pressed; which Cosby, becoming aware of, pushed on with his third regiment to their relief; but they were cut to pieces before he had come

up. A cannon had got bogged in Cosby's rear, straight in the line of march, and the oxen that drew it having been killed, the men of the fourth regiment made frantic efforts to free it, fighting for their lives all the time, for the Irish were swarming all around them. Meantime during this delay Cosby's regiment was attacked and destroyed, and he himself was taken prisoner.

While all this was taking place in the English front, there was hard fighting in the rear. For O'Neill, who with a small party of horse had kept his place near the trench, fighting and issuing orders, had at the beginning of the battle sent towards the enemy's rear O'Donnell, Maguire, and MacDonnell of the Glens, who, passing by the flank of the second division, hotly engaged as they were, fell on the last two regiments, which after a prolonged struggle to get forward, "being hard sett to, retyred foully [in disorder] to Armagh."

The fourth regiment, at last leaving their cannon, made a dash for the trench; but scarcely had they started when a wagon of gunpowder exploded in their midst, by which they were "disrancked and rowted" and great numbers were killed, "wherewith the traitors were encouraged and our men dismayed." O'Neill, observing the confusion, seized the moment for a furious charge. The main body of the English had been already wavering after the explosion, and now there was a general rout of b th middle and rear. Fighting on the side of the English was an Irish chief, Mailmora or Myles O'Reilly, who was known as Mailmora the Handsome, and who called himself the queen's O'Reilly. He made two or three desperate attempts to rally the flying squadrons, but all in vain; and at last he himself fell slain among the others.

The multitude fled back towards Armagh, protected by the cavalry under Captain Montague, an able and intrepid officer, for Sir Calisthenes Brooke had been wounded; and the Irish pursued them—as the old Irish chronicler expresses it—"by pairs, threes, scores, and thirties." Two thousand of the English were killed, together with their general and nearly all the officers; and the victors became masters of the artillery, ammunition, and stores of the royal army. On the Irish side the loss is variously estimated from two hundred to seven hundred. This was the greatest overthrow the English ever suffered since they had set foot in Ireland.

The fugitives to the number of one thousand five hundred shut themselves up in Armagh, where they were closely invested by the Irish. But Montague, with a body of horse, most courageously forced his way out and brought the evil tidings to Dublin. In a few days the garrisons of Armagh and Portmore capitulated—the valiant Captain Williams yielding only after a most pressing message from Armagh—and were permitted to retire to Dundalk, leaving colours, drums, and ammunition behind.

When the southern chiefs heard of O'Neill's great victory, the Munster rebellion broke out like lightning. The confederates attacked the settlements to regain the lands that had been taken from them a dozen years before; they expelled the settlers; and before long they had recovered all Desmond's castles. The lord-lieutenant and Sir Thomas Norris, president of Munster, were quite unable to cope with the rebellion, and left Munster to the rebels.[d]

In seventeen days, *The Four Masters*[g] tell us, there was not a single Saxon left alive in all the Desmond domains. Edmund Spenser lost his all and fled to England, there to die poor and neglected in a London garret. Hugh O'Neill was almost a king in Ireland. He received a crown of peacock's feathers from the pope. He granted, as any English king might, the lands and title of earl of Desmond to James Fitzgerald, known in history as the *Sugan* or

straw-rope earl. Elizabeth sent over the young earl of Essex, son of the Essex of the Plantations, with a fine army of twenty thousand men. But he could not cope with O'Neill, who outwitted and outgeneralled him, and finally after a truce the earl threw up his command and sailed suddenly to England, there to enter upon the mad career that ended on the scaffold. In the same year Sir Conyers Clifford marching into Sligo was defeated and slain by Hugh O'Donnell at Ballaghboy. "The Irish of Connaught," say *The Four Masters*, "were not pleased at Clifford's death, for he had never told them a falsehood."

In the following year Lord Mountjoy (Charles Blount), a man of great ability and foresight, succeeded as lord-lieutenant. He was accompanied by



KILCOLMAN CASTLE
Residence of Edmund Spenser

Sir George Carew, a trained soldier, who became president of Munster. At once the war took on a new aspect. Carew laid waste Munster, and was unceasing in his efforts to capture "the Sugan earl." This fiery leader was at length betrayed into Carew's hands, tried and condemned, but not executed, lest his brother should be set up in his place and continue to give trouble. In the mean time Mountjoy himself kept O'Neill and O'Donnell busy in the north. Leinster, which had of late years escaped the ravages of war, was devastated by the lord-lieutenant, and Sir Henry Docwra built a strong fort at Derry. By the middle of 1601 the rebellion was entirely crushed in the three southern provinces, while in the north O'Neill and O'Donnell had been gradually shut in. In September, 1601, a Spanish force under Don Juan del Aguila landed at Kinsale, where it was at once beset by the combined forces of Mountjoy and Carew. The Spanish were reinforced by O'Donnell, who skilfully eluded Carew, and the English hemmed in on two sides became themselves the besieged. The Irish and Spaniards were further reinforced by Tyrone in December, by which time the English had lost half their army through sickness and battle. On January 3d, 1602, a night attack, planned by O'Neill, was repulsed, and finally turned by Mountjoy's brilliant generalship into an English victory. The Irish were completely routed, and Del Aguila soon after surrendered. The tide had at length turned against O'Neill.

O'Donnell was despatched to Spain for reinforcements, but died there without accomplishing anything. The news of his death disheartened the Irish. Carew reduced Dunboy Castle.[a]

Tyrone submitted at last, craving pardon on his knees, renouncing his Celtic chiefry and abjuring all foreign powers, but still retaining his earldom,

and power almost too great for a subject. Scarcely was the ink dry when he was told of the great queen's death. He burst into tears, not of grief, but of vexation at not having held out for still better terms.

RESULTS OF THE ELIZABETHAN CONQUEST: RELIGIOUS POLICY

In reviewing the Irish government of Elizabeth we shall find much to blame, a want of truth in her dealings and of steadiness in her policy. Violent efforts of coercion were succeeded by fits of clemency, of parsimony, or of apathy. Yet it is fair to remember that she was surrounded by enemies, that her best energies were expended in the death struggle with Spain, and that she was rarely able to give undivided attention to the Irish problem. After all, she conquered Ireland, which her predecessors had failed to do, though many of them were as crooked in action and less upright in intention. Considering the times, Elizabeth cannot be called a persecutor. "Do not," she said to the elder Essex, "seek too hastily to bring people that have been trained in another religion from that in which they have been brought up."

Elizabeth saw that the Irish could only be reached through their own language. But for that harvest the labourers were necessarily few. The fate of Bishop Daly of Kildare, who preached in Irish, and who thrice had his house burned over his head, was not likely to encourage missionaries. To preach what he thought true when he could do it safely, to testify against toleration, and in the mean time to make a fortune, was too often the sum and substance of an Anglican prelate's work in Ireland. In all wild parts divine service was neglected, and wandering friars or subtle Jesuits, supported by every patriotic or religious feeling of the people, kept Ireland faithful to Rome. Against her many shortcomings we must set the queen's foundation of that university which has been the one successful English institution in Ireland.

IRELAND UNDER JAMES I: THE PLANTATION OF ULSTER

Great things were expected of James I. He was Mary Stuart's son, and there was a curious antiquarian notion afloat that, because the Irish were the original "Scoti," a Scottish king would sympathise with Ireland. Corporate towns set up the mass, and Mountjoy, who could argue as well as fight, had to teach them a sharp lesson. Finding Ireland conquered and in no condition to rise again, James established circuits and a complete system of shires. Sir John Davies was sent over as solicitor-general. The famous book (*A Discourse why Ireland has never been Entirely Subdued*," 1612), in which he glorifies his own and the king's exploits, gives far too much credit to the latter and far too little to his great predecessor.

Two legal decisions swept away the customs of tanistry and of Irish gavelkind, and the English land system was violently substituted. Tyrone was harassed by sheriffs and other officers, and the government, learning that he was engaged in an insurrectionary design, prepared to seize him. The information was probably false, but Tyrone was growing old and nervous, and perhaps despaired of making good his defence. By leaving Ireland he played into his enemies' hands. Rory O'Donnell, created earl of Tyrconnel, accompanied him. [They fled to Rome, where Tyrone became a pensioner of the pope and of Spain and died in 1616.] Cuconnaught Maguire had already gone. The "flight of the earls," as it is called, completed the ruin of the Celtic cause. Reasons or pretexts for declaring forfeitures against O'Cahan and O'Reilly were easily found. O'Dogherty, chief of Innishowen, and fore-

[1608-1611 A.D.]

man of the grand jury which found a bill for treason against the earls, received a blow from Paulet, the governor of Derry. O'Dogherty rose, Derry was sacked, and Paulet murdered. O'Dogherty having been killed and O'Hanlon and others being implicated, the whole of northern Ulster was at the disposal of the government. Tyrone, Donegal, Armagh, Cavan, Fermanagh, and Derry were parcelled out among English and Scotch colonists, portions being reserved to the natives. The site of Derry was granted to the citizens of London, who fortified and armed it, and Londonderry became the chief bulwark of the colonists in two great wars.

If we look at its morality we shall find little to praise, but in a political point of view the plantation of Ulster was successful. The northern province, which so severely taxed the energies of Elizabeth, has since been the most prosperous and loyal part of Ireland. But the conquered people remained side by side with the settlers; and Sir George Carew, who reported on the plantation in 1611, clearly foresaw that they would rebel again "under the veil of religion and liberty, than which nothing is esteemed so precious in the hearts of men." Those natives who retained land were often oppressed by their stronger neighbours, and sometimes actually swindled out of their property.



YOUGHAL ABBEY

The Irish Parliament

It may be convenient to notice here the parliamentary history of the English colony in Ireland, which corresponds pretty closely to that of the mother country. First there are informal meetings of eminent persons; then, in 1295, there is a parliament of which some acts remain, and to which only knights of the shire were summoned to represent the commons. Burgesses were added as early as 1310. The famous parliament of Kilkenny in 1367 was largely attended, but the details of its composition are not known. The most ancient Irish parliament remaining on record was held in 1374, twenty members in all being summoned to the house of commons, from the counties of Dublin, Louth, Kildare, and Carlow, the liberties and crosses of Meath, the city of Dublin, and the towns of Drogheda and Dundalk. The liberties were those districts in which the great vassals of the crown exercised palatinate jurisdiction, and the crosses were the church lands, where alone the royal writ usually ran.

Writs for another parliament in the same year were addressed in addition to the counties of Waterford, Cork, and Limerick; the liberties and crosses of Ulster, Wexford, Tipperary, and Kerry; the cities of Waterford, Cork, and Limerick; and the towns of Youghal, Kinsale, Ross, Wexford, and Kilkenny. The counties of Clare and Longford, and the towns of Galway and

Athenry were afterwards added, and the number of popular representatives does not appear to have much exceeded sixty during the later Middle Ages. In the house of lords the temporal peers were largely outnumbered by the bishops and mitred abbots. Elizabeth's first parliament, held in 1559, was attended by 76 members of the lower house, which increased to 122 in 1585. In 1613 James I, by a wholesale creation of new boroughs, generally of the last insignificance, increased the house of commons to 232, and thus secured an Anglican majority to carry out his policy. He told those who remonstrated to mind their own business. "What is it to you if I had created 40 noblemen and 400 boroughs? The more the merrier, the fewer the better cheer." In 1639 the house of commons had 274 members, a number which was further increased to 300 at the Revolution, and so it remained until the union.

Religious Policy of James I

Steeped in absolutist ideas, James was not likely to tolerate religious dissent. A proclamation for banishing Romish priests issued in 1605, and was followed by an active and general persecution, which was so far from succeeding that they continued to flock in from abroad. The most severe English statutes against the Catholic laity had never been re-enacted in Ireland, and, in the absence of law, illegal means were taken to enforce uniformity. On the whole, Protestantism made little progress, though the number of Protestant settlers increased. As late as 1622, when Lord Falkland was installed as deputy, the illustrious Ussher, then bishop of Meath, preached from the text, "he beareth not his sword in vain," and descanted on the over-indulgence shown to recusants. Primate Hampton, in a letter which is a model of Christian eloquence, mildly rebuked his eminent suffragan.

CHARLES I AND STRAFFORD

The necessities of Charles I induced his ministers to propose that a great part of Connaught should be declared forfeited owing to mere technical flaws in title, and planted like Ulster. Such was the general outcry that the scheme had to be given up; and, on receiving a large grant from the Irish parliament, the king promised certain graces, of which the chief were security for titles, a free trade, and the substitution of an oath of allegiance for that of supremacy. Having got the money, Charles as usual broke his word; and in 1635 Lord-deputy Strafford began a general system of extortion. The Connaught and Munster landowners were shamelessly forced to pay large fines for the confirmation of even recent titles.

The Irish woollen manufacture was discouraged as hurtful to England; and, if linen was encouraged, it was only because no linen was made in the greater kingdom. The money obtained by oppressing the Irish nation was employed to create an army for the oppression of the Scotch and English nations. The Roman Catholics were neither awed nor conciliated. Twelve bishops, headed by Primate Ussher, solemnly protested that "to tolerate popery is a grievous sin." The Ulster Presbyterians were rigorously treated. Of the prelates employed by Strafford in this insane persecution the ablest was Bramhall of Derry, who not only oppressed the ministers but insulted them by coarse language. The "black oath," which bound those who took it never to oppose Charles in anything, was enforced on all ministers, and those who refused it were driven from their manses and often stripped of

their goods. Strafford was recalled to expiate his career on the scaffold; the army was disbanded, and the helm of the state remained in the hands of a land jobber and of a superannuated soldier.[b]

THE INSURRECTION OF 1641

The Irish insurrection of 1641 was one of the most terrible events in the history of that unhappy country. It was an event which long perpetuated the hatred between the Irish natives and the English settlers, and in a series of bitter revenges kept alive the more deadly animosity between Catholics and Protestants. The Irish army, which had been raised by Strafford, had been kept together against the desire of the parliament. King Charles had wished to establish that army in Flanders, to be ready for any service under the king of Spain; but his plan had been prevented by a parliamentary resolution, which afterwards became a law, against "the raising and transporting of forces of horse or foot out of his majesty's dominions of England or Ireland." This Catholic army was therefore disbanded, and it became a dangerous power in a distracted country. The vigilant rule of Strafford was at an end. There was no resident viceroy. The government was administered by the two lords justices. The Protestant troops in Ireland were few, and they were scattered. Charles had striven to prevent the disbanding of Strafford's eight thousand papists; and after that measure was accomplished, he had intrigued to prevent the dispersion of these men. They were told to rally round their sovereign, and by defending the throne prevent the extirpation of the ancient religion.

A general rising was at length determined upon amongst some Irish chieftains and some of the ancient settlers of the Pale, for the purpose of seizing the castle of Dublin, and proclaiming that they would support the sovereign in all his rights. The plot was betrayed as far as regarded the attack upon Dublin Castle; but Ulster was in open insurrection on the 22nd of October. Sir Phelim O'Neill was at the head of thirty thousand men. What was intended to be an insurrection, for the redress of civil wrongs and the removal of religious disabilities, soon became a general massacre of Protestants. The conspirators in Ulster were rendered desperate by the failure of the plot for the seizure of Dublin. The Puritan settlers of the north were especially obnoxious to those who were in arms. They were driven from their houses in an inclement season. They fled to the hills and morasses, where they perished of hunger. They were put to death with all the horrors that only savages and fanatics can inflict. Women and children were murdered with relentless fury. Multitudes fled towards Dublin as their only city of refuge. The number of those that perished has been variously estimated. Clarendon[c] says that "about forty or fifty thousand of the English Protestants were murdered before they suspected themselves to be in any danger, or could provide for their defence by drawing themselves into towns or strong houses."[1] Troops at length arrived from England.[m]

In 1642 a Scottish army under Monro landed in Ulster, and formed a rallying point for the colonists. Londonderry, Enniskillen, Coleraine, Carrickfergus, and some other places defied Sir Phelim O'Neill's tumultuary host. Trained in foreign wars, Owen Roe O'Neill gradually formed a powerful army

[1 Joyce,[d] an Irish authority, says: "The number of victims has been wildly exaggerated; but Dr. Warner, an English writer, a Protestant clergyman who made every effort to come at the truth, believes that in the first two years of the rebellion four thousand were murdered and that eight thousand died of ill-usage and exposure."]

among the Ulster Irish, and it is impossible to overestimate his skill and patience. But like other O'Neills he did little out of Ulster, and his great victory over Monro at Benburb on the Blackwater (1645) had no lasting results. The old English of the Pale were forced into rebellion, but could never get on with the native Irish, who hated them only less than the new colonists. Ormonde throughout maintained the position of a loyal subject, and as the king's representative played a great but hopeless part. The Celts cared nothing for the king except as a weapon against the Protestants; the old Anglo-Irish Catholics cared much, but the nearer Charles approached them the more completely he alienated the Protestants.



CROMWELL'S BRIDGE, GLENGARIFF

In 1645 Rinuccini reached Ireland as papal legate. He could never co-operate with the Catholic confederacy at Kilkenny, which was under old English influence, and by throwing in his lot with the Celts only widened the gulf between the two sections. The royalist confederates were not willing to decide the question of investitures in favour of the pope, still less to restore the abbey lands of which they were the chief holders.

Whatever may be thought of Mr. Carlyle's[u] judgments on Ireland generally, he has thoroughly mastered the state of parties during the turmoil which followed 1641. "There are," he says, "Catholics of the Pale, demanding freedom of religion, under my lord this and my lord that. There are old-Irish Catholics, under pope's nuncios, under Abba O'Teague of the excommunications, and Owen Roe O'Neill, demanding not religious freedom only, but what we now call 'repeal of the union,' and unable to agree with Catholics of the English Pale. Then there are Ormonde royalists, of the Episcopalian and mixed creeds, strong for king without covenant; Ulster and other Presbyterians strong for king and covenant; lastly, Michael Jones and the commonwealth of England, who want neither king nor covenant."[1]

In all their negotiations with Ormonde and Glamorgan, Henrietta Maria and Digby, the pope and Rinuccini stood out for an arrangement which could have destroyed the royal supremacy and established Romanism in Ireland, leaving to the Anglicans bare toleration, and to the Presbyterians not even that. Charles behaved after his kind, showing not only his falseness but also his total want of real dignity. Ormonde was forced to surrender Dublin to

[1 During this bitter period of religious strife there was little difference between Puritan and Catholic in the intensity of feeling. As an illustration of the Puritan attitude listen to the denunciation of the Irish rebels uttered by Nathaniel Ward, a New England minister (1647): "Cursed be he that holdeth back his sword from blood, yea, cursed be he that maketh not his sword starke drunk with Irish blood."]

the parliamentarians (1646), and the inextricable knot awaited Cromwell's sword.[b]

In England the parliament had triumphed. The death of the king caused somewhat of a counter-movement in Ireland; and the royalist cause was now (1649) sustained by the confederates, with Ormonde the lord-lieutenant, and Inchiquin at their head, and by the Scots of Ulster. They proclaimed the prince of Wales king as Charles II.

CROMWELL IN IRELAND

Oliver Cromwell was appointed lord-lieutenant and commander of the forces in Ireland, and landed at Dublin on the 14th of August, 1649, with nine thousand foot, four thousand horse, a supply of military stores, and £20,000 in money, accompanied by his son-in-law, Ireton, as second in command. He issued a proclamation against plunder, ordering that all supplies taken from the natives should be paid for.

He first proceeded against Drogheda. It had been garrisoned by Ormonde with three thousand troops, chiefly English, under Sir Arthur Ashton. Cromwell began by battering down the steeple of St. Mary's church. Next day, the 10th of September, 1649, the cannonade continued, till towards evening two breaches were made. Two desperate attempts to enter were repulsed; but the third succeeded; and immediately, on Cromwell's order, the whole garrison, including the commander, Sir Arthur Ashton, with many friars and townspeople, were massacred. After this, Trim, Dundalk, Carlingford, Newry, and several other places in the north surrendered.

Cromwell returned to Dublin, and marching south, appeared before Wexford. It was well fortified and garrisoned with three thousand men, under the command of David Sinnott. Cromwell began his cannonade on the 11th of October, and when some breaches had been made, Sinnott asked for a parley. But meantime the commander of the strong castle just outside the walls treacherously delivered it up to Cromwell's troops. This enabled a party of the besiegers to get into the town and open the gates. The garrison retreated to the market place, where they found the townspeople congregated. Here they defended themselves in desperation for an hour, but were overpowered by numbers; and Cromwell's soldiers under his orders killed garrison and townspeople without distinction to the number of two thousand (11th of October, 1649).

The fate of Drogheda and Wexford struck the Irish with terror; and many towns now yielded on mere summons. Cromwell, seeing the country virtually subdued, sailed for England on the 29th of May, 1650, leaving Ireton to finish the war. In August Preston surrendered Waterford.

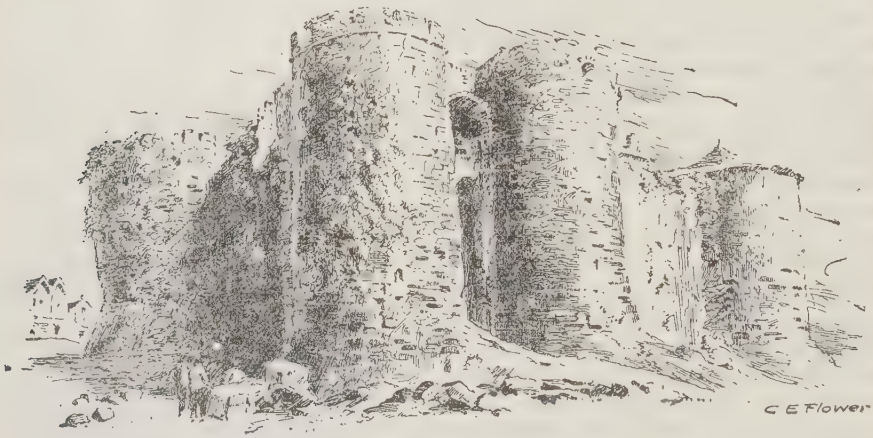
While the confederates were loyally fighting for the young king Charles, who was at this time in Scotland, he, in order to gain the favour of the Scots, repudiated any agreement with the Irish, and declared himself against allowing them liberty to practise their religion. The Irish distrusted both Ormonde and Inchiquin, both of whom had mismanaged the war, and who were suspected of intriguing with the parliament; and Ormonde, finding he had lost the confidence of the Catholics, sailed from Galway for St. Malo in December, leaving Lord Clanrickard as his deputy.

Limerick, the most important place in possession of the royalists, was next to be attacked. It was commanded by Hugh O'Neill, the cousin of Owen Roe, who had died in the previous year. By forcing the passage of the Shannon at O'Brien's Bridge, Ireton got at the Clare side of the city, which

was now invested on both sides. O'Neill defended the city with great bravery; but there was disunion, and he was not supported by the magistrates; and the plague was raging among the citizens. At length Colonel Fennell betrayed his trust by opening the gates to Ireton, who took possession on the 27th of October, 1651. The garrison of two thousand five hundred laid down their arms and were allowed to march away unmolested.

Ireton caused several of the prominent defenders to be executed, among them Dr. O'Brien, bishop of Emly; but he was himself killed by the plague within the same month. The traitor Fennell was hanged with the others.

After Ireton's death Lieutenant-general Edmund Ludlow, taking command, marched to the aid of Coote at Galway, which surrendered on the 12th of May, 1652, after a siege of nine months. The capture of a few detached castles



Castle in Limerick

completed the conquest of Ireland by the parliamentarians. Charles Fleetwood, Cromwell's son-in-law (he had married Ireton's widow) took command of the army in succession to Ludlow, and was afterwards appointed lord deputy. Under his direction a high court of justice was instituted in October, 1652, to punish those who had been concerned in the rising of 1641; about two hundred were sentenced and hanged, among them Sir Phelim O'Neill.[a]

Cromwell's civil policy, to use Macaulay's words, was "able, straightforward, and cruel." He thinned the disaffected population by allowing foreign enlistment, and forty thousand are said to have been thus got rid of. Already Irish Catholics of good family had learned to offer their swords to foreign princes. In Spain, France, and the empire they often rose to the distinction which they were denied at home. About nine thousand persons were sent to the West Indies, practically into slavery. Thus, and by the long war, the population was reduced to some eight hundred and fifty thousand, of whom one hundred and fifty thousand were English and Scots; the marvel is that so many were left.

Then came the transplantation beyond the Shannon. The Irish Catholic gentry were removed bodily with their servants and such tenants as consented to follow them, and with what remained of their cattle. They suffered dreadful hardships. The derelict property in the other provinces was divided between adventurers who had advanced money and soldiers who had fought in Ireland. Many of the latter sold their claims to officers or speculators,

who were thus enabled to form estates. The majority of Irish labourers stayed to work under the settlers, and the country became peaceful and prosperous. Some fighting Catholics haunted woods and hills under the name of tories, afterwards given in derision to a great party, and were hunted down with as little compunction as the wolves to which they were compared. Measures of great severity were taken against Catholic priests; but it is said that Cromwell had great numbers in his pay, and that they kept him well informed. All classes of Protestants were tolerated, and Jeremy Taylor preached unmolested. Commercial equality being given to Ireland, the woollen trade at once revived, and a shipping interest sprang up. Were it worth while to prove Cromwell a greater statesman than Strafford, his religious and commercial policy in Ireland would supply ample evidence.

THE RESTORATION

Charles II was bound in honour to do something for such Irish Catholics as were innocent of the massacres of 1641, and the claims were not scrutinised too severely. It was found impossible to displace the Cromwellians, but they were shorn of about one-third of their lands. When the Caroline settlement was complete it was found that the great rebellion had resulted in reducing the Catholic share of the fertile parts of Ireland from two-thirds to one-third. Ormonde was largely and deservedly rewarded. A revenue of £30,000 was settled on the king, in consideration of which Ireland was in 1663 excluded from the benefit of the Navigation Act, and her nascent shipping interests ruined.

In 1666 the importation of Irish cattle and horses into England was forbidden, the value of the former at once falling fivefold, of the latter twentyfold. Among other arguments in favour of this atrocious law was that used by Ashley, who said that if the bill did not pass, the duke of Ormonde would have a greater estate than the earl of Northumberland. "Achitophel" must have laughed in his sleeve. Buckingham said every opponent of the bill must have "an Irish estate or an Irish understanding," which nearly cost him a duel with Ormonde, and much damaged his reputation for courage. That such a man as Buckingham should have so taunted such a man as Ormonde is characteristic of the most shameless reign in our history. Dead meat, butter, and cheese were also excluded, yet peace brought a certain prosperity. The woollen manufacture grew and flourished, and Macaulay is probably warranted in saying that under Charles II Ireland was a pleasanter place of residence than it has been before or since. But it was pleasant only for those who conformed to the state religion. Catholicism was tolerated, or rather connived at; but its professors were subject to frequent alarms and to great severities during the reign of Titus Oates. Bramhall became primate, and his hand was heavy against the Ulster Presbyterians.

It is humiliating to record that Jeremy Taylor began a persecution which stopped the influx of Scots into Ireland. Deprived of the means of teaching, the Independents and other sectaries soon disappeared. In a military colony women were scarce, and the "Ironsides" had married natives. To use their own language, they saw the daughters of Moab that they were fair. Women are more religious than men, travelling missionaries more zealous than endowed clerks; and Catholicism held its own. The Quakers became numerous during this reign, and their peaceful industry was most useful. They venerate as their founder Thomas Edmundson, a Westmoreland man who had borne arms for the parliament, and who settled in Antrim in 1652.

JAMES II: LONDONDERRY AND THE BOYNE

The duke of Ormonde was lord-lieutenant at the death of Charles II. At seventy-five his brain was as clear as ever, and James saw that he was no fit tool for his purpose. "See, gentlemen," said the old chief, lifting his glass at a military dinner party, "they say at court I am old and doting. But my hand is steady, nor doth my heart fail. To the king's health!" Calculating on his loyal subservience, James appointed his brother-in-law, Lord Clarendon, to succeed Ormonde.[1] Monmouth's enterprise made no stir, but gave an excuse for disarming the Protestant militia. The Tories at once emerged from their hiding-places, and Clarendon found Ireland in a ferment.

It was now the turn of the Protestants to feel what persecution means. Richard Talbot, one of the few survivors of Drogheda, governed the king's Irish policy, while the lord-lieutenant was kept in the dark. Finally Talbot, created earl of Tyrconnel, himself received the sword of state. Protestants were weeded out of the army, Protestant officers in particular being superseded by idle Catholics of gentle blood, where they could be found, and in any case by Catholics. Bigotry rather than religion was Tyrconnel's ruling passion, and he filled up offices with Catholics independently of character. Fitton, a man convicted of forgery, became chancellor, and but three Protestant judges were left on the bench. The outlawries growing out of the affairs of 1641 were reversed as quickly as possible. Protestant corporations were dissolved by *quo warrantos;* but James was still Englishman enough to refuse an Irish parliament, which might repeal Poynings' Act and the Act of Settlement.

In 1687 the Church of England discovered that there were limits to passive obedience, and at the close of the following year James was a fugitive in France. By this time Londonderry and Enniskillen had closed their gates, and the final struggle had begun. In March, 1689, James reached Ireland with some French troops, and summoned a parliament which repealed the Act of Settlement [and Poynings' Law]. The estates of absentees were vested in the crown, and as only two months' law was given, this was nearly equivalent to confiscating the property of all Protestants. Between two thousand and three thousand Protestants were attainted by name, and moreover, the act was not published. The dispossessed Protestants escaped by sea or flocked into Ulster, where a gallant stand was made. The glories of Londonderry and Enniskillen will live as long as the English language.

The siege of Londonderry, which had been commenced on the 18th of April, 1689, was carried on in good earnest by Richard Hamilton, who was afterwards joined by Count de Rosen. At the first approach of the enemy the gates had been shut by a few young apprentices. But there were many among the authorities who did not approve of this action; and Colonel Lundy, the governor, had from the beginning made himself intensely unpopular by recommending surrender, so that he had at last to make his escape over the wall by night in disguise.

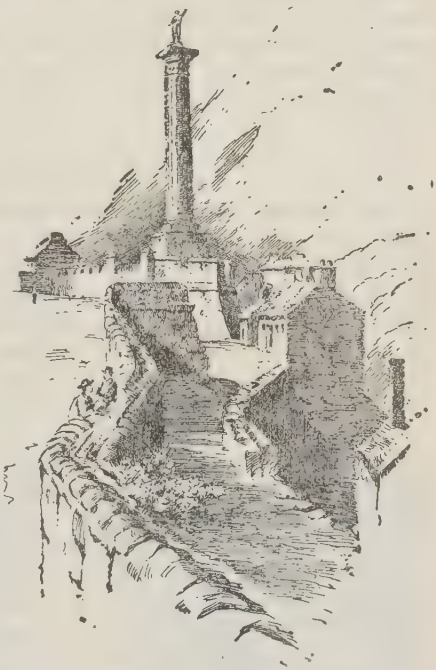
The command then devolved on Major Baker and Captain Murray. The feeble-hearted town council were still for surrender; when the humbler citizens —those of the class who at first had shut the gates—with Murray at their head, took the matter into their own hands and resolved on resistance. But

[1 In the latter days of his lord-lieutenancy Ormonde realised his lack of real power. "I have no friends but God and your grace," said a suitor for court favour to him. "Poor man," returned the duke, "you could not have two friends who have less influence at court."]

[1689 A.D.]

the life and soul of the place was the Rev. George Walker, a Protestant clergyman, who by ceaseless activity and constant exhortation, both from pulpit and rampart, roused the energies of the defenders and kept up the drooping spirits of the people. He succeeded to the chief command on the death of Baker; and to him was mainly due the final success of this most obstinate defence.

During May and June the fighting went on daily; there were sallies by the besieged, and attempts to storm by the besiegers, with desperate conflicts and great loss of life. Such was the spirit of the defenders that the women sometimes assisted, handing ammunition and refreshments to the men; and armed with stones and all sorts of first-to-hand missiles, they mixed in the fights as boldly as their sons, brothers, and husbands. But soon provisions began to run short; and there was no way of procuring a supply, for the town was quite surrounded, except on the river side, and here the besiegers had cut off communication by a great boom composed of strong cables and logs of timber bound together, stretched tightly from bank to bank.[1]



WALLS OF LONDONDERRY
Walker's Pillar

Every day watchmen took station on the church tower, anxiously looking out to sea for relief; and at length in the middle of June they shouted down the joyous news that thirty ships were sailing up Lough Foyle. But the hopes of the citizens were short-lived, for Major-General Kirke, the commander of the fleet, hearing of the boom and of the armed enemies and forts lining the river banks all the way up to the town, refused to proceed farther.

For forty-six days he lay idle in the lough, while the townspeople were famishing, driven to eat horseflesh, dogs, grease, and garbage of every kind. The garrison fared no better. Yet these brave young fellows—ragged and starving—stood resolutely to their posts and had never a thought of yielding. The fighting at last ceased, and it now became a question of starving the defenders into surrender.

On the evening of the 30th of July, when silence, gloom, and despair had settled down on the town, the watchers were startled by a bright flash down

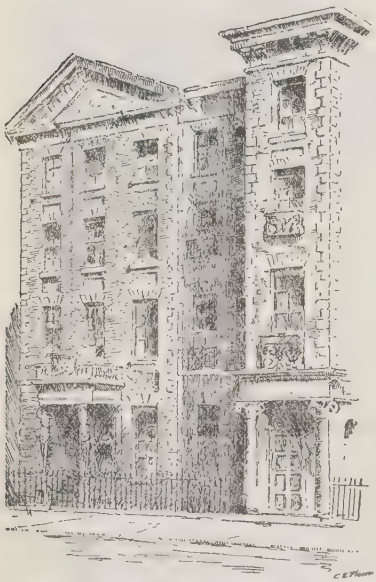
[1 "The king at this time went up to Dublin to hold his parliament, leaving the command with the Flemish general De Rosen. This officer, inured to his master's barbarous dealings with his own subjects as well as foreigners, and incensed at the gallant resistance of the besieged, sent out parties of dragoons, and collecting all the Protestants, men, women, and children, within a circuit of thirty miles, to the number of four thousand, drove them under the walls of Derry, there to perish if the garrison did not surrender. The king, who had given protection to most of these people, sent orders to the general to desist; but his mandate was unheeded; the threat of the garrison to hang all of their prisoners was of more avail; and after three days' starvation, the poor people were permitted to return to their homes, which had meantime been plundered. Several hundreds of them died with fatigue and hunger."—KEIGHTLEY.]

the river, followed by the roar of artillery; and a hungry multitude, rushing eagerly to the battlements, saw relief approaching. For Kirke had at last taken heart and sent three ships with provisions. In spite of the destructive fire from both sides, the ships approached full sail, crashed through the boom, and relieved the town. Next day Hamilton marched away. Thus ended, on the 31st of July, 1689, a siege of one hundred and five days, one of the most famous in Irish or British history.

Enniskillen, the other Williamite garrison, was threatened by the approach of an Irish army; but the Enniskilleners, marching forth on the very day of the relief of Londonderry, intercepted and utterly defeated them at Newtownbutler. Sarsfield, who commanded a detachment at Sligo, on hearing of these disasters, retired to Athlone; and now Ulster was nearly all in the hands of the Williamites.

THE BATTLE OF THE BOYNE (1690 A.D.)

The siege of Londonderry was only the beginning of the struggle. King William had now leisure to look to Ireland; and he sent over the duke of Schomberg—then over eighty years of age—who landed in August, 1689, at Bangor, with an army of about fifteen thousand men. After a siege of eight days Carrickfergus Castle was surrendered to him; and he settled down for some time in an intrenched camp near Dundalk, in an unhealthy position, where he lost a large part of his army by sickness.



SCHOMBERG HOUSE, PALL MALL

In the following year King William came over to conduct the campaign in person. He landed at Carrickfergus on the 14th of June, 1690, and immediately joined Schomberg. About half of the united army were foreigners, excellent soldiers, a mixture of French, Dutch, Danes, Swedes, and Prussians or Brandenburgers.

James had advanced from Dublin to Dundalk, but fell back on the south bank of the Boyne, with his centre at the village of Oldbridge, whither William followed him and took up his position on the north bank. He had about thirty-six thousand men; James about thirty thousand. The Irish army was largely composed of recruits, badly drilled and badly armed, with the unskilful and irresolute King James at their head; they were opposed by a more numerous army, well trained, well supplied with all necessaries, and commanded by William, a man of determination, and one of the best generals of the time.

On the evening of the 30th of June King William, while reconnoitring, was slightly wounded by a cannon shot from the opposite side, and the report went round among the Irish that he was killed.[a]

The first of July dawned, a day which has never since returned without exciting strong emotions of very different kinds in the two populations which divide Ireland. The sun rose bright and cloudless. Soon after four both

armies were in motion. William ordered his right wing, under the command of Meinhart Schomberg, one of the duke's sons, to march to the bridge of Slane, some miles up the river, to cross there, and to turn the left flank of the Irish army. Meinhart Schomberg was assisted by Portland and Douglas. James, anticipating some such design, had already sent to the bridge a regiment of dragoons, commanded by Sir Neil O'Neill. O'Neill behaved himself like a brave gentleman; but he soon received a mortal wound: his men fled, and the English right wing passed the river.

This move made Lauzun uneasy. What if the English right wing should get into the rear of the army of James? About four miles south of the Boyne was a place called Duleek, where the road to Dublin was so narrow that two cars could not pass each other, and where on both sides of the road lay a morass which afforded no firm footing. If Meinhart Schomberg should occupy this spot, it would be impossible for the Irish to retreat. They must either conquer, or be cut off to a man. Disturbed by this apprehension the French general marched with his countrymen and with Sarsfield's horse in the direction of Slane Bridge. Thus the fords near Oldbridge were left to be defended by the Irish alone.

It was now near ten o'clock. William put himself at the head of his left wing, which was composed exclusively of cavalry, and prepared to pass the river not far above Drogheda. The centre of his army, which consisted almost exclusively of foot, was intrusted to the command of Schomberg, and was marshalled opposite to Oldbridge. At Oldbridge the whole Irish infantry had been collected. The Meath bank bristled with pikes and bayonets. A fortification had been made by French engineers out of the hedges and buildings; and a breastwork had been thrown up close to the water side. Tyrconnell was there; and under him were Richard Hamilton and Antrim.

Schomberg gave the word. Solmes' Blues were the first to move. They marched gallantly, with drums beating, to the brink of the Boyne. Then the drums stopped; and the men, ten abreast, descended into the water. Next plunged Londonderry and Enniskillen. A little to the left of Londonderry and Enniskillen, Caillemot crossed, at the head of a long column of French refugees. A little to the left of Caillemot and his refugees, the main body of the English infantry struggled through the river, up to the armpits in water. Still further down the stream the Danes found another ford. In a few minutes the Boyne, for a quarter of a mile, was alive with muskets and green boughs.

It was not till the assailants had reached the middle of the channel that they became aware of the whole difficulty and danger of the service in which they were engaged. They had as yet seen little more than half the hostile army. Now whole regiments of foot and horse seemed to start out of the earth. A wild shout of defiance rose from the whole shore: during one moment the event seemed doubtful; but the Protestants pressed resolutely forward, and in another moment the whole Irish line gave way. Tyrconnell looked on in helpless despair. He did not want personal courage; but his military skill was so small that he hardly ever reviewed his regiment in the Phœnix Park without committing some blunder; and to rally the ranks which were breaking all around him was no task for a general who had survived the energy of his body and of his mind, and yet had still the rudiments of his profession to learn. Several of his best officers fell while vainly endeavouring to prevail on their soldiers to look the Dutch Blues in the face. Richard Hamilton ordered a body of foot to fall on the French refugees, who were still deep in water. He led the way, and, accompanied by several courageous gentlemen,

advanced, sword in hand, into the river. But neither his commands nor his example could infuse courage into that mob of cow stealers. He was left almost alone, and retired from the bank in despair. Further down the river Antrim's division ran like sheep at the approach of the English column. Whole regiments flung away arms, colours and cloaks, and scampered off to the hills without striking a blow or firing a shot.

It required many years and many heroic exploits to take away the reproach which that ignominious rout left on the Irish name. Yet, even before the day closed it was abundantly proved that the reproach was unjust. Richard Hamilton put himself at the head of the cavalry, and under his command they made a gallant though an unsuccessful attempt to retrieve the day. They maintained a desperate fight in the bed of the river with Solmes' Blues. They drove the Danish brigade back into the stream. They fell impetuously on the Huguenot regiments, which, not being provided with pikes, then ordinarily used by foot to repel horse, began to give ground. Caillemot, while encouraging his fellow exiles, received a mortal wound in the thigh. Four of his men carried him back across the ford to his tent. As he passed, he continued to urge forward the rear ranks which were still up to the breast in the water. "On, on, my lads! to glory! to glory!"

Schomberg, who had remained on the northern bank, and who had thence watched the progress of his troops with the eye of a general, now thought that the emergency required from him the personal exertion of a soldier. Those who stood about him besought him in vain to put on his cuirass. Without defensive armour he rode through the river, and rallied the refugees whom the fall of Caillemot had dismayed. "Come on," he cried in French, pointing to the popish squadrons; "come on, gentlemen: there are your persecutors." Those were his last words. As he spoke a band of Irish horsemen rushed upon him and encircled him for a moment. When they retired, he was on the ground. His friends raised him, but he was already a corpse. Two sabre wounds were on his head, and a bullet from a carbine was lodged in his neck. Almost at the same moment Dr. Walker [whom William had created bishop of Derry], while exhorting the colonists of Ulster to play the men, was shot dead.

During near half an hour the battle continued to rage along the southern shore of the river. All was smoke, dust, and din. Old soldiers were heard to say that they had seldom seen sharper work in the Low Countries. But just at this conjuncture William came up with the left wing. He had found much difficulty in crossing. The tide was running fast. His charger had been forced to swim, and had been almost lost in the mud. As soon as the king was on firm ground he took his sword in his left hand—for his right arm was stiff with his wound and his bandage—and led his men to the place where the fight was the hottest. His arrival decided the fate of the day. Yet the Irish horse retired fighting obstinately. It was long remembered among the Protestants of Ulster that in the midst of the tumult William rode to the head of the Enniskilleners. "What will you do for me?" he cried. He was not immediately recognised; and one trooper, taking him for an enemy, was about to fire. William gently put aside the carbine. "What," said he, "do you not know your friends?" "It is his majesty," said the colonel. The ranks of sturdy Protestant yeomen set up a shout of joy. "Gentlemen," said William, "you shall be my guards to-day. I have heard much of you. Let me see something of you." One of the most remarkable peculiarities of this man, ordinarily so saturnine and reserved, was that danger acted on him like wine, opened his heart, loosened his tongue, and took away

[1690 A.D.]

all appearance of constraint from his manner. On this memorable day he was seen wherever the peril was greatest. One ball struck the cap of his pistol: another carried off the heel of his jackboot; but his lieutenants in vain implored him to retire to some station from which he could give his orders without exposing a life so valuable to Europe.

His troops, animated by his example, gained ground fast. The Irish cavalry made their last stand at a house called Plottin Castle, about a mile and a half south of Oldbridge. There the Enniskilleners were repelled with the loss of fifty men, and were hotly pursued, till William rallied them and turned the chase back. In this encounter Richard Hamilton, who had done all that could be done by valour to retrieve a reputation forfeited by perfidy, was severely wounded, taken prisoner, and instantly brought, through the smoke and over the carnage, before the prince whom he had foully wronged. On no occasion did the character of William show itself in a more striking manner. "Is this business over?" he said; "or will your horse make more fight?" "On my honour, sir," answered Hamilton, "I believe that they will." "Your honour!" muttered William; "your honour!" That half-suppressed exclamation was the only revenge which he condescended to take for an injury for which many sovereigns, far more affable and gracious in their ordinary deportment, would have exacted a terrible retribution. Then, restraining himself, he ordered his own surgeon to look to the hurts of the captive.

And now the battle was over. Hamilton was mistaken in thinking that his horse would continue to fight. Whole troops had been cut to pieces. One fine regiment had only thirty unwounded men left. It was enough that these gallant soldiers had disputed the field till they were left without support, or hope, or guidance, till their bravest leader was a captive, and till their king had fled.

James, from the secure position which he occupied on the height of Donore, saw his rival, weak, sickly, wounded, swimming the river, struggling though the mud, leading the charge, stopping the flight, grasping the sword with the left hand, managing the bridle with a bandaged arm. But none of these things moved that sluggish and ignoble nature. He watched, from a safe distance, the beginning of the battle on which his fate and the fate of his race depended. When it became clear that the day was going against Ireland, he was seized with an apprehension that his flight might be intercepted and galloped towards Dublin.[1]

The French auxiliaries who had been employed the whole morning in keeping William's right wing in check, covered the flight of the beaten army. They were indeed in some danger of being broken and swept away by the torrent of runaways, all pressing to get first to the pass of Duleek, and were forced to fire repeatedly on these despicable allies. The retreat was however effected with less loss than might have been expected; for even the admirers of William owned that he did not show in the pursuit the energy which even his detractors acknowledged he had shown in the battle. Perhaps his physical infirmities, his hurt, and the fatigue which he had undergone, had made him incapable of bodily or mental exertion. Of the last forty hours he had passed thirty-five on horseback. Schomberg, who might have supplied his place, was no more. It was said in the camp that the king could

[1 The Irish repaid the king who so basely deserted them in their hour of need by the opprobrious epithet—"Sheemas a Cacagh"—"Dirty James." Stung by defeat, the brave Sarsfield is reported to have said to an Englishman after the battle of the Boyne, "Change kings and we will fight you over again."]

not do everything, and that what was not done by him was not done at all.'

The slaughter had been less than on any battlefield of equal importance and celebrity. Of the Irish only about fifteen hundred had fallen; but they were almost all cavalry, the flower of the army, brave and well-disciplined men, whose place could not easily be supplied. William gave strict orders that there should be no unnecessary bloodshed, and enforced those orders by an act of laudable severity. One of his soldiers, after the fight was over, butchered three defenceless Irishmen who asked for quarter. The king ordered the murderer to be hanged on the spot.

The loss of the conquerors did not exceed five hundred men; but among them was the first captain in Europe. To his corpse every honour was paid. The only cemetery in which so illustrious a warrior, slain in arms for the liberties and religion of England, could properly be laid was that venerable abbey, hallowed by the dust of many generations of princes, heroes, and poets. It was announced that the brave veteran should have a public funeral at Westminster. Walker was treated less respectfully. William thought him a busybody who had been properly punished for running into danger without any call of duty, and expressed that feeling with characteristic bluntness on the field of battle. "Sir," said an attendant, "the bishop of Derry has been killed by a shot at the ford." "What took him there?" growled the king."

Having given the chief command to Tyrconnel, James embarked at Kinsale and landed at Brest, the first bearer of the news of his own defeat. The Irish army evacuated Dublin and marched to Limerick; and William arrived and took possession of the city on Sunday the 6th of July. After this, Drogheda, Kilkenny, Duncannon, and Waterford surrendered in quick succession.

THE SIEGE AND PEACE OF LIMERICK (1690 A.D.)

The Irish now took the Shannon for their line of defence and concentrated their forces at Limerick and Athlone. William marched towards Limerick. Douglas attacked Athlone with twelve thousand men; but after a siege of seven days he was repulsed, and joined the king at Limerick.

On the 9th of August, 1690, William encamped at Singland, just outside the walls of the old city, with an effective army of about twenty-six thousand; the Irish army of defence numbered about twenty-five thousand, only half of them armed. The city was badly prepared for defence: the French general Lauzun said, "it could be taken with roasted apples"; and deserting his post, marched to Galway and embarked for France.

William was deficient in artillery; but a great siege train was on its way from Dublin, with heavy cannons, plenty of ammunition, and other necessaries for a siege.

When General Patrick Sarsfield came to hear of this, he determined to intercept the convoy. Marching out silently at dead of night at the Clare side with six hundred picked horsemen, he rode to Killaloe, fifteen miles above Limerick, and crossed the Shannon at an unguarded ford a little above the town.

Turning southeast, and having given his party a brief rest, he came on the convoy on the next night towards morning, beside the ruined castle of Ballyneety, near the village of Oola. All were asleep except a few sentinels, and the attack was a complete surprise. When the party of horse dashed in among them there was little resistance, and in a few minutes Sarsfield had possession of the whole train. He caused the cannons to be filled with powder and their mouths buried in the earth; a fuse was laid to magazine and cannon,

and the whole train was blown up in one terrific explosion. A part of William's army heard the ominous rumble in the distance, and too well divined what it meant. Sarsfield, successfully eluding a party sent out too late to intercept him, made his way safely back to the city. This brilliant exploit greatly raised the spirits of the besieged.

Notwithstanding this disaster King William, sending to Waterford for more heavy cannon, pressed the siege. The men worked at the trenches, which, in spite of the most determined opposition, were advanced within a few feet of the walls. The cannons made a great breach near St. John's Gate; and through this it was determined to make an assault.

On the afternoon of the 27th of August, 1690, a storming party, leaping up from the trenches, entered the breach, supported in the rear by ten thousand men. They fired their muskets and threw their hand grenades among the defenders, but were met by a terrible fire from all sides, front and flanks. Nearly all the front ranks were destroyed, and the rest showed signs of wavering; but thousands of resolute men pressed on from behind, and the Limerick men, now sore pressed, began to yield in their turn.

From every convenient standpoint the citizens viewed the terrible fight, but could see little through the thick cloud of smoke and dust. When they became aware that the assailants were prevailing, they rushed down in crowds from their secure resting-places, and seizing every available weapon, joined eagerly in the fray. Even the women—more active even than the women of



BLARNEY CASTLE, CORK

Derry—rushed to the very front, and regardless of danger, flung stones and bottles and missiles of every kind in the very faces of the assailants. The Brandenburg regiment, fighting steadily, had advanced to the Black Battery, and were swarming round and over it; when suddenly the magazine was exploded, and battery and Brandenburgers were blown into the air in horrible confusion.

For four hours this dreadful conflict raged, and a cloud of smoke and dust, wafted by a gentle breeze, reached the whole way to the top of Keeper Hill, sixteen miles off. The assailants, unable to withstand the tremendous and unexpected resistance, at last yielded, and turning round, rushed back through the breach in headlong confusion. King William had witnessed the conflict from Cromwell's fort; and having seen the repulse of his best troops, he returned to the camp deeply disappointed. Over two thousand of his men were killed or wounded; the loss of the Irish was comparatively small.

William raised the siege, which had lasted three weeks, and returned to England, leaving General Van Ginckell in command; and on the 31st of

August the army marched away from the city. The heroic defenders of Limerick had, almost without ammunition, repulsed a well-equipped veteran army directed by a great general who had never been foiled before.[a]

In September, 1690, John Churchill, afterwards the celebrated duke of Marlborough, captured Cork. Early in the next year the English under General Van Ginckell captured Athlone, and at Aughrim defeated a French force under St. Ruth, who was slain. Tyrconnel died in August, 1691, and Sarsfield succeeded to the chief command. In the same month Ginckell began again the siege of Limerick. After a short defence Sarsfield felt that no further help could be expected, a truce was arranged, articles of capitulation were signed on October 3rd, and the war of the revolution was over.[a]

A few days afterwards [and before the city had been actually handed over to the English] a French fleet sailed up the Shannon: eighteen ships of the line and twenty transports, with three thousand soldiers, two hundred officers, and arms and ammunition for ten thousand men; but Sarsfield refused to receive them, and honourably stood by the treaty.

The Treaty of Limerick contained fifty-two articles. The most important of the civil articles were: The Irish Catholics were to have the same liberty of worship as they enjoyed in the reign of Charles II. Those in arms for King James to retain the estates they possessed in the time of Charles II, and to be permitted to freely exercise their callings and professions. The oath to be taken by the Roman Catholics who submitted to be the oath of allegiance merely, not the oath of supremacy.

The principal military articles were: The garrison to be permitted to march out of the city with arms and baggage, drums beating and colours flying. Those officers and soldiers who wished might go to any foreign country, the government to provide them with ships; those who chose might join the army of William and Mary. Ginckell was anxious to keep those fine soldiers in the king's army, but only one thousand joined, and two thousand got passes for their homes.

More than twenty thousand—among them Sarsfield—went to Brest and entered the French service. These formed the nucleus of the famous Irish Brigade, who afterwards distinguished themselves in many a battlefield—Fontenoy, Ramillies, Blenheim, Landen. Numbers of the gentry attained distinguished positions on the Continent. Sarsfield, after brilliant service, fell mortally wounded at the battle of Landen in 1693, where he commanded the left wing of the French army. It is stated that while lying on the ground, seeing his hand stained with his own blood, he exclaimed, "Oh, that this was for Ireland!" There was at this time and for long after a vast exodus of the very flower of the Irish people; and between 1691 and 1745 it is reckoned that four hundred and fifty thousand Irishmen[1] entered the service of France and other foreign countries.[a]

WILLIAM III: THE PENAL LAWS

Irish rhetoric commonly styles Limerick "the city of the violated treaty"; from the first its interpretation was disputed. Hopes of religious liberty were held out, but were not fulfilled. Lords justices Porter and Coningsby promised

[1] Many of these wandering soldiers of fortune or their descendants attained high positions in their adopted countries. Among them, to mention only a few, were: Leopold O'Donnell, duke of Tetuan, premier of Spain; Count Taaffe, premier of Austria (1879–93); O'Higgins, the liberator of Chili; President MacMahon of France, and General Keller, the Russian general killed in the Manchurian campaign in the Russo-Japanese war, July, 1904.]

to do their utmost to obtain a parliamentary ratification, but the Irish parliament would not be persuaded. There was a paragraph in the original draft which would have protected the property of the great majority of Catholics, but this was left out in the articles actually signed. William thought the omission accidental, but this is hardly possible. At all events, he ratified the treaty in the sense most favourable to the Catholics, while the Irish parliament adhered to the letter of the document.

Perhaps no breach of faith was intended, but the sorrowful fact remains that the modern settlement of Ireland has the appearance of resting on a broken promise. More than one million Irish acres were forfeited, and, though some part returned to Catholic owners, the Catholic interest in the land was further diminished. William III was the most liberally minded man in his dominions; but the necessities of his position—such is the awful penalty of greatness—forced him into intolerance against his will, and he promised to discourage the Irish woollen trade. His manner of disposing of the Irish forfeitures was inexcusable. Grants to Bentinck, Ruvigny, and Ginckell may be defended, but not that to Elizabeth Villiers, countess of Orkney, the king's former mistress.

The lands were resumed by the English parliament, less perhaps from a sense of justice than from a desire to humiliate the deliverer of England, and were resold to the highest bidder. Nevertheless, it became the fashion to reward nameless English services at the expense of Ireland. Pensions and sinecures which would not bear the light in England were charged on the Irish establishment, and even bishoprics were given away on the same principle. The tremendous uproar raised by Swift [in his *Drapier's Letters*] about "Wood's halfpence" was heightened by the fact that Wood shared his profits with the duchess of Kendal.[1]

From the first the victorious colonists determined to make another 1641 impossible, and the English government failed to moderate their severity.

In 1708 Swift declared that the Papists were politically as inconsiderable as the women and children. In 1703 the Irish parliament begged hard for a legislative union, but as that would have involved at least partial free trade the English monopolists prevented it. By Poynings' law England had a vote on all Irish legislation, and was therefore an accomplice in the penal laws. By these no Papist might teach a school or any child but his own, or send children abroad—the burden of proof lying on the accused, and the decision being left to magistrates without a jury. Mixed marriages were forbidden between persons of property, and the children might be forcibly brought up Protestants. A Papist could not be a guardian, and all wards in chancery were brought up Protestants. The Protestant eldest son of a landed proprietor might make his father tenant for life and secure his own inheritance. Among Papist children land went in compulsory gavelkind. Papists could not take longer leases than thirty-one years at two-thirds of a rack-rent; they were even required to conform within six months of an inheritance accruing, on pain of being ousted by the next Protestant heir. Priests from abroad were banished, and their return declared treason. All priests were required to register and to remain in their own parishes, and informers were to be rewarded at the expense of the popish inhabitants. No Papist was allowed arms, two justices being empowered to search; and if he had a good horse any Protestant might claim it on tendering £5.

[1] In 1723 Walpole granted to an Englishman, William Wood, a patent to coin £108,000 in debased halfpence and farthings for circulation in Ireland. The £40,000 profit was to be equally divided between Wood and the duchess of Kendal, the king's mistress.]

These laws were, of course, systematically evaded. The property of Roman Catholics was often preserved through Protestant trustees, and it is understood that faith was generally kept. Yet the attrition if slow was sure, and by the end of the century the proportion of land belonging to Roman Catholics was probably not more than one-tenth of the whole. We can see now that if the remaining Roman Catholic landlords had been encouraged they would have done much to reconcile the masses to the settlement. Individuals are seldom as bad as corporations, and the very men who made the laws against priests practically shielded them. Nothing was so odious as a priest-hunter, even among Protestants, and this form of delation doubtless did much to create the Irish horror of informing, or indeed of giving any evidence. The penal laws put a premium on hypocrisy, and many conformed only to preserve their property or to enable them to take office. Proselytising schools, though supported by public grants, entirely failed.

COMMERCIAL RESTRAINTS: THE DISSENTERS

The restraint placed by English commercial jealousy on Irish trade destroyed manufacturing industry in the south and west. Driven by the Caroline legislation against cattle into breeding sheep, Irish graziers produced the best wool in Europe. Forbidden to export it, or to work it up profitably at home, they took to smuggling, for which the indented coast gave great facilities. The enormous profits of the contraband trade with France enabled Ireland to purchase English goods to an extent greater than her whole lawful traffic. The moral effect was disastrous. The religious penal code it was thought meritorious to evade; the commercial penal code was ostentatiously defied; and both tended to make Ireland the least law-abiding country in Europe.

When William III promised to depress the Irish woollen trade, he promised to do all he could for Irish linen. England did not fulfil the second promise; still the Ulster weavers were not crushed, and their industry flourished. Some Huguenot refugees, headed by Louis Crommelin, were established by William III at Lisburn, and founded the manufacturing prosperity of Ulster. Other Huguenots attempted other industries, but commercial restraints brought them to nought. The peculiar character of the flax business has prevented it from crossing the mountains which bound the northern province. Wool was the natural staple of the south.

The Scottish Presbyterians who defended Londonderry were treated little better than the Irish Catholics who besieged it—the sacramental test of 1704 being the work of the English council rather than of the Irish parliament. In 1715 the Irish house of commons resolved that any one who should prosecute a Presbyterian for accepting a commission in the army without taking the test was an enemy to the king and to the Protestant interest. Acts of indemnity were regularly passed throughout the reign of George II, and until 1780, when the Test Act was repealed. A bare toleration had been granted in 1720. Various abuses, especially forced labour on roads which were often private jobs, caused the "Oakboys" insurrection in 1764. Eight years later the "Steelboys" rose against the exactions of absentee landlords, who often turned out Protestant yeomen to get a higher rent from Roman Catholic cottiers. The dispossessed men carried to America an undying hatred of England which had much to say to the American revolution, and that again reacted on Ireland. Lawless Protestant associations, called Peep o' Day Boys,

terrorised the north and were the progenitors of the Orangemen (1789). Out of the rival "defenders" Ribbonism in part sprang. The United Irishmen drew from both sources (1791).

SOCIAL STATE OF IRELAND IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

But the Ulster peasants were never as badly off as those of the south and west. Towards the end of the seventeenth century Raleigh's fatal gift had already become the food of the people. When Chief Baron Rice went to London in 1688 to urge the Catholic claims on James II, the hostile populace escorted him in mock state with potatoes stuck on poles. Had manufactures been given fair play in Ireland, population might have preserved some relation to capital. As it was, land became almost the only property, and the necessity of producing wool for smuggling kept the country in grass. The poor squatted where they could, receiving starvation wages, and paying exorbitant rents for their cabins, partly with their own labour. Unable to rise, the wretched people multiplied on their potato plots with perfect recklessness. During the famine which began in the winter of 1739 one-fifth of the population is supposed to have perished; yet it is hardly noticed in literature, and seems not to have touched the conscience of that English public which in 1755 subscribed £100,000 for the sufferers by the Lisbon earthquake. As might be expected where men were allowed to smuggle and forbidden to work, redress was sought in illegal combinations and secret societies. The dreaded name of "Whiteboy" was first heard in 1761, and agrarian crime has never since been long absent.



EDMUND BURKE
(1729-1797)

The mediæval colony in Ireland was profoundly modified by the pressure of the surrounding tribes. While partially adopting their laws and customs, the descendants of the conquerors often spoke the language of the natives, and in so doing nearly lost their own. Those who settled in Ireland after 1641 were in a very different mood. They hated, feared, and despised the Irish, and took pride in preserving their pure English speech. Molyneux and Petty, who founded the Royal Society of Dublin in 1683, were equally Englishmen, though the former was born in Ireland. Swift and Berkeley did not consider themselves Irishmen at all. Burke and Goldsmith, coming later, though they might not call themselves Englishmen, were not less free from provincialism.

It would be hard to name other four men, who, within the same period, used Shakespeare's language with equal grace and force. They were all educated at Trinity College, Dublin. The Sheridans were men of Irish race, but with the religion they adopted the literary tone of the dominant caste, which was small and exclusive, with the virtues and the vices of an aristocracy. The

oratory of the day was of a high order. Handel was appreciated in Dublin at a time when it was still the fashion to decry him in London. The public buildings of the Irish capital have always been allowed great architectural merit, and private houses still preserve much evidence of a refined taste. Angelica Kauffmann worked long in Ireland; Barry and Shee were of Irish birth; and on the whole, considering the small number of educated inhabitants, it must be admitted that the Ireland of Flood and Grattan was intellectually fertile.

The volunteers extorted partial free trade (1779), but manufacturing traditions had perished, and common experience shows how hard these are to recover. The demand for union was succeeded by a craving for independence. Poynings' law was repealed, and in 1782, in Grattan's opinion, Ireland was at last a nation. The ensuing period of eighteen years is the best known in Irish history. The quarrel and reconciliation of Flood and Grattan, the kindly patriotism of Charlemont, the eloquence, the devotion, the corruption, are household words. In 1784 out of 300 members 82 formed the regular opposition, of whom 30 were the nominees of whig potentates and 52 were really elected. The majority contained 29 members considered independent, 44 who expected to be bought, 44 placemen, 12 sitting for regular government boroughs, and 12 who were supposed to support the government on public grounds. The remaining seats were proprietary, and were let to government for valuable consideration. The house of lords, composed largely of boroughmongers and controlled by political bishops, was even less independent. Only Protestant freeholders had votes, which encouraged leases for lives, about the worst kind of tenure, and the object of each proprietor was to control as many votes as possible. The necessity of finding Protestants checked subdivision for a time, but in 1793 the Roman Catholics received the franchise, and it became usual to make leases in common, so that each lessee should have a freehold interest of 40s. The landlord, indeed, had little choice, for his importance depended on the poll book. Salaries, sinecures, even commissions in the army were reserved for those who contributed to the return of some local magnate.[b]

THE IRISH AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

Not less through the faults of the governed than through the faults of the governors, Ireland had never enjoyed any continuance of tranquillity. After the period of the American war, when the Irish volunteers were allowed to arm themselves, the turbulence had greatly increased. Generally speaking, the period from 1778 down to 1798 had been one of concession to the Irish Roman Catholics, who formed about seven-tenths of the population. Whilst the American revolutionary war lasted, and for some years after it ceased, the disaffected Irish took their inspiration from the other side of the Atlantic, and in many instances closely imitated the proceedings of the Americans. But as soon as the eruption of the great volcano commenced in France, they fixed their eyes on that pillar of fire as that which was to lead them through night and darkness, and waves more perilous than those of the Red Sea, to the glorious light of day, and to regions more blessed than the Promised Land. From that moment the French revolutionists became the models of the leaders of the Irish reformers, some of whom, at a very early stage of the revolution in France, contemplated nothing less than a revolution in Ireland, and went over to Paris to be indoctrinated into the modes of making it, and to bargain for the assistance of the French.

At the beginning of 1793, or almost immediately after the declaration of war against England, the ruling party in France (then Jacobin-Gironde) despatched a secret agent to Ireland to confer with the leaders of the Society of United Irishmen, and to offer them the aid of French arms for the liberation of their country. This emissary brought a letter of introduction to Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who had been dismissed from the English army for having frequented the Jacobin Club at Paris; for having been one, with Thomas Paine, and men of that stamp, at a great public dinner at Paris, where the most revolutionary and jacobinical speeches were delivered, and the hope expressed that England as well as Ireland would soon be revolutionised *à la Française*. Soon after that unlucky dinner, he became acquainted with Madame de Genlis, and married her Pamela—her own illegitimate daughter by the Duke of Orleans, or Philippe Egalité.

In 1794, when the reign of the Jacobins and of terror was at its height, another secret emissary came over from France to Ireland. This individual, a subject of the king, an Irishman by birth, and a Protestant clergyman by profession, was the Rev. William Jackson. He conferred with Wolfe Tone, and many others of the Irish revolutionists, and repeated the promises of the French to assist them "in breaking their chains." This Jackson was arrested in Dublin soon after his landing, and was tried and condemned for high treason; but he made no confessions, he left the government in the dark as to the extent of the conspiracy, and he escaped a public execution by committing suicide.

A stop was put to further concessions; and in Ireland, with at least as much reason as in England, every attempt at reform or change was reprobated. Wolfe Tone, who had fled to America, found at Philadelphia his friend Hamilton Rowan, who had also escaped from justice, a Dr. Reynolds, and other Irish patriots. Hamilton Rowan introduced Wolfe Tone to citizen Adet, the minister of the French to the American republic; and a negotiation for invading Ireland by a French army was opened forthwith.

Tone, being at length supplied with money by United Irishmen in Ireland, and furnished with a letter to the committee of *salut public* by citizen Adet, sailed for France to conclude his treaty there. He arrived at Havre-de-Grâce on the 1st of February, 1796, and found that the French "are a humane people, when they are not mad," and that he liked them, "with all their faults, and the guillotine at the head of them, a thousand times better than the English." On arriving at Paris he was received by Carnot, and by General Clarke, then a sort of secretary-at-war, and afterwards the notorious Duke de Feltre, who told him that General Hoche should sail for Ireland with an irresistible army as soon as the directory could raise money to hire and equip transports.

The directory expressed an anxiety to see some agent from the United Irishmen of a more exalted condition and of better known name and character. Lord Edward Fitzgerald, brother to the then duke of Leinster, and Arthur O'Connor, nephew of Lord Longueville, and said to be lineally descended from Roderick O'Connor, king of Connaught, readily accepted the mission at the request of the chiefs of the United Irishmen. They left Dublin at the end of May, 1796, Lord Edward being accompanied by his French wife.

They took London in their way; and during their short stay in that city Lord Edward dined at the house of an opposition peer, in company with Fox, Sheridan, and several other distinguished whigs of the Fox party. From London the secret negotiators proceeded to Hamburg, and from Hamburg

they went to Bâle, and through Barthelemy negotiated with the directory. They were informed that an army for Ireland would soon be ready, and that Hoche would have the command of it.

After a month's stay at Bâle, O'Connor went into France to confer with Hoche, and to finish the negotiation; and Lord Edward returned to Hamburg talking on the road with his chance fellow travellers in what appears to have been the most rash and puerile style. Hoche, having full powers from the directory, very soon concluded the treaty with O'Connor, and pledged himself that the expedition should sail in the course of the autumn. Lord Edward and O'Connor soon returned to Ireland; but Tone remained to come over with Hoche and the French army. Wolfe Tone went with the expedition to Bantry Bay, running two narrow and terrible chances—the one of being taken and hanged, the other of being shipwrecked and drowned. He, however, got back safely to France.

Neither abroad nor at home in Ireland was the notion given up of another invasion. The winds of heaven had scattered the late armament, but another might be more successful. In the course of the spring of 1797, the chiefs of the United Irishmen, thinking it expedient to have a resident ambassador at Paris, despatched thither E. J. Servines, with powers to act as their accredited minister, and with instructions to negotiate, if possible, a loan of £500,000 sterling.

THE REVOLT OF 1798 A.D.

In the month of February, 1798, a most pressing letter was addressed by the so-called Irish executive to the French directory, urging them to send immediate succour, and stating that the people of all classes throughout Ireland then regimented, and partly armed, amounted to little less than three hundred thousand men. Talleyrand positively assured their agent at Paris that an expedition was getting ready in the French forts, which should certainly sail in the month of April. On the 28th of February Arthur O'Connor, Quigley or O'Coigley, an Irish priest, and Binns, an active member of the London Corresponding Society, were arrested at Margate, as they were on the point of embarking for France. A paper was found on the priest, addressed to the French directory, earnestly inviting an invasion of England, which, it was calculated, would prevent the English sending troops into Ireland. This paper, and the trial which followed, put the government in possession of many important secrets; but a great deal had been unravelled before this time. Quigley, the priest, who died protesting his innocence of treason, and who really appears to have been less deeply engaged in the conspiracy than any of them, was found guilty, and was executed on Pennenden Heath; O'Connor was remanded on another charge of high treason, and Binns was acquitted. Some arrests were forthwith ordered at Dublin, and some more papers were found in a printing office—the office where O'Connor had been publishing a revolutionary journal, called the *Press*.

But much completer revelations were now about to be made, by one of the chief revolutionists. Several obscurer members of the Association of United Irishmen had played false before; but the great secrets of the society were not intrusted to such as those; and the government was anxiously looking for some higher and more fully informed traitor to that cause, when a Mr. Thomas Reynolds, who had "Esquire" written after his name, and who lived in what was called a castle, who had been deep in all the plots and

intimate with most of the leading plotters, who was the nominal treasurer of a county and the appointed colonel for a regiment of the insurgent army, pretending that the United Irishmen were going much farther than he, in his innocence, had ever anticipated, and that his love of the constitution and the integrity of the empire induced him to betray his friends, but in reality being hard driven by debt, and filled with the hope of an immense reward, divulged all that he knew to a friend of the government.

A warrant from the secretary of state's office was forthwith placed in the hands of Major Swan, a magistrate for the county of Dublin, who, on the 12th of March, repaired to the house of Oliver Bond (a merchant, and one of the principal conspirators), where there was to be a great meeting, attended by thirteen sergeants in plain clothes, and by means of the passwords—"Where's M'Cann? Is Ivers from Carlow come?" obtained admission to the meeting, and arrested all such persons as were there assembled. Dr. M'Neven, who had been on a special commission to Paris, Thomas A. Emmet, Sampson, and Lord Edward Fitzgerald, were not at the meeting; but separate warrants being issued against them, M'Neven and Emmet were soon apprehended; Sampson fled to England, was seized at Carlisle, and brought back to Dublin; but Lord Edward Fitzgerald concealed himself in Dublin and the neighbourhood, and was not discovered till the 19th of May.

It appears that, on the part of the government at least, the search after him had not been very active, and that, on account of his noble family and his numerous friends, his escape would gladly have been connived at. But seemingly he never contemplated escaping, but employed himself all the time he was under hiding in arranging how the insurgents were to rise and march upon Dublin. He had fixed the 23rd of May for the general rising. On being surprised, lying on a bed in the house of one Murphy, on the evening of the 19th, he behaved more like a madman than a hero, savagely shedding blood without the slightest hope of fighting his way out, for the house was surrounded by pickets, and a numerous and steady garrison were under arms in the streets tof Dublin. When Major Swan entered the garret and showed his warrant, he sprang up like a tiger. Swan, to stop his attack, fired a pocket-pistol at him, but without effect. A soldier now entered, and at that instant Lord Edward ran at Swan with a dagger which had been concealed in his bed.

Mr. Ryan, a magistrate, next entered, armed only with a sword-cane, and presently received a mortal wound from Lord Edward's dagger. Major Sirr, the active town-major who had been setting the pickets, next rushed into the room, where he found Lord Edward, a very tall and powerful man, struggling between Swan and Ryan, Ryan being on the ground weltering in his blood, but still clinging, like Swan, who was also bleeding and wounded in several places, to his adversary. Major Sirr, threatened by the bloody dagger, took a deliberate aim, and lodged the contents of a pistol in Lord Edward's right shoulder. A number of soldiers followed Sirr upstairs, and after a maniacal struggle Lord Edward was disarmed and bound, carried to the castle, and thence to Newgate. Ryan died of his wounds on the 23rd of May; Lord Edward died of his wounds, or fever brought on by them and his anxiety of mind, on the 5th of June; Swan recovered from the frightful gashes he had received.

In spite of the fall of Lord Edward, who was to have been their commander-in-chief, and in spite of the flight or arrest of every member of the directory or executive, the Irish flew to arms in various places on the appointed 23rd of May. On the 24th they made an abortive attempt on Naas, Carlow, and

some other towns. But on the 25th an army of fourteen thousand or more pikemen, headed by a Father John Murphy, marched to Wexford, defeated part of the garrison that sallied out to meet them, killed all the prisoners they took, and terrified the town of Wexford into a surrender on the 30th. Encouraged by these and other trifling advantages, the rebels made a rush at New Ross, took part of the town, began to plunder and drink, got for the most part very drunk, and were then driven back by General Johnson, leaving twenty-six hundred of their number behind them in killed, wounded, and dead drunk. At the news of this success of the king's troops at New Ross, a body of the insurgents stationed at Scullabogue massacred in cold blood more than one hundred Protestants they had taken prisoners.

These and similar atrocities prevented the Presbyterians of the north from rising, and gave to the insurrection the old character of a popish rebellion and massacre. But the best of the Roman Catholics presently came forward to express their abhorrence of the whole rising, and to offer their assistance to the government in suppressing it. After a few other fights or skirmishes, General Lake attacked, on the 21st of June, the fortified position at Vinegar Hill, carried it with a frightful loss to the insurgents, who never rallied again, and then retook Wexford and Enniscorthy.

Lord Camden was now recalled from the lieutenancy of Ireland, and succeeded by Lord Cornwallis, who brought with him a general pardon (with a very few exceptions) to all who submitted. Of the leading conspirators who had been taken, only four—M'Cann, Byrn, and two brothers of the name of Sheares, the sons of a banker at Cork—were executed. Bond was condemned to die; but his life was spared on condition of disclosing all he knew respecting the rebellion—a condition he accepted, with the proviso that his information should not affect the lives of his fellow-prisoners. Arthur O'Connor, M'Neven, Emmet, Sampson, and the rest were merely banished. In the month of August, when the flames of rebellion seemed completely extinguished, three French frigates, eluding the vigilance of the fleets, reached Killala, and threw on shore nine hundred troops of the line, commanded by General Humbert. A small number of the Roman Catholic peasantry of the country joined him, and Humbert proceeded rapidly to Castlebar. There he encountered General Lake, with a force superior in number, but consisting chiefly of Protestant yeomanry and militia. Lake was beaten, and in his retreat lost six guns.

From Castlebar, Humbert marched eastward into the very heart of the country, expecting to be joined by all the men of Connaught, if not by all the papists of the island, but finding, wherever he advanced, that the mass of the people shunned him and his soldiers as though they had brought the plague with them. About seventeen days after his first landing, Humbert was beaten by the advance guard of Lord Cornwallis, who was marching against him; and on the 8th of September, being entirely surrounded, the French laid down their arms and became prisoners of war.

To keep up the ferment and suspicion, and to oblige England to maintain a large force in Ireland, the French, within a month after the surrender of Humbert, ordered a squadron of one ship of the line and eight frigates, with troops, arms, and ammunition on board, to choose a favourable moment for getting to sea, and then to proceed to Ireland at all hazards. This armament actually reached the western coast of Ireland; but Sir John Borlase Warren, with his squadron, met it there, and gave a very good account of it, capturing the ship of the line and three of the frigates. On board the French ship of the line was seized Wolfe Tone, whose deeds, words, and writings had placed

him beyond the liberally extended verge of mercy. On his trial,[1] he pleaded his commission of a brigadier-general in the French army as a bar to punishment for all treasons, present or past; but he was condemned to die the death of a traitor; and finding that the sentence really meant hanging, he cut his throat in Dublin jail to escape the ignominy of the gallows.[k]

THE UNION (1801 A.D.)

William Pitt, the great English prime minister, had long resolved upon a legislative union between England and Ireland: he believed the proper time had now come, and made very careful preparations for his purpose. At the opening of 1799 the marquis of Cornwallis was lord lieutenant and Lord Castlereagh was chief secretary. The union was indirectly referred to in the Irish parliament in the speech from the throne on the 22nd of January, 1799. The opposition at once took the matter up, and they were joined by many who had hitherto been supporters of the government, among others John Foster the speaker, Sir John Parnell the chancellor of the exchequer, prime sergeant Fitzgerald, and Sir Jonah Barrington: all fearing the loss of their parliament. They moved "that the undoubted birthright of the people of Ireland, a resident and independent legislature, should be maintained." After an excited debate of twenty-two hours the votes were equally divided, one hundred and six on each side. Parnell and Fitzgerald were soon afterwards dismissed from their offices.

In February, 1799, the scheme was brought forward in the English parliament by Pitt, and approved. In Ireland elaborate preparations were made to carry it in next session. All persons holding offices who showed themselves adverse were dismissed. The Irish government had been all along corrupt—but now, still under outside orders, it went far beyond anything ever experienced before.

Those who had the disposal of seats—a money-making possession in times of election—were in great alarm; for if the union were carried the three hundred members would have to be reduced to a third, so that about two hundred constituencies would be disfranchised. The opposition of these proprietors was bought off by large sums: about £15,000 was paid for each seat. One proprietor got £52,000; two others £45,000 each; a third £23,000; and so on. The entire sum paid for the whole of the "rotten" or "pocket" boroughs as they were called, was £1,260,000, which Ireland itself had to pay, for it was added to the Irish national debt.

To purchase the votes of individual members, and the favour of certain influential outsiders, twenty-eight new peers were created, and twenty-two of those already peers were promoted; and there were besides great numbers of bribes in the shape of pensions, judgeships, baronetcies, preferments, various situations, and direct cash. All this was done with scarcely an attempt at concealment. Lord Cornwallis, a high-minded man, expressed the utmost abhorrence at being obliged to take a part in these transactions.

The session opened on the 15th of January, 1800, the last meeting of the Irish parliament. Grattan, knowing what was coming, had himself elected member for Wicklow, and though very ill, he rose from his bed and took his seat dressed in the uniform of the volunteers. Dublin was in a state of fearful excitement. The streets were filled with dismayed and sorrow-stricken

[1 Tone was defended by the eloquent John Philpot Curran, who in a masterful speech succeeded in obtaining a stay of execution on legal grounds. But in the mean time Tone died from his self-inflicted wound.]

crowds who had to be kept within bounds by cavalry. Lord Castlereagh brought forward the motion in the commons. The anti-unionists opposed the project most determinedly; Grattan, worn with sickness, pleaded with all his old fiery eloquence; and Sir John Parnell proposed that there should be a dissolution and that a new parliament should be called to determine this great question; but the unionists carried everything. There were many motions: on the first the government had one hundred and fifty-eight against one hundred and fifteen, and in the others there were corresponding majorities.

In the lords the bill was introduced by Lord Clare (John Fitzgibbon), who had fifty votes against twenty-five. On the 1st of August the royal assent was given; and the act of union came into force on the 1st of January, 1801.

The following are the chief provisions of the act of union:

(1) The two kingdoms to be henceforward one—"The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland"· the succession to the throne to remain the same as before.

(2) The Irish representation in the united parliament to be—In the lords: four spiritual peers taken in rotation, from session to session, from the Irish Protestant hierarchy; and twenty-eight temporal peers to be elected for life by the whole Irish peerage; in the commons: one hundred members.

(3) All subjects of the United Kingdom to be under the same regulations as to trade and commerce.

(4) The Irish established church to be continued forever, and to be united with that of England.

(5) All members of parliament to take an oath, framed to exclude Roman Catholics (for no Catholic could conscientiously take it).

(6) Ireland to contribute two-seventeenths to the expenditure of the United Kingdom for twenty years, when new arrangements would be made.

(7) Each of the two countries to retain its own national debt as then existing; but all future debts contracted to be joint debts.

(8) The courts of justice to remain as they were: final appeals to the house of lords.

Pitt had at first intended to include in the articles of union the emancipation of the Catholics; but to this the leading Irish Protestants gave such fierce opposition that he had to abandon it.

But in order to lessen the hostility of the Catholics to the union, a promise was conveyed to them that emancipation would immediately follow. The promise, however, was not carried out; and the measure was delayed for twenty-nine years, chiefly through the invincible obstinacy of George III, who had a fixed idea that to agree to such a measure would be a breach of his coronation oath.

ROBERT EMMET'S INSURRECTION (1802-1803 A.D.)

In 1802 Robert Emmet, a gifted, earnest, noble-minded young man of twenty-four, younger brother of Thomas Addis Emmet, attempted to reorganise the United Irishmen. He had just returned from France and had hopes of aid from Napoleon. He employed all his private fortune in the secret manufacture of pikes and other arms. His plan was to attack Dublin castle and Pigeon House fort; and he had intended to rise in August, 1803, by which time he expected invasion from France; but an accidental explosion in one of his depots precipitated his plans. The 23rd of July was now fixed: on which day he expected a contingent from the celebrated Wicklow rebel, Michael Dwyer; and another from Kildare.

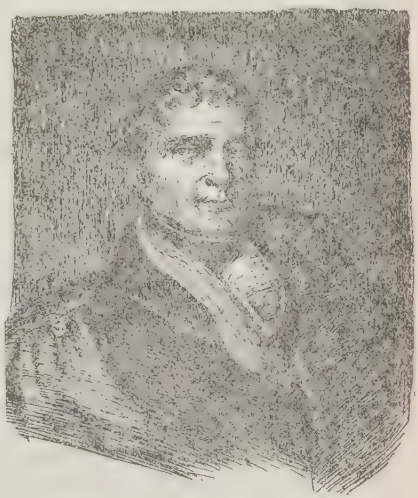
By some misunderstanding the Wicklow men did not arrive: and though the Kildare men came, there was no one to direct them. Towards evening a report was brought that the military were approaching; whereupon, in desperation, he sallied from his depot in Marshalsea lane into Thomas street and towards the castle, with about one hundred men.

The city was soon in an uproar; the mob rose up, and some stragglers, bent on mischief and beyond all restraint, began outrages. Meeting the chief justice, Lord Kilwarden, a good man and a humane judge, they dragged him from his coach and murdered him. When news of this outrage and others was brought to Emmet he was filled with horror, and attempted, but in vain, to quell the mob. Seeing that the attempt on the castle was hopeless, he fled to Rathfarnham.

He might have escaped, but he insisted on remaining to take leave of Sarah Curran, daughter of John Philpot Curran, to whom he was secretly engaged. He was arrested by Major Sirr on the 25th of August at his hiding-place in Harold's Cross; and soon after was tried and convicted, making a short speech of great power in the dock. On the next day, the 20th of September, 1803, he was hanged in Thomas street.[a]

DANIEL O'CONNELL AND CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION

After the union the Irish waited in vain for the promised act of emancipation, but King George remained as obstinate as ever. In 1805 Grattan became a member of parliament, and threw himself with all his power into the cause of Irish Catholic emancipation. A proposal to couple emancipation with a royal veto on the appointment of Irish Catholic bishops was rejected by the Irish generally, led by Daniel O'Connell, though favoured by most of the Irish gentry. The rejection of the project offered the opportunity to O'Connell to step into the position of a popular leader, an opportunity of which he, shrewdly, was not slow to take advantage.[a]



DANIEL O'CONNELL
(1775–1847)

To understand O'Connell's greatness we must look to the field of Irish politics. From early manhood he had turned his mind to the condition of Ireland and the mass of her people. The worst severities of the penal code had been, in a certain measure, relaxed; but the Catholics were still in a state of vassalage, and they were still pariahs compared with the Protestants. The rebellion of 1798 and the union had dashed the hopes of the Catholic leaders, and their prospects of success seemed very remote when, in the first years of the last century, this still unknown lawyer took up their cause. Up to this juncture the question had been in the hands of Grattan and other Protestants, and of a small knot of Catholic nobles and prelates; but their efforts had not accomplished much.

O'Connell inaugurated a different policy, and had soon given the Catholic

movement an energy it had not before possessed. Himself a Catholic of birth and genius, unfairly kept back in the race of life, he devoted his heart and soul to the cause, and his character and antecedents made him the champion who ultimately assured its triumph. Having no sympathy with the rule of "the Saxon," he saw clearly how weak was the hold of the government and the Protestant caste on the vast mass of the Catholic nation; having a firm faith in the influence of his church, he perceived that it might be made an instrument of immense political power in Ireland; and, having attained a mastery over the lawyer's craft, he knew how a great popular movement might be so conducted as to elude the law and yet be in the highest degree formidable.

With these convictions he formed the bold design of combining the Irish Catholic millions under the superintendence of the native priesthood into a vast league against the existing order of things, and of wresting the concession of the Catholic claims from every opposing party in the state by an agitation, continually kept up, and embracing almost the whole of the people, but maintained within constitutional limits, though menacing and shaking the frame of society. He gradually succeeded in carrying out his purpose: Catholic associations, at first small, but slowly assuming larger proportions, were formed in different parts of the country; attempts of the government and of the local authorities to put them down were skilfully baffled by legal devices of many kinds; and at last, after a conflict of years, all Catholic Ireland was arrayed to a man in an organisation of enormous power that demanded its rights with no uncertain voice.

O'Connell, having long before attained an undisputed and easy ascendency, stood at the head of this great national movement; but it will be observed that, having been controlled from first to last by himself and the priesthood, it had little in common with the mob rule and violence which he had never ceased to regard with aversion. His election to parliament for Clare in 1828 proved the forerunner of the inevitable change, and the Catholic claims were granted the next year to the intense regret of the Protestant Irish, by a government avowedly hostile to the last, but unable to withstand the overwhelming pressure of a people united to insist on justice. The result, unquestionably, was almost wholly due to the energy and genius of a single man, though the Catholic question would have been settled, in all probability, in the course of time; and it must be added that O'Connell's triumph, which showed what agitation could effect in Ireland, was far from doing his country unmixed good.

O'CONNELL'S LATER CAREER

O'Connell joined the whigs on entering parliament, and gave effective aid to the cause of reform. The agitation, however, on the Catholic question had quickened the sense of the wrongs of Ireland, and the Irish Catholics were engaged ere long in a crusade against tithes and the established church, the most offensive symbols of their inferiority in the state. It may be questioned whether O'Connell was not rather led than a leader in this; the movement, at least, passed beyond his control, and the country for many months was terrorised by scenes of appalling crime and bloodshed. Lord Grey, very properly, proposed measures of repression to put this anarchy down, and O'Connell opposed them with extreme vehemence, a seeming departure from his avowed principles, but natural in the case of a proper tribune. This caused a breach between him and the whigs; but he gradually returned to his alle-

giance to them when they practically abolished Irish tithes, cut down the revenues of the established church, and endeavoured to secularise the surplus.

By this time O'Connell had attained a position of great eminence in the house of commons: as a debater he stood in the very first rank, though he had entered St. Stephen's after fifty; and his oratory, massive and strong in argument, although often scurrilous and coarse, and marred by a bearing in which cringing flattery and rude bullying were strangely blended, made a powerful, if not a pleasing, impression. O'Connell steadily supported Lord Melbourne's government in its policy of advancing Irish Catholics to places of trust and power in the state, though personally he refused a high judicial office. Though a strict adherent of the creed of Rome, he was a liberal, nay a radical, as regards measures for the vindication of human liberty. His conservatism was most apparent in his antipathy to socialistic doctrines and his tenacious regard for the claims of property. He actually opposed the Irish Poor Law, as encouraging a communistic spirit; he declared a movement against rent a crime; and, though he had a strong sympathy with the Irish peasant, and advocated a reform of his precarious tenure, it is difficult to imagine that he could have approved the cardinal principle of the Irish Land Act, the judicial adjustment of rent by the state.

O'Connell changed his policy as regards Ireland when Peel became minister in 1841. He declared that a tory *régime* in his country was incompatible with good government, and he began an agitation for the repeal of the union. One of his motives in taking this course, no doubt, was a strong personal dislike of Peel, with whom he had often been in collision, and who had singled him out in 1829 for what must be called a marked affront. O'Connell, nevertheless, was sincere and even consistent in his conduct: he had denounced the union in early manhood as an obstacle to the Catholic cause; he had spoken against the measure in parliament; he believed that the claims of Ireland were set aside or slighted in what he deemed an alien assembly; and, though he had ceased for some years to demand repeal, and regarded it as rather a means than an end, he was throughout life an avowed repealer. It should be observed, however, that in his judgment the repeal of the union would not weaken the real bond between Great Britain and Ireland; and he had nothing in common with the rebellious faction who, at a later period, openly declared for the separation of the two countries by force.

The organisation (the Catholic Association) which had effected such marvellous results in 1828–1829 was recreated for the new project. Enormous meetings, convened by the priesthood and directed or controlled by O'Connell, assembled in 1842–1843, and probably nine-tenths of the Irish Catholics were unanimous in the cry for repeal. O'Connell seems to have thought success certain; but he had not perceived the essential difference between his earlier agitation and this. The enlightened opinion of the three kingdoms for the most part approved the Catholic claims, and as certainly it condemned repeal. After some hesitation Peel resolved to put down the repeal movement. A vast intended meeting was proclaimed unlawful, and O'Connell was arrested and held to bail with ten or twelve of his principal followers. He was convicted after the trials that followed, but they were not good specimens of equal justice, and the sentence was reversed by the house of lords, with the approbation of competent judges.

The spell, however, of O'Connell's power had vanished; his health had suffered much from a short confinement; he was verging upon his seventieth year, and he was alarmed and pained by the growth of a party in the repeal ranks who scoffed at his views and advocated the revolutionary doctrines

which he had always feared and abhorred. Before long famine had fallen on the land, and under this visitation the repeal movement, already paralysed, wholly collapsed. O'Connell died soon afterwards, on the 15th of May, 1847, at Genoa, whilst on his way to Rome, profoundly afflicted by his country's misery, and by the failure of his late high hopes, yet soothed in dying by sincere sympathy, felt throughout Ireland and largely in Europe, and expressed even by political foes. He was a remarkable man in every sense of the word; Catholic Ireland calls him her "liberator" still; and history will say of him that, with some failings, he had many and great gifts, that he was an orator of a high order, and that, agitator as he was, he possessed the wisdom, the caution, and the tact of a real statesman.[q]

The national system of education introduced in 1833 was the real recantation of intolerant opinions, but the economic state of Ireland was fearful. The famine, emigration, and the new Poor Law had nearly got rid of starvation, but the people had not become frankly loyal, for they felt that they owed more to their own importunity, to their own misfortunes, than to the wisdom of their rulers. The efforts of Young Ireland eventuated in another rebellion (1848); a revolutionary wave could not roll over Europe without touching the unlucky island. After the failure of that wretched outbreak there was peace until the close of the American Civil War released a number of adventurers trained to the use of arms and filled with hatred to England.

FENIANISM

Already in 1858 the discovery of the Phœnix conspiracy had shown that the policy of Mitchel and his associates was not forgotten. John O'Mahony, one of the men of '48, organised a formidable secret society in America, which his historical studies led him to call the Fenian brotherhood. The money raised in the United States was perhaps not less than £80,000, but it is due to O'Mahony to say that he died poor. In Ireland the chief direction of the conspiracy was assumed by James Stephens, who had been implicated in the Phœnix affair, and who never cordially agreed with O'Mahony. Stephens was very despotic—a true revolutionary leader. As in all Irish political conspiracies there were traitors in the camp, who kept the authorities well informed, and in September, 1865, the *Irish People* newspaper, which had been the organ of the movement, was suddenly suppressed by the government. The arrests of Luby, O'Leary, and O'Donovan Rossa followed, all of whom, with many others, were afterwards prosecuted to conviction. Stephens for a time eluded the police, living with little concealment in a villa near Dublin, and apparently occupied in gardening. But in November he was identified and captured, much evidence being found in his house. Ten days afterwards he escaped from Richmond prison, and it is now known that some of the warders were Fenians.

The promptitude of the government perhaps prevented a general insurrection, but there was a partial outbreak in February and March, 1867, chiefly in Kerry, Limerick, and Tipperary. The police, who behaved extremely well, were often attacked, but the Fenians abstained from plunder or from any acts which might estrange the rural population. The peasants, however, though for the most part nationalists, did not care to risk their lives in such a wild enterprise, and the young men of the towns furnished the only real force. Weather of extraordinary severity, which will long be remembered as the "Fenian winter," completed their discomfiture, and they suffered fearful hardships. There was enough sympathy with the movement to procure

the election of O'Donovan Rossa for Tipperary in 1867, when he was actually undergoing penal servitude. John Mitchel, whose old sentence was unreversed, was chosen by the same constituency as late as 1875, but in neither case was the vote a large one. It became the fashion in Ireland to celebrate annually the obsequies of the "Manchester martyrs," as the three Fenians were called who suffered death for the murder of Police-sergeant Brett. The Roman Catholic church has always opposed secret societies, and some priests had the firmness to discountenance these political funerals, but strong popular excitement in Ireland has generally been beyond clerical control. Even as late as 1879 the Fenian spirit was not extinct, and one of the brotherhood, named Devoy, announced a new departure in January of that year.

The Fenian movement disclosed much discontent, and was attended by criminal outrages in England. The abolition of the Irish church establishment, which had long been condemned by public opinion, was then decreed (1869). The land question was next taken in hand (1870). These reforms did not, however, put an end to Irish agitation. The Home Rule party, which demanded the restoration of a separate Irish parliament, showed increased activity, and the general election of 1874 gave it a strong representation at Westminster, where one section of the party developed into the "Obstructionists." Bad seasons and distress among the peasantry (1878–1880) added force to the Land League, and agrarian outrages increased to an alarming extent on the expiration of the Peace Preservation Act and the rejection by the lords of a bill temporarily limiting evictions. In 1881 a Coercion act was passed, and was immediately followed by a new Land act of large scope.[b]



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BOOK VI

ENGLAND SINCE 1792

CHAPTER I

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF ENGLAND FROM 1792 TO 1815

WRITTEN SPECIALLY FOR THE PRESENT WORK BY

C. W. C. OMAN, F.S.A.

IN the twenty-three years which elapsed between the armed intervention of Pitt in the wars of the French Revolution and the final victory of Waterloo modern England was created. In making this statement we do not refer to the mere growth of the British Empire. The actual territorial gains from France and her allies were comparatively insignificant. It was not by acquiring Ceylon or Trinidad, Demerara or Mauritius, the naval station at the Cape of Good Hope, or the fortress of Malta that Britain grew great. It was rather by the hardening process of struggling through an almost continuous war of more than twenty years, during which the odds were generally against her, and her national existence was for long periods in imminent danger, that she developed into her new consciousness of her power and her mission. In all history there is no better example of the reward that awaits the nation that endures to the end, and refuses with an enlightened obstinacy to accept any peace destitute of the real elements of solidity and security. The long years of war were, it is true, interrupted by one short truce—it was not a real pacification—during the thirteen months which followed the Treaty of Amiens [March, 1802–May, 1803], but Great Britain wisely recommenced hostilities the moment that she had discovered that she had to do with an adversary whose aims and ambitions were incompatible with her own. Having discovered what Bonaparte was, and what he wanted, the British ministers saw that the struggle with him must be urged to the bitter end. They were right, and their country owed them for their clearsightedness a debt of gratitude which has never been sufficiently acknowledged. Pitt, Castlereagh, and Canning made the England of the nineteenth century: if their policy had been

reversed, and the enemy had been allowed leisure to consolidate his naval power, a disaster would have been more than probable. To what depths of humiliation the policy of peace at any price might have led no man can tell —perhaps a consistent attempt to preserve neutrality might have conducted Great Britain to the same misery to which it led Prussia in 1806–1807.

THE UNPREPAREDNESS OF BRITAIN

At the commencement of the revolutionary war Great Britain was entirely unprepared for any effective armed intervention on the Continent. William Pitt had been essentially a peace minister: he had been pursuing for the first eight years of his premiership a policy of financial and administrative reform, with the object of enabling the nation to recover from the exhaustion in which it had been left at the end of the war of American independence. Never had he been so confident that he might pursue his course without being distracted by dangerous foreign complications as he was in 1792. In the February of that year he asserted in a speech that: "Unquestionably there never was a time in the history of this country when from the situation of Europe we may more reasonably expect fifteen years of peace than we may at the present moment." In consequence he cut down the establishment of the navy to sixteen thousand seamen and marines in his last peace budget, and reduced the number of the troops maintained in Great Britain to about the same amount. These are sufficient signs that the British government neither expected nor wished to be dragged into a new continental war. The opening act of the French Revolution had aroused sympathy in some observers on this side of the channel, and repulsion in others; but the latter were as far as the former from any desire to intervene in the internal affairs of France. They looked on the domestic troubles of the neighbouring realm as likely to disable it from active interference in European politics for many a year and rejoiced at the prospect.

It was not till the "September Massacres" and the deposition of Louis XVI that English public opinion began to spy real danger in the mad progress of the French republicans. From that moment men began to doubt whether our neighbours' concerns would not begin to affect us too closely to permit of the continuance of neutrality. The great whig orator, Edmund Burke, had long been thundering to unheeding ears about the peril to Great Britain, no less than to the rest of Europe, involved in the rise of an anarchic revolutionary propaganda in France. Hitherto most men had been content to believe that such a movement might be dangerous to effete continental despotism, but that it would not affect an orderly constitutional monarchy like Great Britain. In the autumn of 1792 they began to feel doubts upon this point, and to think that there was much truth in Burke's long series of pamphlets and speeches which kept reiterating the theme that the Revolution was the natural enemy of constitutional liberty no less than of bureaucratic autocracy.

The technical point upon which friction with France first began was our connection with Holland. Many treaties, of which the last had been signed as late as 1788, bound us to protect the United Provinces, and to support them on the question of the navigation of the Scheldt, which for the last two centuries had been the most important item in Dutch foreign policy. Now, after overrunning Belgium, the French republican armies showed strong signs of being about to interfere in Holland. The ministers at Paris had declared that the opening of the Scheldt was an "inevitable law of nature"; French troops had trespassed on Dutch territory, and had even demanded a free

passage through the Dutch fortress of Maestricht. Secret agents had been intercepted bearing communications between French officials and domestic malcontents in Holland. If the Dutch were attacked, England would be bound by treaty to intervene in their favour. With this indisputable fact in view Pitt on December 1st, 1792, called out the militia, and gave orders that many warships should be put in commission. The navy had been reduced to such a small establishment, that even in face of the mere chance of war it was impracticably weak.

But it was not really the danger of a French invasion of Holland that weighed most with the cabinet and the nation during the winter months of 1792-1793. There was a general feeling that (even if the Dutch question had not existed) the French republic was a neighbour of insufferably dangerous and aggressive tendencies. If this view became more and more prevalent the French had themselves to blame. They were flinging firebrands all over Europe in the form of appeals to the nations bidding them rise against their rulers. On November 19th the national convention had passed a decree proffering French assistance to "all subjects revolting against a tyrant." That this decree threatened Great Britain no less than other neutral powers was shown clearly enough. There existed on this side of the channel a certain number of clubs and associations founded during the last two or three years to manifest sympathy with the Revolution. The addresses and deputations which these bodies were continually sending to Paris were formally acknowledged by the convention in language which it was wholly improper to use to the citizens of another state. A single example may suffice. On November 21st some deputies from British associations came before the bar of the convention, announcing their intention of establishing a similar convention in their own country, and expressing their hopes that France "would never lay down her arms as long as tyrants and slaves continue to exist." The astounding reply of the president of the convention was that "royalty in Europe is either destroyed, or on the point of perishing in the ruins of feudalism. The declaration of the rights of man is a devouring fire which consumes all thrones. Worthy republicans, the festivals which you celebrate in honour of the French Revolution are the prelude to the festival of nations," etc., etc. Such language was a direct incitement from the governing body of France to the discontented British subjects, inviting them to overthrow their own constitution. The same impression was produced by the conduct of the French to the celebrated atheist pamphleteer, Tom Paine: prosecuted for seditious libel in England he fled to Paris, where he was at once made a French citizen and elected as a member of the convention.

The English revolutionary societies had little hold upon the country, but they made up for their want of power and numbers by the violence of their language. The leaders were political visionaries steeped in the theories of Rousseau, or men with a grievance, or ambitious nobodies who loved to hear themselves talk. The dangerous section of their followers was drawn from that discontented class which exists in all states whether kingdoms or republics. Such men, twenty years before, had led the Gordon riots, and twenty-five years later were to join the Cato street conspiracy. They were of the same type which to-day supplies the anarchists of Chicago or the nihilists of St. Petersburg. But the bulk of the audiences to which the English revolutionary orators ranted were merely composed of the ordinary victims of hard times. The year 1792 had seen a bad harvest and high prices, there was much distress and some rioting which (guided by the local Jacobins) often took a republican aspect. The whole movement deserved contempt rather

than fear—a few local bread-riots and some incendiary harangues delivered by mischievous idiots could not seriously threaten the British constitution. But they seemed serious enough when studied in comparison with the original disturbances which had heralded the Revolution in France. Forgetting that the circumstances in the two countries were wholly different, and that on this side of the channel the government was supported by a clear majority of all classes, the leading men of England took the revolutionary agitation very seriously. It was not only the cabinet and the tory party which were moved: by much the larger half of the whigs were inspired by the same feeling. When their leader, Fox, opposed a warlike address to the crown in the house of commons, only fifty of his party voted with him; the rest followed Pitt. Indeed, between 1792 and 1795 the whole right wing of the whig party moved over one by one to the other side of the house: many of them actually adhered to the tory government and ultimately accepted office under it. Fox remained with a mere handful of followers to represent the old opposition, and was looked on with suspicion by the larger part of the nation, as one who for factious party reasons refused to support a necessary and inevitable national war.

OUTBREAK OF WAR (1793 A.D.)

Meanwhile the war had come. While angry notes and accusations of mutual hostility were passing between the English and French governments, the convention, in which the violent Jacobin party had seized on complete ascendency, tried and executed King Louis XVI. They sent the feeble and irresolute monarch to the guillotine as a direct challenge to monarchical Europe: "the coalised kings threatened us," said Danton, "and we hurl at their feet as our gage the head of a king." On January 21st, 1793, the unhappy Louis went to the guillotine. No event abroad since the massacre of St. Bartholomew had created such a universal movement of horror in England. On the 24th Pitt bade the French ambassador quit the country: on February 1st the convention replied by declaring war on England, and followed this act up by a similar declaration against the Dutch.

Thus commenced the first act of the great war with France. It was to last more than nine years (February 1st, 1793–March 25th, 1802). From the English point of view it was purely a war of opinion: there was no question of naval supremacy or commerce or transmarine empire involved, as there had been in all our previous contests with France during the eighteenth century. Great Britain took arms to defend herself from the insolent Jacobin propaganda which was openly threatening her, and to protect her constitution. Pitt hoped that the struggle would be short. When the English fleet came to the help of the armies of the continental powers, he judged that France must soon succumb. Like every other statesman in Europe he could not foresee that the frantic energy of the Jacobins would triumph over the loose league of monarchs whose interests were divergent and whose zeal was of very various quality.

The history of the revolutionary war from the English point of view falls into three periods. The first embraces the struggle against the Jacobins, in 1793–1794; the second that against the directory, from 1794–1799; the third that with the first consul Bonaparte, from 1799 to 1802. Each of these sections has its peculiar characteristics. During the first, Great Britain was but one of the assailants, who were beating upon every frontier of the French Republic. Her part in the war was but secondary. Things became very

different in 1795, when all the other European powers save Austria and Sardinia withdrew from the strife; the stress became heavier, and when Sardinia had been crushed and Austria forced to sign the Peace of Campo Formio (October, 1797), Great Britain was left for a space as the sole antagonist of France. This year and that which followed were the most dangerous periods of the struggle; we shall see that for a time the prospect looked gloomy, and that when internal sedition came to the aid of the foreign enemy it seemed for one black year that Britain was doomed. But the greed of the directory rekindled the European war in 1798, and once more Pitt found continental allies to distract the attention of the foe. It was not till after Marengo and the Peace of Lunéville (February, 1801) that Britain was once more left alone to face France under her new dictator, the first consul Bonaparte. For thirteen months she strove against him with good success, but gladly came to terms in March, 1802, at the Peace of Amiens, when it was thought that the revolutionary storm had blown over, and that a definitive pacification might at last be arrived at with our neighbours.

THE FIRST STAGES OF THE WAR

In the first stage of the war, from 1793 to the Peace of Bâle, it must be confessed that Great Britain did not figure to advantage. It is true that her fleet was soon raised to a footing which enabled it to sweep the seas, and that after Howe's victory of the "Glorious First of June," 1794, the disorganised navy of the Jacobins had to hide itself in the recesses of its harbours. It was a great advantage to command the seas, and to know that our commerce and our colonies were safe. But in all else the efforts of Britain were misdirected and ineffectual. Attempts to aid French malcontents by co-operating with the Vendéans in the west, and the insurgents of Toulon in the south ended in humiliation to ourselves and in the destruction of our unfortunate allies. Still worse was the effect of the duke of York's expedition to Flanders (1793–1794) to assist the Austrians in their attack on northern France. The army was not in a condition to co-operate with advantage in a great continental campaign. The land forces of Britain had been hastily increased from about forty thousand men to one hundred thousand in 1793, but organisation was wanting, and the leaders were hopelessly incompetent. The men fought well enough, but the generals could not utilise their courage, and the dilatory and incapable prince who had been placed in command was beaten out of Flanders, chased across Holland, and compelled to seek refuge in Germany after an almost unbroken series of disasters. The prestige of the British army never sank lower than in 1794, and a widespread opinion began to prevail that it was useless to hope to face the French on land.

The first stage of the war ended in disappointment; the struggle had proved long and arduous, and was clearly far from its end. But worse was to come. The Jacobin government having fallen in France (July, 1794), several of the states which had formed the monarchical league against the revolution made peace with the more moderate (if also more corrupt) directory which succeeded it. After the treaties of Bâle (June–July, 1795) Austria and Sardinia were the only effective allies who remained to us, and they were not destined to abide for long in the coalition. The commanding personality of Napoleon Bonaparte had appeared upon the scene: in his great Italian campaign of 1796–1797 he shattered Sardinia, expelled the Austrians from Lombardy, and forced them back into their own territories, where, after

having carried the terror of his arms almost to the gates of Vienna, he dictated the Peace of Campo Formio.

Left alone in Europe Great Britain had now to reconsider her position. She was no longer one of a confederacy assailing France, but was herself assailed by a confederacy headed by France. For Holland had now become a client state to her conqueror, and Spain had been led by ancient commercial jealousy to unite with the directory in an attempt to strike down the naval predominance of Britain. The fleets of both these important maritime powers were placed at the disposition of our enemies, while the victorious French armies from Italy and Germany were brought across to the shores of the English Channel to watch for an opportunity of invasion.

The situation would have been threatening even if Great Britain had been unhampered by domestic troubles. But in 1797–1798 her internal situation was deplorable. The moral effect of unsuccessful war is always demoralising; the enormous amount of fresh taxation that had been imposed, the growing weight of the national debt, a series of bad harvests, commercial distress caused by the closing of a great part of the Continent to English trade, had all contributed to breed misery. There was also no inconsiderable amount of political discontent: the terror inspired by the Jacobin propaganda had caused Pitt to abandon his old liberal principles of government, and to introduce much legislation which seemed to trespass on the old national liberties. The right of free meeting had been limited, arbitrary imprisonment had become possible by the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, free speech and the liberty of the press had been restricted. Harsh and vindictive sentences had been passed on many persons accused of seditious intentions. The natural consequence had been to create a much more serious feeling of unrest than had prevailed at the commencement of the war.

THE CONDITION OF IRELAND

But if Great Britain's political condition was unsatisfactory, that of Ireland was absolutely deplorable. There all the conditions suitable for the development of domestic trouble were already in existence before the revolutionary war broke out, and the torch only needed to be applied to the inflammable material. In 1782 Ireland had obtained a Home-Rule parliament, but therewith only the mockery of self-government. All power was in the hands of a minority, the members of the established church of Ireland, who alone were eligible for seats in the legislature. Not only Roman Catholics but even Protestant dissenters were excluded from it, and the former were still denied many of the common political rights of citizens. It was only in 1792 that they had been granted freedom of public worship and the right to vote for members of parliament, though unable to sit themselves. The Romanists formed five-sevenths of the whole population of the island, yet had to submit to the arbitrary governance of the minority. Here, if anywhere in Europe, was a people to whom the appeal of the Jacobins might most appropriately be addressed. Yet the first converts of the French propaganda were not Romanists, but members of the much less numerous class of Protestant malcontents, some of them political dissenters, others zealots inspired by the common enthusiasm for the ideas of the Revolution which had penetrated to every corner of Europe. For some time the Romanists held back —the priesthood had been frightened by the wild words of the atheists and freethinkers of the French convention, and doubted whether support ought to be sought in such quarters. But in spite of their reluctance many Catho-

lies soon pressed into the ranks of the discontented; their political grievances outweighed their religious scruples.

From this movement arose the celebrated revolutionary society of the "United Irishmen," whose chiefs agreed to set religion aside, and to work for the union of the radical dissenters of Ulster and the Romanists of the south. It was a strange league when the local Jacobins undertook to direct the ignorant and bigoted peasantry into the paths of "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity." From 1793–1796 the way was being prepared for a common rising, and every region of Ireland was honeycombed with secret societies, who bound themselves to rise when the signal should be given. All the prominent leaders, it should be noted, were nominal Protestants: Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Wolfe Tone, Napper Tandy, Oliver Bond, and the rest were enthusiastic republicans, not oppressed Catholics. But the whole strength of the movement lay in the other wing—the main body of the Irish Protestants adhered to the government which gave them such an unnatural predominance in the realm. It was only in certain Presbyterian districts of Ulster that the non-Catholic section of the United Irishmen were numerous. The real power of the conspiracy lay in the number of the Catholic rank and file who had placed themselves at the disposition of the Jacobins.

As long as France alone was at war with Great Britain the Irish plotters saw that they could not count on any useful foreign help. But the adherence of Holland and Spain to the French alliance changed the whole aspect of affairs. Instead of having Brest and Toulon alone to watch, the English fleet had now to guard the Texel, Ferrol, Cadiz, and Carthagena. For the proper blockade of the whole of the coast of Europe from the north point of Holland to the eastern cape of Spain our naval forces were inadequate. Moreover, a concentration of the Spanish and Dutch Atlantic fleets with the Brest squadron would produce a numerical force of ships far greater than Britain could oppose to it.

Here lay the danger in 1797—if the Cadiz fleet or the Texel fleet could get out to sea and join the French, we should lose our control of the channel, and a French invasion of England or Ireland would become possible; and now that Bonaparte had turned back the Austrians, the whole French army was available for the assault on the British Isles. Masses of men began to assemble on the western coast of France for this purpose, and an "Army of England" was already formed in the winter of 1796–1797, of which the celebrated Hoche was made commander.

NAVAL MUTINIES (1797 A.D.)

While this black thunder-cloud was hanging on the horizon, and the government was also beginning to realise the imminence of the Irish danger, other troubles of the most serious sort sprang up to distract their attention. The first was the celebrated pair of naval mutinies at Spithead and the Nore in April, 1797. The sailors of the channel fleet, irritated by the monotonous and unending blockading work on which they were kept, and suffering from very real grievances in the way of harsh discipline, bad provisions, and low wages—the seamen's daily pay had not been increased since the time of Charles II—rose in mutiny and turned their officers ashore. This was not a Jacobin rising—as was feared at the time—but a colossal example of a "strike" for better conditions of labour. Richard Parker, one of the leaders, who tried to get the men to declare a "naval republic" and take the fleet over to France, was utterly unable to get the mutineers to follow him. When prom-

ised redress of grievances, which was actually carried out, they went back to their duty and allowed Parker and two others to be hanged.

But while the fleet was "on strike" the enemy's harbours were unguarded. Only a semblance of blockade had been kept up by a few ships which had not revolted, and the Brest and Texel squadrons would have found no one to oppose them if they had put to sea. Fortunately they were too late. When the Dutch fleet came out in the following October it was annihilated at Camperdown by Admiral Duncan and the ships which had been engaged in the mutiny at the Nore.

NAVAL VICTORIES: A FINANCIAL CRISIS

A little earlier the Spaniards came out of Cadiz with an even larger force, and were disgracefully beaten by Admiral Jervis (who had but fourteen ships to their twenty-seven) off Cape St. Vincent. These two naval victories somewhat improved the general situation; they prevented any possibility of that loss of the command of the channel which must inevitably have ruined England at this moment. But meanwhile internal affairs still looked most discouraging; the worst symptom of all had been a great financial panic in London, caused by the general doubt as to whether Great Britain's monetary resources had not sunk to a hopelessly low level. The "run" on the Bank of England was so prolonged and so heavy that its cash reserve was absolutely exhausted, and that great institution was saved from suspending payment of its debts only by a hasty device of the prime minister's. He ran a bill through the house of commons in a single day, which permitted the bank to refuse to pay in gold, and to tender its own notes as a legal substitute. A disaster which would have shaken English credit all over the world was thus averted; but the remedy was a perilous one, and it proved impossible to reintroduce cash payments for more than twenty years (February, 1797).

THE IRISH REBELLION (1798 A.D.)

In spite of Camperdown and St. Vincent the long-plotted Irish rebellion broke out in 1798. Fortunately it was absolutely unaided from without. The French fleet from Brest had run out during the winter of 1796–1797, and failed to land fifteen thousand men in Bantry Bay only because the senior military officer present (that same Grouchy who was to make his name better known in the Waterloo campaign) refused to put his troops ashore. His hierarchical superior Hoche had been blown back to Brest by a storm, and without him Grouchy refused to face the responsibility of landing, and took the expedition home. This was fortunate, as a general rising would have followed his appearance, and the rebels backed by so many French veterans would have been hard to deal with; any disaster might have ensued had Grouchy shown more pluck.

The actual rebellion did not burst out till sixteen months later. The Irish government, quite conscious of the danger, had been putting much energy into the task of disarming the country-side, and hunting for the secret leaders of the plot. General Lake applied martial law to Ulster, and extorted fifty thousand muskets and seventy thousand pikes from intending rebels by the harshest measures. Before he had taken the south in hand a great explosion occurred. The central directory of the "United Irishmen" in Dublin was discovered, and Lord Edward Fitzgerald and the other chiefs were seized (May, 1798). On the receipt of this news the local chiefs gave



VOL XXI NELSON RECEIVES THE SWORDS OF THE SPANISH OFFICERS ON BOARD THE SAN JOSEF, FEBRUARY 14, 1797

(After the painting by Thomas Jones Barker)

the signal for a general rising; but guidance being wanting it was spasmodic and partial. Only in Leinster and some small part of Munster did it reach dangerous proportions. But even then it was strong enough to task all the resources of the government for its suppression. Its main centre was in County Wexford, where thirty thousand rebels took arms and defeated the first small detachment sent against them. They showed a fanatical Catholic spirit and massacred many unarmed Protestants, acts of savage folly which frightened their sympathisers in the north into quiescence, and drove the loyalist minority to fight for their lives with desperate energy. The rebellion was put down much more by the "yeomanry" raised by the Irish squirearchy than by the handful of regular troops garrisoned in the island. The vengeance taken, as was natural in a war of religion between near neighbours, was ruthless and indiscriminating—but the rebellion was crushed; after the battle of Vinegar Hill (June 26th, 1798) it died down in blood and ashes. When all was nearly over a small French expedition landed in Connaught; its position was hopeless, and after winning one small victory it was surrounded and forced to surrender.

Thus their own want of organisation and the tardiness of their French allies caused the failure of the Irish insurgents. The worst year of the war was now over, and Britain could breathe again; all through 1797–1798 she had been in more deadly peril than she has ever known in her later history. The rest of the war, exhausting as it proved to be, never tried her spirit or her resources as had this dreadful time, in which domestic discontent, naval mutiny, financial distress, open Irish rebellion, and the ever-threatening danger from a French invasion conspired to try, but never to shake, her resolution.

THE LAST STAGE OF THE WAR

The last stage of the revolutionary war began with the passing away of these dangers. France had now turned aside her eyes to other aims. Bonaparte, refusing to take in hand an invasion of England, went off on his brilliant but ill-advised Egyptian expedition. The directors meanwhile in sheer lust of plunder and conquest invaded Switzerland and attacked Rome and Naples. Their unscrupulous dealings led to a renewal of the continental war, and when Austria and Russia attacked them (February, 1799) the hour of Britain's peril was over. France had now other cares to distract her, and ceased to dream of invasions of the British Isles. She lost ground to the allies in Italy and on the Rhine, and her greatest general was absent, for Nelson had destroyed Bonaparte's fleet at the battle of the Nile (1st of August, 1798), and so shut up the French army in Egypt beyond hope of recall. Its chief, who had dreamed for a moment of conquering the East, and even of destroying the British Empire in India, saw his schemes foiled. Accordingly, when he got news of the disasters in Italy he deserted his troops, and escaped on a frigate to France, risking the peril of being captured by Nelson's cruisers.

There can be no doubt that the allies missed a great chance in 1799: they might have crushed the French before Bonaparte's return if they had combined their efforts. But the Austrians and Russians were at variance, while Britain wasted her force on colonial expeditions and on a fruitless invasion of Holland. The duke of York, who was placed in command despite his fiasco of 1794, showed himself as incapable as ever, and the British had to withdraw without having accomplished anything more than the capture of the remains of the Dutch fleet in the Texel.

The war, in short, had reached a standstill when Bonaparte returned from Egypt, overthrew the incapable and unpopular directory, and made himself supreme ruler under the title of First Consul (November, 1799). For the future Great Britain had to face as her enemy a military autocrat of transcendent talents, and not a republic guided by a committee of second-rate statesmen of varying degrees of honesty and ability. The whole character of the struggle was changed by this fact, but it was some time before the meaning of the change was realised on this side of the channel.

Ere long the two combatants were left alone, face to face; for the other participants in the war withdrew. The eccentric Czar Paul of Russia, disgusted with his English and Austrian allies, made peace with Bonaparte, and soon became his enthusiastic admirer. The Austrians, driven out of Lombardy by the first consul's triumph at Marengo (June 14th, 1800), and threatened nearer home by Moreau's victory in the snows of Hohenlinden (December 3rd, 1800), asked for forms of accommodation and obtained them by the Peace of Lunéville (February 9th, 1801). Thus Britain was left once more unaided to combat France.

Fortunately for her the redoubtable adversary with whom she had to contend did not possess the advantages that the Directory had enjoyed in 1797–1798. The British fleet had complete command of the seas: the Irish rebellion had been crushed; the financial crisis was over. Indeed, despite the heavy load of taxation, and the ever-growing weight of debt, piled up by Pitt's not over-skilful war-finance, the nation was prospering far better than could have been expected. The prime minister was able to point to the surprising and even paradoxical fact that British exports had gone up from £20,000,000 to £41,000,000 per annum since the struggle began, and that the tonnage of her seagoing ships had been increased by a fifth in the same time. The fact was that she had appropriated the carrying trade of Spain, France, and Holland, whose merchantmen had been captured, or lay idle in blockaded harbours. Moreover, her colonial empire was growing rapidly; many of the most important possessions of her enemies were now in her hands—such as Ceylon, the Cape of Good Hope, Minorca, Trinidad, and most of the French West Indies. In Hindostan the Great Viceroy Wellesley had just struck down Tippoo, Sultan of Mysore, the ally of France (1799), and Britain was for the first time completely dominant in the southern part of the peninsula.

With good reason the nation faced the war against Bonaparte in a far more cheerful spirit than it had felt during 1797 and 1798. It made little difference that Pitt himself retired from office in February, 1801. He had in the previous year procured the union of the parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland, promising at the same time toleration and redress of grievances to the Irish Catholics. But George III, hopelessly obstinate when a point of conscience was involved, refused to consent to a bill for emancipating his Romanist subjects, and Pitt resigned when the king would not move. His place was taken by his pupil, Addington, a commonplace man, but one who carried out his master's policy so far as he was able.

It was his government which fought the last year of the revolutionary war to a finish, and a not unsuccessful one, though the peace was to prove no more than a truce. Austria had retired from the lists in February, 1801; Bonaparte was to come to terms in March, 1802. He had spent the thirteen months mainly in endeavouring to foster a new naval league against Britain; since the maritime resources of Spain, France, and Holland had run dry he tried to lure into his alliance the northern powers, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark. They had all been much aggrieved by the English doctrine that the

neutral flag does not cover the goods of a belligerent on the high seas, the application of which by the ubiquitous British cruisers prevented them from trading with France. To resist this "maritime tyranny" they formed in concert an "armed neutrality," which, under Bonaparte's guidance, was rapidly developing into an offensive alliance against Britain. One of Pitt's last acts before resigning office had been to send off to the Baltic a fleet under Hyde Parker and Nelson, with orders to invite the allies to drop their scheme, and if they refused, to have recourse to armed force. The northern winter blocks the ports of the Baltic with ice, and it was possible to fall upon the confederates at the first spring thaw before they could get to sea and unite their squadrons. This scheme was carried out: the British passed the sound on March 30th, and confronted the Danes before the Swedes and Russians could stir. There followed the hard-fought battle of Copenhagen, in which Nelson, in spite of the timid orders of his commander-in-chief, Parker, forced his way into the Danish harbour, destroyed the greater part of the enemy's fleet, and forced the prince regent to withdraw his adhesion to the "armed neutrality." An attack on the Russians was to follow, but proved unnecessary, for a court conspiracy had made an end of Czar Paul ten days before the battle of Copenhagen. A party among his nobles, driven wild by his mad caprices and petty tyranny, had strangled him, and placed his son, Alexander, on the throne. The new sovereign dropped the French alliance, and was at once reconciled to England.

Thus Bonaparte's one promising scheme for the humbling of his adversary had failed. A few months later he received news that his army in Egypt, cut off since 1798 from all external aid, had been destroyed by a British expedition under Sir Ralph Abercromby (March, July, 1801). He had now no practicable means of injuring England; and as he was desirous of an interval of peace, in which to plant more firmly the foundations of his autocracy in France and to prepare for the assumption of a monarchical title, he consented to treat for a cessation of hostilities.

THE PEACE OF AMIENS

The plenipotentiaries of France and Great Britain were haggling about details all through the autumn of 1801 and the winter of 1801–1802. It was only on March 27th of the latter year that the Peace of Amiens was finally signed. It was avowedly a compromise and an experiment: Addington and his colleagues believed that Bonaparte was sincerely desirous of peace, and would prove a friendly neighbour if given handsome terms. They were aware that having already stripped France of her colonies, and being unable to attack her on land, England had little to gain from a prolongation of the war. The financial burden of the struggle was frightful: in 1801 alone £36,000,000 had been added to the national debt, and with an income of about £40,000,000 the state had to provide for an expenditure of £77,000,000. Accordingly they resolved that it was worth while to buy peace by surrendering nearly all our transmarine conquests of the last nine years. By the terms of the Treaty of Amiens we handed back everything that we had captured, save the Dutch island of Ceylon and the Spanish island of Trinidad. There was one more claim which required notice: Bonaparte had taken Malta from the moribund order of the Knights of St. John, in 1798. Two years later we had taken it from the French. The treaty provided that the order should be reconstituted, and that the British troops should restore it to the knights. Herein lay the *casus belli*, but not the real cause of the next war.

For a few months it was believed that a real settlement had been concluded, and that an equilibrium had been established in Europe. The Addington ministry hastened to dismantle the fleet and to disband the greater part of the army. But the dream that a long period of peace retrenchment and reform was at hand did not last for long.

The British ministers had wholly misconceived the intentions of Bonaparte. He had by no means forgiven them for foiling his eastern schemes and his plans in the Baltic. Colonial expansion and naval power had a prominent place in his plans for the future, and he saw clearly that they were impossible so long as Great Britain remained the mistress of the seas. He had made peace only in order to secure the restoration of the colonies of France, and to gain time to rebuild her shattered navy. His attitude and his policy during the year 1802 were anything but reassuring. Before the peace was three months old he had made the astonishing demand that the exiled princes of the old French royal house should be expelled from England, and that certain London newspapers which criticised his conduct should be suppressed. He steadfastly refused even to discuss the conclusion of a commercial treaty with Great Britain. In September he annexed Piedmont and Parma, and answered the questions addressed to him on the point by the British ambassador, with the insulting remark that continental affairs did not concern the Court of St. James. A little later he sent an army into Switzerland, and expelled a government which was not sufficiently subservient to him. Another of his provocative acts was the despatch of an expedition to annex Southern and Western Australia, for he affected to regard the English colony of New South Wales as covering no more than the eastern part of that continent.

At the same time French emissaries, civil and military, were busy not only in the British Isles, but in every part of the world where British interests were concerned. One of the things which most provoked Addington and his colleagues was the publication of a report on Egypt by one of their agents, General Sebastiani, which pointed out the ease with which France might recover that country and attract to herself the whole trade of the Levant.

Before the autumn was out the British cabinet had conceived grave doubts as to the stability of the Peace of Amiens. The First Consul's attitude seemed so provocative that they began to contemplate the possibility of renewed hostilities. They stopped the disarmament which had been nearly completed, and sent secret orders to delay the evacuation of Malta and of the French possessions in India. The other colonies of our late enemy had already been restored.

Bonaparte was probably not desirous of war at this moment; his irritating acts were merely symptoms of his usual arrogant and autocratic bearing towards all foreign powers. Possessed of a notion that the British cabinet was weak and would stand much bullying without returning a blow, he had displayed his normal temper towards them. But he did not wish to fight till his fleet had been rebuilt, his colonies strongly garrisoned, and his intended reorganisation of France completed. Hence he was no less angered than surprised when Addington and his colleagues refused to be overawed and showed fight. The main ostensible cause of friction was the question of Malta: when repeatedly urged by Bonaparte to evacuate it (although the order of St. John had not yet been reconstituted, so that there was no one to whom it could be handed over) the British ministry refused, referring to the late French annexation in Italy as their justification.

It was this refusal, coupled with the announcement by Addington at the opening of parliament that he was about to re-embody the militia and put

[1803 A.D.]

more ships into commission, which drove the First Consul to open hostilities. On March 13th, 1803, he delivered an angry allocution to the British ambassador at a great levée in the palace of the Tuileries. "Woe to those who break treaties!" he cried; "they shall answer for the consequences before all Europe"; adding that "you may be the first to draw the sword, but I shall be the last to return it to the scabbard."

OUTBREAK OF THE WAR WITH BONAPARTE (1803 A.D.)

This sort of hectoring is not diplomacy; the British cabinet rightly gathered from it that Bonaparte was irreconcilable. They hurried on war preparations, sent a final refusal to evacuate Malta, and on May 12th withdrew their ambassadors from Paris.

The war therefore recommenced long ere Bonaparte was ready. He had his own arrogance to thank for the rupture; if he had taken the trouble to conceal his malevolent intentions and feigned amity he might have obtained time to perfect all his preparations. He was now so angered at the precipitation of hostilities that he vented his wrath on the unfortunate English travellers and tourists in France, whom he would not suffer to depart home, but threw into captivity and detained to the end of the war, to the number of over ten thousand souls. Such cruel dealing with civilians was unheard of before or after.

The war with Bonaparte was destined to last for eleven continuous years (May, 1803, to April, 1814). It differed wholly in character from the war against the republic. The latter had been a war of opinions and principles. Great Britain had entered into it to resist the Jacobin propaganda and to defend constitutional monarchy. But the Napoleonic war was fought on no question of political theory, but to defend our national existence and our maritime supremacy from a tyrant who had shown that his ambitions were incompatible with the survival of the British Empire. It was, in short, a war for commerce, colonies, and naval predominance, such as we had already fought with France in the days of Louis XIV and Louis XV. The only difference was that Bonaparte was no common autocrat, but a soldier and statesman of transcendent genius wielding far greater resources than any of his predecessors who had borne rule in France. It was fortunate that despite all his genius he never succeeded in mastering the principles of naval warfare or of the exercise of sea power. He never could be brought to realise that a fleet cannot be manœuvred like an army corps, or that it was impossible for him to direct from Paris or Boulogne naval operations in the Atlantic or the southern Mediterranean.

The Napoleonic war falls into four sections. During the first (1803–1805) Britain was Bonaparte's sole enemy, and all his attention was absorbed in organising a great expedition for her invasion. He was foiled, and at the same moment a continental war broke out in his rear, and called away his army from the shores of the channel. The second period (1805–1807) embraces the years during which Great Britain refrained from engaging in land operations against Bonaparte, but subsidised against him the military powers of the Continent, to her and their discomfiture. In the third period (1808–1811) matters were changed by the fact that, having found a vulnerable point in the enemy's position, on the side of Spain, she kept an army in the field continuously, and distracted his forces in that direction. The drain on the resources of France was great, but no decisive success was obtained. Meanwhile Bonaparte was, on his side, endeavouring to ruin Britain by his "continental sys-

tem." He inflicted much damage thereby, but was as far from accomplishing his end as was Britain from achieving hers by the support of the Spanish insurrection. Meanwhile the fourth period (1812–1814) began. The "continental system" was as ruinous to Bonaparte's allies as to his enemies, and at last they revolted against it. Russia defied him, and in the attempt to reduce her he met his first crushing disaster in the snows of the retreat from Moscow. Then the other continental powers struck in to aid the czar, and in 1813 Bonaparte, overwhelmed by their numbers, was driven out of Germany. In the next year he was pursued into France, hunted down, and in spite of his desperate defence forced to abdicate.

From the British point of view therefore this fight to the death may be divided into two parts. During the first we fought against our enemy by sea, and finally made an end of the naval danger at Trafalgar. During the second we had to face, not an invasion, but an attack on our commerce and wealth—an attempt to bleed us to death if we could not be struck down by armed force. This injurious plan failed also, because Bonaparte in his zeal to ruin Britain was ruining all Europe also, and finally drew down upon himself a universal hatred under which he succumbed. All his later continental policy sprang from his attempt to destroy England and its inevitable consequences. This fact gives a unity to the whole of his career which is not at first sight apparent.

NAPOLEON'S PLANS

The history of the first three years of the war (1803–4–5) centres round Bonaparte's great invasion scheme. Fortunately for Britain he could not strike at once, since he had been caught unprepared. But while his fleet was being reorganised, he assembled an army of one hundred and fifty thousand on the shores of the channel, to the right and left of Boulogne. There is no reason to credit the statement which he made some years later, to the effect that he never really intended to attempt an invasion, and that the display at Boulogne was merely designed to frighten England and to give him the excuse for keeping a large army massed, for ulterior continental purposes. It seems certain that the scheme for a descent was perfectly genuine. At first Bonaparte intended to risk his army on board multitudes of flat-bottomed boats, which were to be conveyed across the channel by a fleet of small war vessels. When a gale had driven away the British blockading squadron, or a fog had arisen to shroud the sea, he hoped to make his dash for the coast of Kent and Sussex, without having taken the precaution of securing proper control of the Straits. He declared that he could get his whole army across in forty-eight hours, and that he asked for no more.

This project was rash in the extreme. A lift in the fog or a sudden change in the gale might have brought down the British men-of-war upon the fragile flotilla while it was still in mid-channel, which would have produced an awful and irretrievable disaster. Moreover, England had armed to the teeth; by the end of 1803 there were one hundred and twenty thousand regulars backed by seventy-eight thousand militia and three hundred and forty-seven thousand volunteers ready to receive the invading army. If the French slipped across, and the Straits was promptly closed behind them, would even the veterans of Italy be able to contend against odds of three to one? Though raw, the British levies were very numerous and desperately in earnest. The longer that Bonaparte looked at his original scheme the less he liked it. His army and his flotilla lay for long months without making the decisive move, a time

of waiting which he utilised to complete his internal reorganisation of France by taking the imperial title, and crowning himself under the name of Napoleon I.

Meanwhile the threat of invasion kept England in a fever of expectation. For two whole years the nation was watching for the lighting of the beacons that were to announce that the French had begun to cross. It was an anxious time, and the delay was so long drawn out that the stress on the nation's nerves was even worse than in 1797–1798, though the real danger had been greater at the earlier crisis. But every precaution that could be devised was taken: the channel swarmed with men-of-war, and five hundred thousand men were ready to march for the coast at a moment's notice. To guide the nation in the time of peril Pitt was recalled to office, Addington retiring in his favour in May, 1804.

FUTILE ATTEMPT AT INVASION

But the invasion never came: Napoleon shrank from risking his new empire on the fate of his flat-bottomed boats, and fell back on a safer and less hazardous scheme. He resolved to try to get full possession of the channel by the concentration of a great fleet in the Dover Straits. For this purpose he not only resolved to concentrate his own reorganised squadrons, but to bring up the whole navy of Holland and Spain. For Spain had been dragged into the war once again (December, 1804), and her numerous, if inefficient, fleet was now at the emperor's disposal. The great naval scheme of 1805 was one of Bonaparte's most ingenious plans. His Toulon squadron, which Nelson was blockading, was to slip out to sea when a lucky gale had driven the British squadron out of sight. It was then to make for the Atlantic, and pick up the Spanish fleet at Cadiz. The united armada was then to set sail for the West Indies, in the hope that Nelson would pursue it into those remote seas. But having crossed the Atlantic it was to swerve sharply back, and make for Brest, where the largest French squadron was being blockaded by Admiral Cornwallis. Nelson meanwhile, it was supposed, would be vainly seeking for it at Barbadoes or Jamaica. But while he was out of the game, the Franco-Spanish fleet would raise the blockade of Brest, and appear in the channel sixty vessels strong. It would be long months before the British admiralty could assemble a squadron strong enough to fight such an enormous force, and meanwhile the invasion could be carried out, while the control of the Dover Straits was entirely in the hands of the imperial navy. This was a splendid scheme on paper, but did not allow for the chances of the ocean, or the superior seamanship of the British admirals.

But much of the design was duly executed. Villeneuve, the commander of the Toulon squadron, actually slipped out to sea unmolested (March 29th, 1805), passed Gibraltar, and rallied the Spaniards at Cadiz. But these unwilling allies were not ready to sail, and the French admiral could only take on six Spanish ships to join his own twelve. Nevertheless, he made the prescribed dash out into the Atlantic, and reached Martinique on May 13th. Nelson meanwhile had been long in gaining correct information as to the destination of the hostile fleet; he looked for it off Sicily and Egypt, and only got upon the right track on May 9th. On that day he sailed from Gibraltar for Barbadoes with only eleven ships. Meanwhile Villeneuve made demonstration among the British West India islands, to produce the impression that this was the true end of his expedition, and on June 4th turned back towards Europe. Nelson reached Barbadoes on that same day, vainly sought for the

French, and suddenly divining their real purpose put about and returned to Europe as quickly as he could sail. He was now only nine days behind the enemy. Meanwhile Villeneuve's chance was slipping from his hands. Owing to the inferior seamanship of his crews he made a very slow passage back to Europe—he had started on June 4th, but it was July 23rd before he drew near Cape Finisterre, the western headland of Spain. Nelson made the same voyage in only thirty-seven days—starting from Barbadoes on June 13th he reached Gibraltar on July 20th; having thus gained twelve days on his adversary he actually got back three days before him. The main point of Napoleon's scheme was thus foiled, for Nelson was actually ahead of his adversary instead of being astray in the Caribbean Sea.

But it was not Nelson whom Villeneuve had first to fight. Off Cape Finisterre he was surprised to find a hostile fleet barring his passage. A fast-sailing English brig had sighted him on his return voyage, had passed him unseen, and made for Portsmouth. With commendable speed the British admiralty sent the news on to Admiral Cornwallis off Brest, and directed him to detach half his fleet to discover the approaching enemy and fight him far out at sea. These fifteen vessels under Calder found Villeneuve and assailed him, though he was superior in numbers by three ships. The combat of Cape Finisterre was not decisive, but Villeneuve lost two vessels and took refuge in the port of Ferrol, where he could reinforce himself with a new Spanish squadron (July 24th, 1805).

NELSON'S VICTORY AND DEATH

Napoleon's game was now up: the British knew Villeneuve's whereabouts, and Nelson was back in Spanish waters. If the French admiral had taken his fate in his hands and sailed out of Ferrol towards Brest, there can be little doubt that he would have been destroyed at once, since Calder could have been reinforced up to a strength quite sufficient to ensure him victory. Napoleon hoped that his admiral would take the risk and push for Brest and the channel. But Villeneuve was not the man to accept such a tremendous responsibility: he resolved to pick up the main Spanish squadron from Cadiz before fighting. Accordingly he turned south and not north, and reached his chosen destination. He had now thirty-three ships in hand, but to his dismay Nelson's and Calder's fleets appeared a few days later with a force of twenty-seven sail and established a strict blockade over him. The only result, in short, of six months of elaborate naval manœuvres was that Villeneuve was now shut up in Cadiz instead of in Toulon.

When the news reached Boulogne that the Franco-Spanish fleet had sailed for Cadiz instead of for Brest the emperor saw clearly that his great scheme had failed. After a wild explosion of wrath against his admiral, his fleet, and his Spanish allies, Napoleon threw up the whole plan for the invasion of England. Without the aid of a powerful squadron in the channel he would not risk his army on the water. Moreover, he had just learned that there was danger behind him: Austria and Russia were coming in his rear. But before giving orders for the "grand army" to march from Boulogne for the Rhine, the emperor wrote an angry epistle to Villeneuve, taunting him with cowardice and declaring that the failure of the invasion scheme was wholly due to his indecision and reluctance to fight: a successor of sterner stuff was already on the way to supersede him.

This letter had an unexpected result, quite the reverse of what the writer intended. To vindicate his own courage Villeneuve sallied out from Cadiz,

though he was convinced that he was going to destruction. He was perfectly right: off Cape Trafalgar Nelson fell upon him, and though he had but twenty-seven ships to the Franco-Spanish thirty-three, inflicted upon them the most crushing naval defeat of modern days.

[Nelson's plan of attack was to bear down upon the enemy in two columns, and thus break the line in two places at once. In this way he thought it was most likely that each ship would be brought speedily into close action with its antagonist, and the greatest chance of decisive success be obtained. Villeneuve's instructions, as the British lay to windward, were to lie in close order and await the attack. The fleet was drawn up in two lines, and so arranged on the whole that at the interstices of each two vessels in the front line the broadside of one in the second presented itself—a combination as well imagined as can be conceived to meet the anticipated British manœuvre of breaking the line. The front line, commanded by Villeneuve himself and admirals Alava and Dumanoir, consisted of twenty-one line-of-battle ships; twelve under admirals Gravina and Magon formed the second. Villeneuve's instructions to his captains were general: to obey the signals he might make during the action, and to use their utmost efforts to come to close action with their opponents. "Every captain is at his post if he is in fire." Such was his last order, and it was worthy of the brave nation whose armament he commanded. Collingwood, in the *Royal Sovereign*, led the first column of the British, followed closely by the *Belleisle* and *Mars;* Nelson himself, in the *Victory*, headed the second, immediately after whom came the *Temeraire* and the *Neptune*. When the lines were completely formed, and the ships bearing rapidly down on the enemy, so that it was evident an engagement was inevitable, Nelson retired to his cabin and wrote the following prayer: "May the great God whom I worship grant to my country, and for the benefit of Europe in general, a great and glorious victory, and may no misconduct in anyone tarnish it; and may humanity after victory be the predominant feature in the British fleet! For myself individually, I commit my life to Him that made me, and may his blessing alight on my endeavours for serving my country faithfully. To him I resign myself and the just cause which is intrusted me to defend."

Never did the ocean exhibit a grander spectacle than was presented by the British fleet bearing down on the combined squadrons, at noon on the 21st October, a few leagues to the northwest of Cape Trafalgar. A long swell was setting into the Bay of Cadiz; our ships, crowding all their canvas, moved majestically before it, with light winds from the northwest. Right before them lay the mighty armament of France and Spain, the sun shining full on their close-set sails, and the vast three-deckers which it contained appearing of stupendous magnitude amid the lesser line-of-battle ships by which they were surrounded. Nelson asked Captain Blackwood what he should deem a victory. That officer answered, he should consider it a glorious result if fourteen were taken; but Nelson replied, he should not be satisfied with less than twenty. He then made signal for the British fleet to prepare to anchor at the close of the day; and when it was given, asked the captain whether he did not think there was another wanting. After musing awhile, he fixed what it should be; and the signal appeared at the mast-head of the *Victory*, the last he ever made, which will be remembered as long as the British name shall endure: "England expects that every man will do his duty." It was received by a rapturous shout throughout the fleet.

In the Painted Hall of Greenwich, under a glass cover, is the admiral's coat which Nelson wore on that 21st of October. On its left side are four

embroidered stars, the emblems of the orders with which he was invested. He was implored to put on a plainer dress, for there were riflemen among the four thousand troops which were on board the French and Spanish ships. No. What he had won he would wear. On the deck he stood, a mark for the enemy—one whose life was worth a legion. There was a carelessness about his own safety that day which was chivalrous, however unwise. He was persuaded to allow some other vessel to take the lead in his line. He gave a reluctant order, but he made every effort to counteract it, for he would not shorten sail himself. Collingwood, at the head of his line, made all sail, steering right through the enemy's centre. "See how that noble fellow carries his ship into action!" said Nelson. "What would Nelson give to be here!" said Collingwood. Collingwood was spared to write the despatch which told England of its gain and of its loss.

"The action began at twelve o'clock, by the leading ships of the columns breaking through the enemy's line; the commander-in-chief about the tenth ship from the van, the second in command, about the twelfth from the rear, leaving the van of the enemy unoccupied, the succeeding ships breaking through, in all parts, astern of their leaders, and engaging the enemy at the muzzles of their guns. The conflict was severe; the enemy's ships were fought with a gallantry highly honourable to their officers; but the attack on them was irresistible, and it pleased the Almighty Disposer of events to grant his majesty's arms a complete and glorious victory. . . . Such a battle could not be fought without sustaining a great loss of men. I have not only to lament, in common with the British navy and the British nation, in the fall of the commander-in-chief the loss of a hero whose name will be immortal and his memory ever dear to his country, but my heart is rent with the most poignant grief for the death of a friend, to whom, by many years' intimacy, and a perfect knowledge of the virtues of his mind, which inspired ideas superior to the common race of men, I was bound by the strongest ties of affection; a grief to which even the glorious occasion in which he fell does not bring that consolation which perhaps it ought."

The moving circumstances of the death of Nelson have been told by Southey with a touching fulness which has found its way to many a heart of the past and the present generations. He was shot from the mizzen-top of the *Redoubtable*, which he supposed had struck. He fell where his secretary had previously fallen. "They have done for me at last," he said to Captain Hardy; "my backbone is shot through." He was carried below, covering his face and his stars with his handkerchief, that his crew might not see who had fallen. His wound was soon perceived to be mortal. Every now and then a ship struck, and the crew of the *Victory* huzzaed. Then his eyes lighted up for a moment. He lingered in great agony for a little more than three hours. The last guns which were fired at the flying enemy were heard a minute or two before he expired. Twenty of the French and Spanish ships had struck. But a gale came on; some of the prizes went down; others were wrecked on shore; one escaped into Cadiz; four only were saved. Four of the ships that made off during the action were captured on the 4th of November, by Sir Richard Strachan. The French and Spanish navies never recovered, during the war, this tremendous blow. Napoleon's projects of invasion were at an end.

It was the 7th of November when Collingwood's despatches reached London. Pitt was roused in the night to read them. He said, a day or two after, that he had been called up at various times by the arrival of news, "but that whether good or bad he could always lay his head on his pillow and sink

[1805 A.D.]

into sound sleep again. On this occasion, however, the great event announced brought with it so much to weep over, as well as to rejoice at, that he could not calm his thoughts, but at length got up, though it was three in the morning." The same feeling pervaded all, when the body of the hero was borne to St. Paul's, on the 9th of January.

The pageant (says Knight) lives in the ineffaceable remembrance of our boyhood. Six and forty years afterwards the remembrance crowded upon our thoughts, when we beheld the car of another warrior moving through the same streets to the same place of rest. Mute veneration for him who died, full of years, while every year he lived added to a nation's love, marked the funeral pomp of Wellington. Impassioned grief, audible sighs, tears coursing down rugged cheeks, marked the funeral pomp of Nelson. They sleep together in the same crypt beneath the dome of St. Paul's—the two who in the agony of England's fate best fought the fight and achieved the victory.[d]]

NAPOLEON'S SUCCESSES ON THE LAND

Already before Trafalgar was fought Napoleon was contending with a new enemy on the banks of the Danube. The departure of the army of invasion from Boulogne had been caused by the attitude of Austria and Russia. Both those powers had viewed with dislike Bonaparte's arrogant policy of annexation, and his avowed intention of exercising an ascendency over the smaller states of central Europe. For he was already posing as the "successor of Charlemagne," and stretching his hand far into Germany. His most astonishing act of aggression had been to send an armed force across the frontier of the empire into the territory of Baden, in order to apprehend an exiled French prince, the duke of Enghien. After kidnapping the unhappy young man on neutral ground, he had him shot by court-martial on a false accusation of being concerned in a royalist plot at Paris (March, 1804). The czar and the emperor Francis were both eager to humble France, and they were trying to lure into their alliance the king of Prussia, whose real interests were the same as their own. Pitt lent them encouragement, and promised them subsidies, though it is incorrect to assert (as did Napoleon) that he stirred up the whole scheme in order to relax the French pressure on Great Britain.

Getting wind of the new alliance, Bonaparte resolved to strike before it was complete, and suddenly declared war on Austria and Russia. The army mobilised at Boulogne was ready to his hand, and long before the enemy was prepared he had invaded Germany. After routing the Austrians he captured the greater part of their army at Ulm (October 10th, 1805). Hurrying on, he seized Vienna before the Russians had come upon the scene. Prussia, which displayed all through these years a most mean and double-dealing policy, kept out of the strife and was bought off by the offer of Hanover, which Napoleon threw to her as a sop to distract her attention. It was, therefore, with the czar's troops alone, supported by the wrecks of the Austrians, that Bonaparte had to do when he advanced from Vienna and fought the battle of Austerlitz (December 2nd, 1805). The allies received such a crushing defeat that the emperor Francis sued for peace at once, while the Russians sullenly retired eastward within their own borders.

Austerlitz was a great blow not only to Austria and Russia but to England also. The renewal of the continental war, and the removal of the French army from Boulogne had been felt as a great relief, and the most sanguine expectation had been nourished that the fall of Bonaparte was at hand.

The revulsion of feeling was therefore very great when the confederacy broke up and the emperor remained triumphant. It is often said that the news of Austerlitz killed William Pitt; but this is an exaggeration. He had been worn to the shadow of himself by the long stress of the expected invasion in 1804–1805, and was already failing long before the catastrophe which broke up the great coalition. He died on June 23rd, 1806, at a moment of great national depression, when it had been realised by everyone that Trafalgar had not ended the war, and that the days of trouble were not yet concluded.

Napoleon however was still far from being at leisure to concentrate his attention once more on England. He did not march back his grand army to the shores of the channel, nor did he make any special effort to replace the fleet lost at Trafalgar. But he was still irreconcilable, and was far from having given up his determination to bring Britain to her knees. It was only because he had still urgent business on the Continent, and another war impending with a great military power, that he did not once more turn his whole mind to the English war. But that no accommodation with him was possible was clearly shown in 1806. After Pitt's death there had been a great political reconstruction in London; it was impossible to replace the lost master-spirit by any single leader. But the experiment was made of offering seats in the cabinet to the chief members of the whig opposition, in order to combine "all the talents" available for the guidance of the empire. Accordingly Fox, Sheridan, Erskine, and other whigs formed a coalition government along with Lord Grenville, Addington, and several more disciples of Pitt. Fox was not yet convinced that peace with Bonaparte was impossible; he had formed an optimistic and erroneous estimate of the emperor's intentions. Accordingly he got leave to open negotiations with France; but he was soon undeceived. Napoleon offered terms that were insulting and ridiculous, considering that his schemes for attacking England had been foiled, and that her maritime supremacy was far more complete and undisputed than it had been at any previous date since 1793. After long endeavours to arrive at a reasonable basis of peace Fox had to withdraw, and to confess that he had been deceived in his hopes and that continued war was inevitable. Soon afterwards he died (September, 1806), only nine months after his great rival Pitt. The coalition ministry only survived him for a short space, and resigned in March, 1807. Their peace policy had been a failure, their practical administration had proved far inferior to that of the tory ministry which preceded them, and they were at variance among themselves. Taking the opportunity of the king's declared intention of vetoing a Catholic emancipation bill which they had framed they retired. To replace them a new tory cabinet was formed, under the nominal presidence of the duke of Portland; but the really important personages in it were George Canning, the foreign secretary, and Lord Castlereagh, the secretary for war. Both were able and energetic, and each thoroughly well understood the fact that Great Britain was committed to a life-and-death struggle with Bonaparte, from which there was no withdrawing. Unfortunately Canning and Castlereagh were personal enemies, and though their political views were at this time coincident, it was hard to get them to work well together.

During the latter months of the coalition government and the early days of the Portland cabinet the situation on the Continent had been profoundly modified. After Austerlitz Napoleon had turned upon Prussia, determined to punish her for her double-dealing and mean selfishness during the last struggle. The moment that his hands were free from the Austrian war, he assumed a haughty and provocative attitude towards her. He alarmed

her by forming the states of central and southern Germany into the Confederation of the Rhine, of which he made himself president and supreme arbiter. But his main offence was a project for resuming possession of Hanover, which he had allowed Prussia to occupy in the preceding year, in order that he might use the electorate as a bribe in his negotiations with England. This insulting proposal soon came to the ears of the Prussian court, and aroused such anger that the timid king and his opportunist ministers were driven into war by an explosion of national feeling. Relying on the promised help of Russia and the old military reputation of their army, they rushed into war completely unprepared.

This was what Napoleon had intended; he had already mobilised his army in southern Germany in a position from which he could take Prussia in the flank. The moment that war was declared he marched in overpowering strength from the valley of the Main across the Thüringerwald, and fell upon the enemy as they were advancing across his front in the direction of the Rhine. An awful disaster ensued; the Prussian army, over-confident in the old military traditions of Frederick the Great, and led by senile generals, fell a helpless victim to the emperor's strategy. Out-fought, out-marched, and outflanked, it fled from the fields of Jena and Auerstadt (October 14th, 1806), only to fall piecemeal into the victor's hands. Of one hundred and fifty thousand veterans only twelve thousand escaped beyond the Oder and got away towards the Russian frontier. The czar meanwhile had been pushing his army towards the seat of war, but long before he was in touch with the French the forces of his ally had been absolutely annihilated.

NAPOLEON'S NEW PROJECT AGAINST ENGLAND (1806 A.D.)

It was after his triumphant entry into Berlin and before he marched on to encounter the Russians, that Napoleon found a moment of leisure in which to make it manifest that he had not forgotten England. In October, 1806, he published his famous Berlin Decrees, which represent the result of his ponderings since Austerlitz on the best manner of attacking Great Britain. Abandoning as impracticable his former plans of actual invasion, he had now conceived a vast scheme for bringing about the ruin of his adversary by cutting off the channels of supply of her national wealth. He reasoned to himself that she was dependent for resources on her carrying trade and on her enormous profits which she made by selling her manufactures abroad. If therefore he could prevent all Europe from buying not only her own goods, but even all goods brought from the East and the West in her ships, he imagined that he could produce such widespread distress and bankruptcy within her borders that she would speedily be brought to her knees. Accordingly the Berlin Decrees declared all British goods and all goods borne in British ships contraband over the whole region over which his power extended—France, Italy, Holland, the Confederation of the Rhine, Switzerland, and Spain—for his allies were compelled to join him in enforcing this extensive "boycott" of British trade. Having thus launched his thunderbolt against the old enemy, he marched on to encounter the new foe—the armies of Czar Alexander.

The two campaigns that followed in Poland and East Prussia were far more severe work than the emperor had yet encountered in his whole career. The desperate fighting in the mud and snow of a poor and thinly peopled region thinned the ranks and tried the *morale* of his army almost to the edge of ruin. At Eylau the Russians repulsed him, and only failed to

gain the advantage of victory because they retired from the field next morning. But the spring brought food and reinforcements to the emperor, and after the decisive battle of Friedland (June 14th, 1807) the czar Alexander asked for terms of peace. He was granted more favourable conditions than he had expected at the Treaty of Tilsit. Napoleon fell heavily upon Prussia, stripped her of half her territory, imposed a vast war indemnity, and placed permanent French garrisons in her fortresses. But he exacted nothing from Russia save an engagement to adhere to the "continental system" and to close her ports to English trade. It was his aim at this time to conciliate the czar rather than to crush him; he professed warm friendship for him and encouraged him to set forth on schemes of territorial aggression against Turkey and Sweden which would keep him out of Western politics.

BONAPARTE'S SUPREMACY

After Tilsit Bonaparte was supreme in Europe as he had never been before. There was no continental power left to balance his weight. Prussia had been dismembered, Austria had been humbled, and Russia was now his obsequious friend. He had planted out his family in new kingdoms cut out of his conquests. Of his brothers, Joseph was now king of Naples, Jerome king of Westphalia, Louis king of Holland; his sisters had been given appanages in Italy, and his brother-in-law the broad dukedom of Berg on the lower Rhine. All the Continent, with the insignificant exceptions of Turkey, Sweden, and Portugal, was at his disposition. Now, therefore, was the time for prosecuting his great design against England: by the Milan Decrees of December, 1807, which carried out the Berlin Decrees to their logical extreme, he declared the whole British Isles in a "state of blockade" so far as the Continent was concerned (a ludicrous perversion of the actual fact). To prevent the indirect permeation of British goods into the sphere of his power on neutral ships, he made two additional rules: (1) that a foreign vessel which had touched at any port in the British dominions should be excluded from the harbours of France and her allies, and (2) that goods that could be identified as British might be seized and destroyed wherever found.

Even before this last fulmination of the enemy, the British cabinet, provoked by the Berlin Decrees, had replied by publishing two "Orders in Council" (November, 1807), which turned the emperor's devices against himself. By these every port in France and the other states in the Napoleonic sphere of influence was declared to be in a state of blockade, and neutral vessels were warned that on trying to enter them they would be regarded as legitimate prizes for the British navy, unless they could prove that since leaving home they had touched at a British harbour. As Napoleon had already made such a visit prohibitory for any vessel that wished to trade with his dominions, the position of the unfortunate neutral was made impossible. The United States of America, the one great oceanic trading power outside the European state system, was particularly hard hit, and declaimed with justice against both the combatants in the great struggle in the Old World.

The continental system had many and various results, but they were by no means those which Napoleon had hoped and expected. He had been influenced by the old political economy of the French "physiocratic school," who taught that wealth derived from trade and commerce was essentially precarious and unreal: hence he imagined that Great Britain would collapse after a short agony of bankruptcy. But though he had inflicted grave injury upon her by closing so many of her regular markets, she was

much less harmed than he supposed. Though the manufacturers that worked for the continental trade were hard hit, though there was distress and want of work in many a north country industrial centre, yet there were many sources of wealth that he could not touch. The trade with the colonies, with Africa, India and China, and the Levant was wholly beyond his control. Nor could he influence the domestic consumption of the British Isles, which were (after all) their own most important market. It is more surprising to find that he could not even effectually cut off the intercourse of England with his own allies and subjects. "Trade will find out a way," and the most prominent economic result of the continental system was to produce the most enormous and elaborate system of smuggling that has ever been seen. In spite of hundreds of thousands of coast guards and *douaniers* strung out along the water's edge from St. Petersburg to Trieste, British goods continued to enter the Continent. The desire for them was so great, and the profit from retailing them so enormous, that the English and continental smugglers gladly took the risk. From the shores of Great Britain herself, from outlying ports like Heligoland and Gibraltar and Malta, from harbours in the hands of our allies like Palermo and Cagliari, the contraband goods were shot ashore at night in spite of Napoleon's agents and all their inquisitorial zeal. At last smuggling became so highly organised a trade that English goods were conveyed by it to every corner of Europe, and the French officials began to wink at it for their own private profit. But the last pitch of absurdity was reached when Napoleon himself in 1813, hard pressed for greatcoats to clothe his army, contracted with smugglers to procure him many thousand yards of Yorkshire frieze, and duly paid for them money that went into English pockets.

This incident was but a symptom of the general fact that the continental system hit France and her allies much more heavily than England. Of the British and colonial goods that were excluded some could not be replaced at all by continental manufactures; others could only be supplied in insufficient quantities or of inferior quality. Hence came a widely felt dearth of luxuries and even necessaries which brought the miseries of the war and the obstinacy of the emperor home to every individual among his subjects and allies. Every household that had to pay two francs a pound for inferior beet sugar, or to substitute chicory for coffee, cursed the continental system. If this repressed anger was not unknown in France, it was rampant in Germany and Russia, where the suffering was endured purely for the profit of Napoleon and for no national end of the sufferers. In short, the Berlin Decrees had no small share in preparing Europe for the great rising which overthrew the tyrant in the year 1813.

The emperor had not long put the continental system in working order, when he started off on a new enterprise which was to be even more directly the cause of his fall. Portugal had been almost the last corner of Europe where British trade still found an entrance. In the autumn of 1807 Bonaparte summoned the Portuguese government to close Lisbon and Oporto; on their hesitation (for this weak power did not actually refuse) he sent an army under Junot across Spain, which hunted the prince regent across the sea to Brazil, and seized the whole country. But though Portugal was conquered, the emperor continued to force more and more troops into the territory of his Spanish allies, till more than one hundred thousand men were cantoned between Madrid and Bayonne. This inexplicable massing of troops in a friendly country covered a most villainous design. Napoleon had resolved to lay hands on Spain, to dethrone the reigning imbecile dynasty, and to place a relative of his own upon the throne. The worthless Bourbons played

into his hands, for a deadly quarrel had broken out between King Charles IV and his heir Ferdinand, who resented the predominance in the state of his father's arrogant favourite, Godoy. By a *coup d'état* at Aranjuez Ferdinand dethroned his father (March, 1808); the emperor refused to recognise the new king, and summoned him and his father to Bayonne, promising to arbitrate between them. When both hastened to meet him, he suddenly declared to them that he had resolved to place a new dynasty on the Spanish throne, and bade them abdicate. Charles resigned readily enough, out of hatred for his son; Ferdinand had to be threatened with death before he would sign away his rights. But at last he yielded, and Napoleon then declared his own brother, Joseph, king of Spain. By his treacherous preliminary moves Madrid and all the border fortresses of the realm were already in his hands.

The emperor had looked with contempt on the miserable Bourbons and their ill-governed, priest-ridden, bankrupt subjects. He never suspected for a moment that Spain was to be his ruin. But to his surprise the whole nation flew to arms, and in the first days of the insurrection the raw levies of Andalusia surrounded, beat, and captured a whole French army corps of eighteen thousand men at Baylen (July 20th, 1808). The French were thrust back to the Ebro, and at the same moment an English army under Sir Arthur Wellesley (the brother of the great governor-general of India) landed in Portugal, beat at Vimiera (August 21st) the army of Junot, and forced the French to evacuate the country under the Convention of Cintra.

This was the worst disaster, and the most righteously earned, that Napoleon had yet suffered. In high wrath he summoned out of Germany his "grand army," and fell upon the Spaniards. Their raw armies were scattered to the winds by the overwhelming number of his veterans, and Madrid was soon replaced in French hands (December 4th). A month later the British army from Portugal was driven back to the sea, and forced to embark after a battle at Corunna (January 16th, 1809). Its commander, Sir John Moore, lost his life, but repulsed his pursuers so as to secure a quiet embarkation for his troops.

Napoleon now supposed that the Spanish war was practically ended, and returned to Paris where new diplomatic developments demanded his presence. The Austrian government had been watching the Peninsular War with keen attention, and when the emperor had drawn off two hundred and fifty thousand men into Spain, imagined that the moment had come to attack him in the rear and avenge Austerlitz. Napoleon could not withdraw his veterans from Spain, and was forced to meet this new enemy at the head of an army hastily organised from his reserves, his garrisons in Germany, and his subject allies. Yet after a desperate struggle, and an actual defeat at Essling, he triumphed at Wagram (July 6th, 1809), and forced the emperor Francis to cede him at the Peace of Schönbrunn the maritime provinces of Austria and the hand of his daughter, Marie Louise. The annexation of Trieste and Illyria was insisted on because it enabled the continental system to be applied more vigorously in the Adriatic. By the Austrian marriage Bonaparte hoped to found a dynastic alliance with his late enemy, and for that reason made the terms of peace far less onerous than those which he had imposed on Prussia under similar circumstances at Tilsit.

WELLINGTON IN SPAIN (1809–1812 A.D.)

From the English point of view the year 1809 is mainly notable, not for the campaign of Wagram, but for the final determination taken in this spring to commit the British army to a great land war on the Continent. Hitherto

the military expeditions of the various cabinets had aimed at little more than what Sheridan called "a policy of filching sugar-islands," *i.e.*, at spasmodic colonial expeditions. Their attempts to employ troops on the Continent had been few, irresolute, and ill-conducted. In 1809, after Moore's retreat to Corunna, many persons had expected that we should retire from the Spanish war as a hopeless failure. Fortunately Lord Castlereagh persuaded his colleagues to send back Sir Arthur Wellesley, the victor of Assaye and Vimiero, to the peninsula, and to reinforce his corps up to a strength of thirty thousand men. It was a great mistake that he was not also given control of another army corps of the same strength, which was despatched in an ill-managed expedition against Antwerp, to sicken and melt away in the swamps of the isle of Walcheren.

But even with the moderate force placed at his disposal Wellesley beat the French out of Portugal (May, 1809) and then, pushing for Madrid, defeated them again at Talavera (July 28th). If the Spanish troops had given him effective help he would have retaken the capital, but his victory drew down upon him overwhelming numbers and he had to retire and assume a defensive position on the Portuguese frontier. Yet to force him back even thus far the French had to evacuate Galicia and other Spanish districts which they never regained, so that the balance of profit on the campaign was decidedly on his side.

It was this campaign of 1809 which showed that Britain had at last found a competent general, and encouraged her ministers to resolve to persist in continental operations, which might bleed Napoleon to death by long exhaustion. Spain and Portugal offered a peculiarly favourable field for British interference. The cynical wickedness of Bonaparte's methods of assailing Spain had roused a feeling of savage and fanatical patriotism in the country, and for the first time the French had to face a really national revolt against their ascendency. Though the emperor kept two hundred and fifty thousand men in the peninsula, and though his armies beat with ease the raw Spanish levies which were opposed to them, yet they never could gain a firm hold upon the land. No town would submit to Joseph Bonaparte unless it was kept down by a garrison; no district would remain quiet unless it was perpetually controlled by flying columns. Everywhere the bands of guerillas swarmed in the hills, and descended to annihilate small detachments and to capture convoys. It took an escort of five hundred men to carry a message from one French general to another, even when they were but one hundred miles apart. Hence, although the emperor had a quarter of a million of men upon the spot, they were mainly frittered away on police and garrison duty, and could never manage to occupy the whole peninsula. A removal of troops to an expedition in one corner always meant that the region from which they were withdrawn blazed up in a new insurrection. The war was horribly bloody and cruel on both sides; the French shot all guerillas as bandits; in retaliation these desperate outlaws murdered without pity every straggler or outpost sentinel whom they could surprise. Whole districts were depopulated, whole regiments used up in this inglorious warfare of ambush and assassination. Meanwhile the British kept the main armies of the French distracted by sallies from Portugal, by throwing a garrison into Cadiz (1810), and afterwards by landing troops on the east coast of Spain (1812–1814). Wellesley (now created Viscount Wellington for his victory of Talavera) was by turns the most cautious and the most enterprising of generals. When outnumbered he retired into the inaccessible Portuguese mountains; while the moment that the famished enemy desisted from pursuing him he returned to molest the borders of Spain.

A year had passed since the Peace of Schönbrunn when Napoleon, beginning to realise the difficulties of the Spanish War, resolved to make an end of it. It was also growing too tedious and costly for his taste, and showed no signs of coming to a close. Accordingly he sent against Wellington the greatest of his lieutenants, Marshal Masséna, with two fresh army corps drawn from Germany. Adding these to the troops already on the Portuguese frontier, Masséna should have had one hundred thousand men to crush Wellington's thirty thousand and the levies of Portugal. But the need of protecting his rear and communication from the Spanish insurgents prevented him from using his whole force. Nevertheless he came on in such overwhelming strength that Wellington was obliged to retire before him to his final stronghold, the celebrated lines of Torres Vedras. Here the British commander, unsuspected by his enemy, had drawn a triple line of intrenchments and forts across the Lisbon peninsula, and stood at bay in an impregnable position with the sea on either hand. Masséna could get no further forward, and meanwhile the insurgents had closed in behind him, and cut his communication with Spain. For nearly five months (October, 1810–February, 1811) he remained encamped in front of the lines, while his army melted away from famine and disease. Wellington had devastated the country side and compelled the Portuguese peasantry to take refuge in his lines, so that the French were left in an artificial desert. Even by the fertile banks of the lower Tagus they died of sheer starvation. At last, after seeing more than a third of his army perish, Masséna was forced to cut his way back to Spain and to announce to his angry master that he had failed. Wellington, like Fabius of old, had discomfited his foe by refusing to fight rash battles in the open and relying on cold and hunger as his best auxiliaries.

It was a great day for Britain and for Europe when the ruined army of Masséna recoiled from the gates of Lisbon. The prestige of the emperor was far more damaged by this check than by the disaster of Baylen or any other previous failure, for the beaten commander was the greatest of the marshals, and he had been intrusted with a larger force than Bonaparte had ever before placed under one of his lieutenants. The only way to have repaired the blow to French moral ascendency in Europe would have been for the emperor himself to have taken the field against Wellington in the summer of 1811, with another enormous army of reinforcements at his back. Bonaparte thought for a moment of doing so, but finally came to the conclusion that he could not afford to risk himself in the far southwest, leaving behind him the universal hatred of the powers of central Europe.

The fact was that by now the continental system was working out its logical result—not the one that Napoleon had expected. The general ruin that it brought about all over Europe had made whole nations his enemies, and they would not much longer keep quiet. To the outward eye the French empire looked more splendid than ever; the emperor's last reckless annexation had extended its borders to Lübeck on the one hand and to Rome on the other; his army, in spite of the ever-running "Spanish ulcer," was more numerous, if not more efficient, than ever before. His dynasty seemed assured by the birth of a long-denied son and heir. Yet his power was verging to decay, because he had armed against himself a force even stronger than his own—the general detestation alike of the governments and of the nations of Europe.

By 1811 the most powerful of his allies was already showing signs of recalcitrance. The continental system was more noxious to Russia than even to the rest of its victims, for England had always been her best customer. After four years of ruinous compliance with Napoleon's behests, the czar

Alexander began to kick against the pricks. It was probably the signs of discontent in this quarter which deterred the emperor from setting forth to take up Masséna's unfinished task of "driving the Britannic leopard into the sea." As the year wore on it became more and more clear that he would not go to Spain. No new reinforcements were sent thither, and the last attempts of the French marshals to take the offensive against Wellington were beaten off at Fuentes d'Onoro (May 5th) and Albuera (May 16th). In the next spring it was Wellington who to his adversaries' great surprise suddenly assumed the rôle of invader.

Meanwhile the outlook seemed gloomy enough to the British nation. There were few who could read the signs of the times and foresee the turn of the tide. Many critics railed against the tory government, predicted the final expulsion of Wellington from the peninsula, and pronounced Napoleon invincible. The load of debt seemed heavier than ever; the continental system brought distress, though not ruin, on the manufacturing districts. Bad harvests and low wages oppressed the poor. It was fortunate that the cabinets of Perceval and Lord Liverpool were obstinate and unyielding. Though the greater part of the statesmen of Great Britain were not men of genius, they had firmly grasped the main fact that the struggle was to the death—that there could be no compromise with the enemy—and that all comes to those who wait their opportunity. It was now at hand.

By the end of 1811 the emperor had discovered that if he was determined to enforce the continental system in the drastic fashion which he loved, he would have once more to fight the czar. It was his desire to ruin Britain, therefore, which drove him to Moscow. So obstinate was his will, so unbending his pride, that he did not hesitate to take in hand a new and vast eastern war, while Spain was still unsubdued. The enterprise was too great even for his strength. He gathered the largest army that he had ever yet assembled, six hundred thousand men in all, for the invasion of Russia. But the troops were of very unequal value; nearly half were unwilling foreign auxiliaries who loathed the task; and even the French regiments were no longer their ancient selves: the pick of the old army of Austerlitz and Jena was still detained in Spain.

To meet this vast invading horde the Russians adopted the same tactics which Wellington had used against Masséna in 1810–1811. Instead of fighting on the frontier they retired eastward into the heart of their steppes and forests, leaving the French to starve in a land even poorer and more thinly peopled than Spain itself. The emperor's troops were fast melting away before a combat of importance had been fought. When he reached Borodino, in front of Moscow, where the enemy at last offered battle in an intrenched position, Napoleon had not more than one hundred thousand men with him. The rest were left behind guarding his interminable line of communication, or had died, deserted, or dispersed to plunder. With a last effort and the loss of twenty thousand lives the "grand army" dislodged the Russians from their redoubts (September 7th, 1812), and a few days later entered Moscow. But here, too, Wellington's example had been followed: the city was empty, for the whole civil population had been directed to retire to the east. While Napoleon waited in vain for the czar to ask for peace, a conflagration broke out, and the whole vast city was destroyed. The fire probably had its origin in the carelessness of the French rather than in any incendiary plan of the Russians, but its results served the czar well. Napoleon, deprived of his expected winter quarters, tardily resolved on retreat. But he waited too long, and ere he had gone far on his march was surprised by the bitter winter of

the steppes. His army, already half starved and more than half demoralised by the obvious failure of the expedition, crumbled away at the touch of the November frost. It dissolved into a mass of marauding stragglers and perished in the snow or fell helpless into the hands of the pursuing Russians. At last Napoleon abandoned his army and fled to Paris to raise new forces. Of the deserted horde only thirty thousand frost-bitten wretches reached the Niemen and took refuge in Germany.

Meanwhile the war in Spain had been almost as disastrous to the French arms as that in Russia. Noting that the armies in front of him were no longer as numerous as before, Wellington suddenly assumed the offensive at the midwinter of 1811–1812, when such a move on the part of such a cautious general was least expected by the enemy. In January, 1812, he stormed Ciudad-Rodrigo, the northern frontier fortress of Spain; in April he captured Badajoz, her southern bulwark; in July he won the battle of Salamanca, and then entered Madrid. If his army had been a little larger he might have expelled the French from the whole of Spain: but when they evacuated Andalusia and all the rest of the south, and united all their surviving forces in a single mass, he was too weak to offer battle. He retired, for the last time, before their advance and took up his old position on the Portuguese frontier. But he had liberated more than half the peninsula by forcing the French to concentrate opposite him. Seville, Cordova, Granada, the Asturias, Estremadura, and La Mancha never saw the eagles again.

Madrid was now the southernmost outpost of King Joseph instead of the centre of his realm. Worse things were yet to come for the usurper: in January, 1813, Napoleon, desperately anxious to get together every man that could be found in order to check the oncoming Russians, sent to Spain for all and more than all of his veterans who could be spared. He withdrew eighty thousand men, leaving the army of occupation not much stronger than the united force of Wellington and the Spaniards. Even he himself must have guessed at the probable consequences in the ensuing campaign. The guerillas were more active than ever; the English had only been checked by the massing of every available man. What must occur when a third of the French army was suddenly withdrawn to Germany?

OUTBREAK OF WAR WITH THE UNITED STATES (1812 A.D.)

It was fortunate for Great Britain that it was in 1812, when the tide had definitely turned, and not at any earlier epoch of the war, that she became engaged in her unhappy and unnecessary struggle with the United States of America. This was one of the indirect results of the continental system, and so far a triumph for Bonaparte's policy; but it came too late to profit him. Seeing their transatlantic commerce strangled by the joint results of the Milan Decrees on one hand, and the British Orders in Council on the other, the Americans were naturally indignant at the two reckless adversaries who were ruining not only each other, but also the neutrals who wished to take no part in the war. This resentment after a time resulted in their placing an embargo on trade with either power. But matters did not end here: Napoleon was practically unassailable by the United States; Great Britain, on the other hand, was very vulnerable. The vast but thinly peopled colony of Canada was close at hand, a tempting prey, for in the stress of the European war it had been left almost ungarrisoned. An excellent justification for the declaration of hostilities was found in the Orders in Council of 1807, in the rough exercise of the hated "right of search" which Britain claimed on the high

seas, and in the frequent seizure from American vessels of British deserters, whose change of nationality the British government refused to recognise. But there would have been no war if the president and his advisers had not been under the impression that Canada might be had for the taking. As far as provocation went, there was quite as good cause for fighting Napoleon.

The delivery of this unexpected attack, "the stab in the back," as a British statesman called it, was followed by none of the results which the two combatants expected. These invasions of Canada were beaten off with loss by the small garrison and the local militia, who even captured whole two small American expeditions; clearly, the colony was not to prove the helpless victim that had been supposed. On the other hand, upon the sea, where no danger had been expected, the British met with unpleasant surprises. On three occasions in the first year of the war the well-manned and efficient American frigates captured in single combat British vessels of slightly inferior force—a thing which the successors of Nelson held incredible. Moreover, American privateering proved much more costly to the mercantile marine than that of the French or Dutch had ever been. The war thus proved disappointing to each of the combatants, but was destined to endure till the greater struggle in Europe had come to an end.

THE FALL OF NAPOLEON

The year 1813 had proved the rottenness of Napoleon's empire when assailed, for the first time, by all his enemies combined. He had raised by superhuman exertion an army as large as that which he had lost in Russia, but the raw and ill-compacted masses could not fight or manœuvre as their predecessors had done. He held the Russians and Prussians at bay for a space, but when Austria also struck in against him the odds were too great. At the three-days' battle of Leipsic (October 16th–18th, 1813) he lost not only the victory but the greater part of his army. He retired behind the Rhine to rally the wrecks, but with wise promptness his enemies hurried hard upon the track and were assailing him in France ere the new year was many days old.

Nor was it only on the side of the Rhine that Bonaparte saw his frontiers overstepped. Wellington's Spanish campaign of 1813 had exceeded in the brilliance of its results that of the preceding year. He was now at last on equal terms as regards numbers with his adversaries; but they were scattered over the provinces which they still retained, vainly striving to hold down the guerillas. Secretly assembling his army when the spring had arrived, he rushed into the midst of the French cantonments, caught them before they could concentrate, and completely beat their main army at Vittoria (June 21st, 1813). Never was there a more decisive victory; every gun and every wagon belonging to the French army was captured, and the defeated host fled in utter rout into France. By this single blow the whole of northern Spain was liberated, save the two frontier fortresses of Pampeluna and St. Sebastian. During the autumn Wellington captured both, after foiling in the so-called "battles of the Pyrenees" the effort made by Marshal Soult with the rallied French "Army of Spain" to relieve them. He then crossed the Bidassoa and entered France at the head of one hundred thousand men. Such was the ultimate result of Bonaparte's reckless and immoral Spanish policy. It had cost him in the five years 1808–1813 some three hundred thousand good soldiers, and had finally brought an Anglo-Spanish army upon his back, at the moment when he was facing eastward in the desperate endeavour to beat off the in-

vading hordes of the Austrians, Russians, and Prussians. He himself confessed, during his final year of disasters, that it was the "Spanish ulcer" that had ruined him. But this was only part of the truth: it was far more truly his insane devotion to the continental system that had proved fatal. If he had not maddened all Europe by that ingenious but intolerable scheme, he might have endured much longer the drain caused by the Peninsular War.

But his forces were now used up. Though he made a skilful and desperate defence in Champagne he could not resist fourfold numbers. The allies edged him back, beat his marshals, and finally slipped past him and captured Paris. At the same moment the English had entered Bordeaux, and occupied the southwestern departments of France. The game was up, and on April 7th, 1814, the emperor was forced by his own generals to abdicate. The victorious allies placed on the throne of France the elderly Louis XVIII, the heir of the half-forgotten house of Bourbon, and sent their vanquished foe to Elba, to reign over a barren rock and ten thousand Tuscan peasants.

THE PEACE OF GHENT (1814 A.D.)

It seemed that at last the storm that had been let loose by the outbreak of the French Revolution had run its course. For the first time since the rupture of the Treaty of Amiens the cannon was silent in Europe. Britain alone was at first unable to disarm, for her war with the United States was still in progress. But with the removal of Napoleon and the continental system that war, too, lost its *raison d'être*. The orders in council, the impressment of seamen, the rigid exercise of the right of search disappeared with the fall of the Corsican. There was now little left to fight about; the Americans were as sick of the war as were the British. All their ports were blockaded, their commerce was at an end; of their victorious frigates some had been destroyed by superior forces, the rest were shut up in harbours. The invasion of Canada had brought nothing but disaster. On the other hand, the cabinet of Lord Liverpool had no wish to go on with the struggle: the last episode of the war had showed that even when reinforcements of Wellington's veterans became available for use in America, there was no certainty of success. It was true that one expedition had burned the public buildings of Washington, in revenge for a similar act of vandalism on the part of the United States troops at York, the capital of Upper Canada. But the same troops had failed before Baltimore, and a larger expedition was beaten off with dreadful loss from an attack on New Orleans. Before 1814 was out Britain and the United States had signed the Peace of Ghent, a treaty whose main peculiarity was that it made no mention of any of the disputed points which had been used as the American *casus belli* in 1812 (December 24th, 1814). Thus an unsatisfactory peace ended an unsatisfactory war.

THE END OF NAPOLEON

With the ratification of the Treaty of Ghent it might have been thought that the whole world had settled down to rest—the uneasy rest of exhaustion it might be—but yet one likely to last for a whole generation. Disarmament was already in progress, and the Congress of Vienna was hard at work endeavouring to patch up new boundaries for Europe and to reconcile the various incompatible claims of the victorious allies. In the midst of the wrangling of the diplomats there came terrifying news which caused them to lay aside their grievances and patch up their old league. Napoleon had

escaped from Elba (March, 1815), had landed in France, and had rallied to his side the whole of his veterans, who were enduring with angry contempt the unsympathetic rule of the restored Bourbons. The French nation was astonished rather than rejoiced at the emperor's reappearance; but the army welcomed him back with enthusiasm. On finding that no one would fire a shot in his behalf, Louis XVIII had once more to seek refuge in exile.

Bonaparte was borne up for a time by the vain hope that he could secure his permanent restoration by making lavish professions of peace, and intriguing to separate the allied powers from one another by appeals to their individual interests. But his adventure was hopeless from the first; his old enemies knew him too well; all eagerly put aside their quarrels for a general crusade against the spectre who had arisen from his grave to disturb the peace of Europe. Bonaparte found that he had to fight for his existence with a very remote chance of survival; for even three victories such as Austerlitz would not now have saved him. But he dashed into the field, anxious to take his enemies in detail before they had begun to concentrate. There is no need to tell at length how his scheme failed; he marched into Belgium with headlong speed, with the design of separating Wellington's English and Blücher's Prussians, the only two armies that were already mobilised. On June 10th he gave the Prussians a heavy blow at Ligny, but failed to destroy or demoralise them. Two days later, while his cavalry were foaming away their strength against the indomitable squares of Wellington's English on the hillside of Mont St. Jean, the Prussians appeared upon his flank and rear. Blücher, far from being disposed of at Ligny, was ready for a second fight. The French army had already exhausted itself in the effort to break Wellington's line; it was hopelessly outnumbered when the Prussians appeared, and the emperor himself could not ward off the inevitable. When the last charge of his guards was beaten off by the British the cry of *Sauve qui peut!* ran round the ranks of the despairing host, and the whole multitude fled headlong for France, hurrying away their despairing master in their midst. Napoleon's restoration had been purely the work of the army; when therefore the army had been crushed he had no hope left. All that he could do was to abdicate for a second time and to surrender himself to the conquerors. This time they would not grant him a second Elba, but sent him away under surveillance to eat out his heart in captivity upon the lonely and wind swept island of St. Helena in the South Atlantic Ocean.

THE STATE OF ENGLAND

The "Napoleonic idea" was disposed of for nearly fifty years, and many European statesmen vainly dreamed that they were permanently quit both of it and of the kindred terror, the red spectre of the Revolution. Those who lived long enough saw their error; but for many years after Waterloo the times were comparatively quiet, and there was a long pause in the political development of modern Europe. Britain therefore had ample time to take stock of the results of the twenty-three eventful years which had passed since the French republic declared war on her in February, 1793. Never before had the whole *morale* of the nation been so profoundly modified in such a short space of time. Both morally and materially the difference between the Britain of 1793 and the Britain of 1815 was enormous. Nine years spent in waging a war of opinions and ideas, and twelve years more spent in fighting for existence and empire, had made her wary, resolute, and far-sighted as she had never been before. Nothing is more striking than the fact

that in the latter years of the great struggle she maintained a wise and courageous and consistent policy without having any statesman of first-rate eminence to guide her. It was the nation that fought down Bonaparte: the successive cabinets which administered affairs were merely carrying out the nation's behest. Faction had died down in a way that would have seemed incredible to an eighteenth-century politician. A bitter enemy of England observed in 1813 that there was no profit to be made by her enemies out of her system of party government; the opposition instead of intriguing to upset ministries confined itself to harmless criticisms of means rather than of ends. There was barely a handful of extreme "whigs," who really tried to do mischief by pretending to persist in the view that Bonaparte was a beneficent being goaded into war by the tories, and prophesying his ultimate triumph. These madmen were utterly without influence in their own party. It was generally felt that the heirs of Pitt must be allowed to finish the war in Pitt's fashion. When the struggle was over, it would be time enough to take in hand the reforms that had long been overdue. The moment that the nation's mandate had been executed, and Bonaparte had been consigned to St. Helena, party politics came to life again; and in the course of the next generation the necessary changes in the constitution were made. If these changes were resisted by the tories, it was because their older men, whose views had been stereotyped by the contemplation of the French Revolution, instinctively confused reform with Jacobinism, and change with chaos. It is hard to blame them when we consider what they had seen and lived through. At the worst the tory and whig parties of the days after the war were infinitely more honest, patriotic, and respectable than their predecessors of the old days before 1793.

The improvement in politics was only a symptom of the general moral improvement of the nation. The war had sobered Britain; the eighteenth century had been slack in its ideals of public and private virtue, over-tolerant of cynicism and corruption, of shameless evil living and of neglect of obligations. If the war taught the nation that civic virtue and conscientious will to work must be demanded from its leaders, it also required a better general level of life and duty from every man. Even the most frivolous had been shocked by the frightful massacres and the reckless cruelties of the French Revolution. Even the least sensitive had felt the awful stress when in 1797–1798, and again in 1803–1804 a great national catastrophe had seemed imminent. Such crises had bred a certain sobriety and earnestness, a Spartan power of endurance which the eighteenth century had never known.

This was strengthened by a strong religious revival. Even before the revolutionary war broke out, the movement started by Wesley had begun to revive personal religion, which had seemed to slumber so deeply during the times of the earlier Georges. But there can be no doubt that the tendency was developed by the character of the French war. Many men were startled into a more serious view of life by the blasphemous antics of the Parisian freethinkers. The enthronisation of the "Goddess of Reason" on the altar of Notre Dame and the accompanying Saturnalia did more for the cause of religion than a thousand sermons. For the first time since the old parliamentary wars men armed with a crusading spirit against a spiritual enemy; and the cry "For God and the king" had a real meaning when the foe was the atheist republic of France. The student of such themes will find a strong strain of evangelical piety and enthusiasm running through many of the private diaries of the men of the great war—those of the admirals Lord Keith and Lord Collingwood may serve as good instances. Though much

eighteenth-century frivolity and indifferentism survived into the opening years of the nineteenth century, the general tendency was in the other direction. The detestation in which the prince regent (George IV), a most typical eighteenth-century character, was held by the majority of his subjects, came almost entirely from the revival of personal religion and the sense of social duty and decency among them.

Morally the results of the war were all on the side of improvement. The nation was far more sober, earnest, and efficient for the long time of storm and stress that it had endured. Materially the changes were not all for the better. It is true that the strength and wealth of Great Britain had steadily increased in spite of all hindrances. Its population had gone up from fourteen million to nineteen million souls, in spite of the terrible blood-tax levied throughout the period. Its ordinary revenue had gone up in an even more astonishing fashion: putting aside special war taxation and loans, the taxes which had produced £19,000,000 in 1792 brought in £45,000,000 in 1815. Exports had risen in the same period from £27,000,000 to £58,000,000. Even the crushing load of £900,000,000 of debt proved perfectly bearable when the war ceased. This marvellous prosperity came from the fact that the war, ranging round every corner of the Continent, had ruined Britain's manufacturing rivals. It was to be fifty years before they picked up the lost ground. In a similar way we had absorbed the whole carrying trade of the world. We had destroyed the merchant navies of France, Spain, and Holland, while Bonaparte by his misguided continental system had aided us to garner in the greater part of the commerce of the neutral states. By 1815 Great Britain had achieved not only naval domination but commercial monopoly. Her mastery of the seas was very different from the mere primacy that she had owned among maritime powers in 1792.

Territorially her empire had also developed in the most marked fashion. This was not by conquest from Napoleon and his allies: nothing could have been more modest than the cessions exacted by Great Britain as her share in the spoil distributed by the Congress of Vienna. There was no more than Malta and the Ionian Isles and Heligoland in Europe; St. Lucia, Tobago, and Trinidad in the West Indies; the colony of Demerara in South America; the isles of Ceylon and Mauritius in the Indian Ocean, and the then insignificant settlement of the Cape of Good Hope. Thrice as much was restored to its old owners by the Peace of 1815. On the map the red patches gained in the war look small. Far more important were developments made in other ways: it is to the time of the great French war that belongs the final establishment of British supremacy in India, by Wellesley's conquest of the Maharattas (1803–1804). Equally to this period belongs the establishment of British claims over Australia. The first settlement at Sydney had been made in 1788, just before the French Revolution began; by 1815 the colony was already growing, and the whole continent had been formally annexed, in consequence of Napoleon's threats to claim a part of it during the Peace of Amiens. In a similar way the exploration of the vast hinterland of Canada had been begun, and a permanent settlement planted on the Pacific coast in Vancouver Island, to which the limit of British colonisation was to be extended across the American continent. These advances were far more important than the conquest of any amount of sugar islands or naval outposts from France and her allies.

There was no compensating disadvantage in this commercial development and colonial expansion. But it was quite otherwise with the third great economic feature of the period 1793–1815. This was the so-called "economic

revolution," the transformation of British domestic industry to its modern shape. Down to the second half of the eighteenth century the manufactures of England, though already important, were mere handicrafts unaided by machinery, and scattered over the whole face of the land. A series of mechanical discoveries changed all this. The first of them was that iron could be smelted with coal, a thing unknown before, which made the district of northern England, where coal and iron lie side by side, a great industrial centre instead of a range of barren moors. A few years later came the discoveries of Watt and Arkwright, the former of whom applied steam to the working of machinery, while the latter perfected the details and definitely substituted mechanism for the slowly moving human hand in the spinning and weaving industry. These all-important inventions were well established in England, though still almost unknown abroad, when the revolutionary war broke out. Their development coincided with the years of its progress: all our rivals, being handicapped not only by antiquated methods but by the stress of the French invasions, were hopelessly distanced. Moreover, the sweeping from the seas of all mercantile navies save our own gave us control of all the markets outside Europe. In a single generation British industry supplanted that of other nations in the outer world. The demand for our cheap machine-made manufactures was so great that factories sprang up on every Yorkshire and Lancashire moor, and the population of the north quadrupled itself in thirty years. But the national prosperity was bought at the cost of much individual misery. The classes which had lived by handicrafts were ruined; the new factory hands were ill-paid, huddled together in badly built unsanitary towns of mushroom growth, and often driven to the verge of starvation by the repeated famines which were one of the most unhappy features of the period of the great war. Trades unions were in those days prohibited by law, and the discontent of the industrial population could only vent itself in riots which sometimes almost swelled to the size of insurrections.

This misery was partly artificial, being assisted by the protective tariff on corn which was one of the favourite devices of the tory party. With the object of keeping British farming prosperous they practically excluded foreign corn by heavy duties. But in a time when the growth of population was outrunning the possibilities of home agriculture, protection for the farmer spelt starvation for the factory hand. Repeatedly between 1800 and 1814 the price of wheat rose to over one hundred shillings a quarter—thrice its average price in these days—and whole towns were driven to the edge of starvation. Moreover, the worst of protection was that while it profited the landlord and the farmer, it did not benefit the agricultural labourer, whose wages were kept down by the absurd way in which the "Poor Law" was administered in the reign of George III. The system had been elaborated from a mistaken benevolence, not from any wish to pauperise the labourer, but its effects were to destroy his independence and lower his earnings.

These unhappy economic developments would have ensued even if no French war had been in progress. But it was unfortunate that they came on the scene when the attention of our statesmen was wholly taken up with the continental struggles. Without that distraction it would have been easier to recognise the social evils and to take in hand measures for their palliation. But with Napoleon on our threshold there were few who listened to the clamours within the national edifice. When riots broke out, when Luddites[1] smashed machinery, or farm labourers burned ricks, the governing classes

[1 The Luddites, says Aubrey,[e] were "named after a poor idiot who broke some stocking-frames in a frenzy."]

thought that they were facing Jacobin revolts, instead of the mere explosion of blind multitudes on the edge of starvation. Hence came much oppressive legislation and unsympathetic governance, which aggravated the evils that they could not remove.

The victorious end of the French war solved the problems of empire. It left behind wholly unsolved the domestic problems of Great Britain. The working out of the necessary political, social, and economic reforms was to be the task of the sons of the men who had beaten off the foreign enemy and won the empire of the seas and the pre-eminence in the industrial world.





CHAPTER II

REACTION AND REFORM

[1816–1830 A.D.]

CONDITION OF THE COUNTRY

The imperial parliament assembled on the 1st of February, 1816. At this opening of the session the ministry met the representatives of the people with all the pride and confidence of a success beyond hope. The march to Paris, twice over, says Brougham,[b] was sufficiently marvellous; "but it appeared, if possible, still more incredible that we should witness Lord Castlereagh entering the house of commons, and resuming, amidst universal shouts of applause, the seat which he had quitted for a season to attend as a chief actor in the arrangement of continental territory." Why incredible? Lord Castlereagh in the house of commons was the impersonation of a great national triumph. The parliamentary majority cheered the minister for foreign affairs as he would have been cheered by any other assembly, when he came home flushed with success. For a little while the nation might bear even the presumption of those who claimed all the merit of the triumph. On the first night of the session it was clearly seen that there was to be a limit to what parliament would bear. The chancellor of the exchequer declared his intention to continue the property or income tax on the modified scale of 5 per cent. This avowal was the signal for one of the chief battle-cries which were to lead on the scanty forces of opposition.

In a debate in the committee of supply, Lord Castlereagh used a memorable expression which roused a spirit in the country of deep hostility—almost of disgust: "He felt assured that the people of England would not, from an ignorant impatience to be relieved from the pressure of taxation, put everything to hazard, when everything might be accomplished by continued constancy and firmness." From the moment of this offensive declaration the income tax was doomed. The people had not borne the taxation of so

many years of war with a heroism such as no people had ever before shown, to be taunted with ignorant impatience of taxation, now that they had won peace. The presumption of the government at this period was calculated to produce a violent reaction throughout the land. Men really thought that the old English spirit of freedom was about to be trampled upon when the debates on the treaties took place, in which Lord Liverpool moved the address. Lord Grenville proposed an amendment, which deprecated in the strongest language "the settled system to raise the country into a military power." In the house of peers the government had a majority of sixty-four. Lord Holland entered a protest against the address, in terms which embodied his speech upon the treaties, and expressed the opinions of that section of the opposition: "Because the treaties and engagements contain a direct guarantee of the present government of France against the people of that country; and, in my judgment, imply a general and perpetual guarantee of all European governments against the governed."[1] In the house of commons the foreign secretary moved the address upon the treaties. An amendment was proposed by Lord Milton, which deprecated the military occupation of France and the unexampled military establishments of this country. The debate lasted two nights, the address being finally carried by a majority of 163.

The corporation of London took the lead in the national expression of opinion against the property tax. It was not only the anti-ministerial party of the city that joined in the petition of the corporation:—the judgments of mercantile men against the continuance of the tax were almost universal.

The inquisitorial character of the property tax had some influence in producing the popular hostility to its continuance. The returns of the taxpayers were then scrutinised with a severity which has been wisely put aside in the present times. But during the pressure of war expenditure, and long afterwards, the imposition and collection of other taxes were rendered as odious as possible to the people. The government employed, to an extent which scarcely seems credible now, an army of common informers, through whose agency the system of surcharges and penalties was enforced. Southey[c] attacked this disgrace of our nation as being ten times more inquisitorial than the Holy Office of Spain. "This species of espionage has within these few years become a regular trade; the laws are in some instances so perplexing, and in others so vexatious, that matter for prosecution is never wanting." He describes how "a fellow surcharges half the people in the district; that is, he informs the tax commissioners that such persons have given in a false account of their windows, dogs, horses, carriages, etc., an offence for which the tax is trebled, and half the surplus given to the informer." Harassed and perplexed—summoned from distant parts to appear before the commissioners—the persons informed against give up the trouble and expense of seeking justice; pay the penalty and bear the surcharge.

The debates upon the army estimates, which eventually caused some reduction—the rejection of the property tax—the searching inquiry into the civil list—the agitation of the question of sinecure offices—were indications of the feeling which any government would have to encounter that did not resolutely determine that a season of peace should be a season of economy. When the details of the civil list exhibited items of wanton and ridiculous luxury, the members of the administration themselves were pained and humiliated. When the same ministers proposed the magnificent establishment for the princess Charlotte and Prince Leopold, upon their marriage,

[1 Parliamentary speeches are usually quoted from Hansard's *Debates* throughout this chapter.]

not a dissenting voice was heard in parliament. The nation saw in this marriage of the presumptive heiress of the crown—a marriage of affection—some assured hope that public duties might be fitly learned in the serenity of domestic happiness. The private virtues were felt to be the best preparation for the possession of sovereign power. The idea of a patriot queen discharging all her high functions with steady alacrity, confident in the affections of her people, of simple habits, of refined and intellectual tastes, her throne sanctified by the attributes of womanly affection—such hopes were something to console the nation for the present endurance of authority that claimed only "mouth-honour," without love or respect. The marriage of the princess Charlotte took place at Carlton House, on the evening of the 2nd of May.

When the government, in the name of the prince regent, informed parliament that "the manufactures, commerce, and revenue of the United Kingdom were in a flourishing condition," the exception of agriculture was a sufficient announcement that the cry of "distress" was near at hand. Amidst the best and the worst species of opposition—the power of argument and the weakness of tumult—a bill was in 1815 hurried through parliament which absolutely closed the ports till the price of wheat rose to 80*s*. This law was passed during a season of wonderful abundance. It produced the immediate good to the landed interest of preventing the abundant supply being increased by importation; but the effect which it produced to the nation was to dry up the resources in years of scarcity which the foresight of other countries might have provided. The war-and-famine price of 1812 was again reached in the latter part of 1816, in 1817, and in 1818. The golden days of the deity that is found in no mythology, the Anti-Ceres, were returned. But the people were starving. Misery and insurrection filled the land.

A year after the hasty enactment of a corn law in 1815, amidst riots in the metropolis and the provinces, a majority of the landed interest came to parliament to ask for the remission of peculiar burdens, and to demand fresh protection. The landed interest of 1816 had but one remedy for every evil—unequal remission of taxation conjoined with protection. They desired themselves to pay less to the state than their fellow subjects. They required the state to limit their fellow subjects to that exclusive market for the necessaries of life which should dry up the sources of profitable industry, and thus make their taxation doubly burdensome. On the 7th of March Mr. Western laid upon the table of the house a series of fourteen resolutions, which declared the "unexampled distress" of those whose capitals were employed in agriculture. They demanded the repeal of so much of the Act of 1815 as should allow foreign corn to be warehoused, so that only British corn should be stored; and urged an advance of money by the government to such individuals as might be inclined to buy up our native produce. The principle upon which all this was advocated was a sufficiently broad one: "That excessive taxation renders it necessary to give protection to all articles the produce of our own soil, against similar articles the growth of foreign countries, not subject to the same burdens"; and "that it is therefore expedient to impose additional duties and restrictions on the importation of all articles, the produce of foreign agriculture." The resolutions of Mr. Western in 1816 came to no practical result; for the chief reason that the forced abandonment of the property tax, and the voluntary relinquishment of the war malt duty, had really left very little within the reach of government to be offered as a further boon to the landed interest.

"Manufactures and commerce," said the speech of the prince regent, "are in a flourishing condition." This was to rely upon the bare figures of

custom-house returns. In 1815 the declared value of British and Irish produce and manufactures exported was £51,000,000, being £6,000,000 more than in 1814. Well might the commerce of the country seem to be flourishing. Those who knew the real workings of that commerce were not so deceived. Mr. Baring, on the second night of the session, declared, that "he saw more loss than gain in this great increase of export." When the destruction of the power of Napoleon in 1814 had opened the ports of the Continent to our vessels, when the consumption of our exports no longer depended upon a vast system of contraband trade; it was universally thought that there could be no limit to the demand for British manufactures and colonial produce. If, under the anti-commercial decrees of our great enemy the shipments to European ports had been £12,000,000 in 1811, why should they not be doubled in 1814? And accordingly they were doubled. The most extravagant profits were expected to be realised. The ordinary course of trade was forsaken, and small capitalists as well as large, at the outports as well as in London, eagerly bought up colonial produce, and looked for golden returns. "The shippers found to their cost, when it was too late," says Tooke,[a] "that the effective demand on the Continent for colonial produce and British manufactures had been greatly overrated; for whatever might be the desire of the foreign consumers to possess articles so long out of their reach, they were limited in their means of purchase, and accordingly, the bulk of the commodities exported brought very inadequate returns."

The state of the American trade of 1816 was described by Mr. Brougham,[b] after speaking of the disastrous results of the continental speculations:— "The peace with America has produced somewhat of a similar effect; though I am very far from placing the vast exports which it occasioned upon the same footing with those of the European markets the year before; because ultimately the Americans will pay; which the exhausted state of the Continent renders very unlikely." Let us remark that we did not prevent the Americans paying in the only way in which one great people can pay another —by the interchange of commodities which each wants, in return for commodities of which each can produce a superfluity. We shut out their corn, but we did not shut out their cotton. But we went farther with the United States in the recognition of just commercial principles than with any European nation. By the Treaty of Ghent, in 1814, both countries agreed to repeal their navigation laws, and "the ships of the two countries were placed reciprocally upon the same footing in the ports of England and the United States, and all discriminating duties chargeable upon the goods which they conveyed were mutually repealed."

The distresses of the agricultural and the commercial interests were coincident; for the means of purchase amongst all classes were exhausted. The capital which was to impel their profitable industry was dried up. There was, says Tooke,[a] "a very general depression in the prices of nearly all productions, and in the value of all fixed property, entailing a convergence of losses and failures among the agricultural, and commercial, and manufacturing, and mining, and shipping, and building interests, which marked that period as one of most extensive suffering and distress."

The Luddite insurrection of 1812 had never been wholly put down. In 1816 it broke forth with new violence. At Loughborough, in July, many frames employed in the manufacture of lace were destroyed with the same secrecy as in 1812. Armed bands, under the orders of a chief, held the inhabitants in nightly terror, commanding them to put out their lights, and keep within their houses, under penalty of death. Their ravages were not

confined to the towns; they would march with suddenness and secrecy to distant villages, and rapidly effect their purposes of destruction. The general Ludd, who led on these armed and disguised desperadoes, would address his forces in a short speech, divide them into parties, and assign their respective operations. Then, in the silence of night, would houses and factories be broken open, frames and other machines be demolished, unfinished work be scattered on the highways, furniture be wholly destroyed. The ignorance which has more or less prevailed at all times on the subject of machinery —coupled with the want of employment produced by the depression of every branch of industry—was the cause that, undeterred by the terrible penalties of the law, the Luddites still pursued the course which had well-nigh driven the lace manufacturers from the district, and converted temporary distress into permanent ruin.

REFORMS IN THE CRIMINAL LAW

The notion that had been engendered by the French Revolution that to innovate was to destroy, that to reform was to revolutionise, was the creed of the majority from the close of the war to the end of the reign of George IV. The reaction, which in 1816 had commenced, of a more enlightened public opinion, finally produced the remarkable progress in social improvement which is the great characteristic of the happier eras of William IV and of Victoria. This reaction acquired efficiency and permanence from the very obstinacy with which it was resisted. It grew up during an incessant conflict, in which the roughest weapons of controversy were freely used by speakers and by writers. The amount of acrimony and intolerance which we may trace in the periodical press of that time, now appears ludicrous to the few who have survived what Sydney Smith calls "an awful period for those who had the misfortune to entertain liberal opinions." A later generation turns with loathing from the mode in which educated men denounced those who differed from them in the notion that the English constitution, as then understood, was the best possible form of government, and that what those who were sneered at as enthusiasts called social evils were really blessings in disguise. When the enthusiasts attempted to repeal or modify laws wholly unsuited to the advanced opinions of the age, and which appeared unlikely to provoke the hostility of mere selfish interests, there was always some formidable adversary to stand in the breach, ready to defend the crumbling outer walls of our time-honoured institutions, as if they constituted the strength and glory of the citadel.

Romilly was the foremost amongst the courageous spirits who risked something for the amelioration of the lot of their fellow men. His perseverance was an example to other earnest labourers, who, amidst much suspicion, and some ridicule, rested not till they had secured a neutral ground on which the benevolent and wise of each party might labour without any compromise of their political consistency. Criminal laws; police; poor laws; education; these offered themselves, when the excitement of the war had passed away, as subjects that might be dealt with in the same spirit which had finally carried the abolition of the slave trade. Tory might unite with whig in measures whose necessity was proclaimed in many forms of misery, of oppression, of neglect. Resistance to change gradually became feebler and feebler. There was a wide gulf between the land of promise and the land of reality; but it was first bridged over with a single plank, and then a solid structure arose, across which the advocates of "things as they should

be" securely passed to an enduring triumph, of which the wisest of the adherents of "things as they are" came, in the fulness of time, to share the honour.

The name of reform in the criminal laws had not been heard in the house of commons for fifty-eight years, when, in 1808, Romilly carried his bill for the abolition of the punishment of death for privately stealing from the person to the value of five shillings; in other words, for picking pockets. His friend Scarlett advised him to attempt at once to repeal all the statutes which punish with death mere thefts unaccompanied by any act of violence, or other circumstance of aggravation; but Romilly, seeing that he had no chance of being able to carry through the house a bill which was to expunge at once all those laws from the statute-book, determined to attempt the repeal of them one by one. Upon this prudential principle Romilly carried his first reform in 1808. Nevertheless, the house of commons, which consented to pass the bill, forced upon him the omission of its preamble:—"Whereas, the extreme severity of penal laws hath not been found effectual for the prevention of crimes; but, on the contrary, by increasing the difficulty of convicting offenders, in some cases affords them impunity, and in most cases renders their punishment extremely uncertain." The temper with which too many persons of rank and influence received any project of amelioration at the beginning of this century is forcibly exhibited in an anecdote which Romilly[e] has preserved for our edification. The brother of a peer of the realm, fresh from a debauch, came up to him at the bar of the house of commons, and stammered out, "I am against your bill; I am for hanging all."

In 1810 Romilly brought in three bills to repeal the acts which punished with death the crimes of stealing privately in a shop goods of the value of five shillings, and of stealing to the amount of forty shillings in a dwelling house, or on board vessels in navigable rivers. The first bill passed the house of commons, but was lost in the lords. The other two were rejected. In 1811 the rejected bills were again introduced, with a fourth bill, abolishing the capital punishment for stealing in bleaching grounds. The four bills were carried through the house of commons; but only that on the subject of bleaching grounds was sanctioned by the lords. The constant argument that was employed on these occasions against the alteration of the law was this—that of late years the offences which they undertook to repress were greatly increased. Justly did Romilly say, "A better reason than this for altering the law could hardly be given." On the 24th of May, 1811, when three of the bills were rejected in the house of lords, Lord Ellenborough declared, "They went to alter those laws which a century had proved to be necessary, and which were now to be overturned by speculation and modern philosophy." The lord chancellor, Eldon, on the same occasion stated that he had himself early in life felt a disposition to examine the principles on which our criminal code was framed, "before observation and experience had matured his judgment. Since, however, he had learned to listen to these great teachers in this important science, his ideas had greatly changed, and he saw the wisdom of the principles and practice by which our criminal code was regulated." In 1813 Sir Samuel Romilly's bill for the abolition of capital punishment in cases of shoplifting was carried by the commons in the new parliament; but it was again rejected in the house of lords. No further attempt was made towards the amelioration of this branch of the laws till the year 1816.

On the 16th of February Sir Samuel Romilly obtained leave to bring in a bill repealing the act of William the Third, which made it a capital offence to steal privately in a shop to the value of five shillings. He described this act as

the most severe and sanguinary in our statute book. As recently as 1785 no less than ninety-seven persons were executed in London for this offence alone; and the dreadful spectacle was exhibited of twenty suffering at the same time. The capital sentence was now constantly evaded by juries committing a pious fraud, and finding the property of less value than was required by the statute. The consequence, if severe laws were never executed, was, that crime went on to increase, and the crimes of juvenile offenders especially. On moving the third reading of the bill, on the 15th of March, Sir Samuel Romilly called attention to the great number of persons of very tender age who had recently been sentenced to death for pilfering in shops. At that moment there was a child in Newgate, not ten years of age, under sentence of death for this offence; and the recorder of London was reported to have declared that it was intended to enforce the laws strictly in future, to interpose some check, if possible, to the increase of youthful depravity. The bill passed the commons, but was thrown out in the lords on the 22nd of May. On this occasion the lord chief justice agreed with the lord chancellor, "that the effect of removing the penalty of death from other crimes had rendered him still more averse to any new experiment of this kind. Since the removal of the vague terror which hung over the crime of stealing from the person, the number of offences of that kind had alarmingly increased." Thus, with the absolute certainty of experience that bloody laws vigorously administered did not diminish crime, the legislators of the beginning of the nineteenth century believed, or affected to believe, that the same laws scarcely ever carried into execution would operate through the influence of what they called "a vague terror." The inefficiency of this system is forcibly demonstrated by a comparison of the number of forged notes presented at the Bank of England, with the number of persons convicted of forging and uttering such notes, and the number of these executed for forgery. In 1816 there were 17,885 forged notes presented at the Bank of England; 104 persons were convicted of forgery; 18 were executed. The capital punishment for forgery was not abolished till 1833; but there was no execution for that offence after 1829. The crime had decreased by removing the temptation to its perpetration upon a large scale. In 1820 there were 29,035 forged notes presented at the bank; the convictions were 352; the executions were 21. In 1823 the forged notes presented were 1,648; the convictions were 6; the executions were 2. The resumption of cash payments had extinguished the notes for one pound and two pounds, which had previously constituted the chief circulating medium.

THE POLICE OF LONDON

In 1816 our system of police had arrived at its perfection of imbecile wickedness. The machinery for the prevention and detection of crime was exactly accommodated to the machinery for its punishment. On the 3rd of April, on the motion of Mr. Bennet, a committee of the house of commons was appointed to inquire into the state of the police of the metropolis. The committee was resumed in 1817; and two reports were presented, which were among the first causes of the awakening of the public mind to a sense of the frightful evils which were existing in what we flattered ourselves to be the most civilised city in the world. There was no unity of action amongst the petty jurisdictions into which the metropolis was divided. The notion of a preventive police was utterly unknown. The "thief-taker," as the police officer was called, was the great encourager of crime. The suppression of

crime would have taken away the chief profits of his occupation. Flash-houses, known in the scientific phraseology of the police as "flash-cribs," "shades," and "infernals," were filthy dens, where thieves and abandoned females were always to be found, riotous or drowsy, surrounded by children of all ages, qualifying for their degrees in the college of crime. "There," says a Middlesex magistrate, examined before the committee of 1816, "they (the children) see thieves and thief-takers sitting and drinking together on terms of good fellowship; all they see and hear is calculated to make them believe they may rob without fear of punishment, for in their thoughtless course they do not reflect that the forbearance of the officers will continue no longer than until they commit a forty-pound crime, when they will be sacrificed." A forty-pound crime!—the phraseology is as obsolete as if it were written in the pedlar's French of the rogues of the sixteenth century. A forty-pound crime was a crime for the detection of which the state adjudged a reward, to be paid on conviction, of forty pounds; and, as a necessary consequence, the whole race of thieves were fostered into a steady advance from small offences to great, till they obligingly ventured upon some deed of more than common atrocity, which should bestow the blood-money upon the officers of the law who had so long petted and protected them. The system received a fatal blow in 1816, in the detection of three officers of the police, who had actually conspired to induce five men to commit a burglary for the purpose of obtaining the rewards upon their conviction. The highwaymen who infested the suburbs of the metropolis had been eradicated—they belonged to another age. Offences against the person were very rarely connected with any offences against property. But the uncertainty of punishment, the authorised toleration of small offenders, and the organised system of negotiation for the return of stolen property, had filled the metropolis with legions of experienced depredators. The public exhibitions of the most profligate indecency and brutality can scarcely be believed by those who have grown up in a different state of society. When Defoe described his Colonel Jack, in the days of his boyish initiation into vice, sleeping with other children amidst the kilns and glasshouses of the London fields, we read of a state of things that has long passed away. But, as recently as 1816, in Covent Garden market, and other places affording a partial shelter, hundreds of men and women, boys and girls, assembled together, and continued during the night in a state of shameless profligacy, which is described as presenting a scene of vice and tumult more atrocious than anything exhibited even by the lazzaroni of Naples.

The brilliantly lighted, carefully watched, safe, orderly, and tranquil London of the present day presents as great a contrast to the London of 1816, as that, again, contrasted with the London of 1762, the year in which the Westminster Paving and Lighting Act was passed. Street robberies before that period were the ordinary events of the night. Security was the exception to the course of atrocity, for which the government applied no remedy but to hang. For half a century after this the metropolis had its comparative safety of feeble oil-lamps and decrepit watchmen. The streets were filled with tumultuous vagabonds; and the drowsy guardians of the night suffered every abomination to go on in lawless vigour, happy if their sleep were undisturbed by the midnight row of the drunken rake. In 1807 Pall Mall was lighted by gas. The persevering German who spent his own money and that of subscribers to his scheme had no reward. The original gas company, whose example was to be followed, not only by all England but by the whole civilised world, was first derided, and then treated in parliament as rapacious

monopolists, intent upon the ruin of established industry. The adventurers in gaslight did more for the prevention of crime than the government had done since the days of Alfred.

PAUPERISM; POOR-LAW REFORM

A committee of the house of commons was appointed in 1815 to inquire into the state of mendicity and vagrancy in the metropolis and its neighbourhood; and they continued their sittings in 1816, reporting minutes of the evidence in each year. Beyond these reports no legislative measure was adopted. The evidence went rather to show the amount of imposture than of destitution. To collect such evidence was an amusing occupation for the idle mornings of members of parliament. To inquire into the causes of destitution and its remedies would have been a far heavier task. The chief tendency of the evidence was to show how the sturdy beggar was a capitalist and an epicure; ate fowls and beefsteaks for supper, and despised broken meat; had money in the funds, and left handsome legacies to his relations. The witnesses, moreover, had famous stories of a lame impostor who tied up his leg in a wooden frame, and a blind one who wrote letters in the evening for his unlettered brethren; of a widow who sat for ten years with twins who never grew bigger, and a wife who obtained clothes and money from eleven lying-in societies in the same year. But the committee had also some glimpses of real wretchedness amidst these exciting tales of beggar-craft—as old as the days of the old Abraham men. They heard of Calmel's Buildings, a small court of twenty-four houses in the immediate vicinity of Portman square, where more than seven hundred Irish lived in the most complete distress and profligacy; and they were told that the court was totally neglected by the parish; that it was never cleaned; that people were afraid to enter it from dread of contagion. In George Yard, Whitechapel, they were informed that there were two thousand people, occupying forty houses, in a similar state of wretchedness. Much more of this was told the committee; but the evil was exhibited and forgotten. Legislation for public health was unknown till 1848, except in the old laws of quarantine. Very much of what was called the vagrancy of the metropolis was a natural consequence of the administration of the Poor Laws throughout the kingdom. A large proportion of the money raised for the relief of the poor was expended in shifting the burden of their relief from one parish to another; and Middlesex kept a number of functionaries in active operation to get rid of the vagrants that crowded into London, by passing them out of the limits of the metropolitan county, to return, of course, on the first convenient occasion. As Middlesex worked under the law of settlement, so worked the whole kingdom. An intelligent foreigner, who travelled in England in 1810, saw how the poor were repulsed from one parish to another "like infected persons. They are sent back from one end of the kingdom to the other, as criminals formerly in France, *de brigade en brigade*. You meet on the high-roads, I will not say often but too often, an old man on foot with his little bundle—a helpless widow, pregnant perhaps, and two or three barefooted children following her—become paupers in a place where they had not yet acquired a legal right to assistance, and sent away on that account to their original place of settlement." This law of settlement was in full operation, playing its fantastic tricks from the channel to the Tweed, when the peace filled the land with disbanded seamen and other servants of war; and agricultural labourers, who could find no employ at home, were wandering, as it was called, to search for capital in some unknown region

where capital was seeking for labour. The statute of 1662, the foundation of the law of settlement, forbade this wandering, and gave a very amusing explanation of the ground of its prohibitions: "Whereas, by reason of some defects in the law, poor people are not restrained from going from one parish to another, and therefore do endeavour to settle themselves in those parishes where there is the best stock." The great natural law of labour seeking exchange with capital was to be resisted by a law which declared that those who sought to effect this exchange were "rogues and vagabonds." In this spirit agricultural parishes very generally came to the resolution of employing none but their own parishioners. "The immediate consequence of this determination was the removal of numbers of the most industrious families from homes where they had lived in comfort and without parish relief all their lives to a workhouse in the parish to which they belonged."

On the 28th of May Mr. Curwen, an intelligent agriculturist, brought the subject of the Poor Laws before the house of commons on a motion for the appointment of a committee of inquiry. Mr. Curwen had a plan—as many others had their plans. His scheme formed small part of the deliberations of the committee, which reported in 1817. Their recommendations for the remedy of the enormous evil of the existing Poor Laws did not penetrate beneath the surface. In 1816 the amount of poor rate levied was £6,937,425. This charge was at the rate of 12*s.* 4½*d.* per head upon the population of England and Wales. The average annual expenditure for the relief of the poor had gradually increased from about two millions at the commencement of the war to seven millions at its close. A very large portion of the money that had been spent in fostering pauperism during the war years, by parish allowances in aid of wages, represents the amount of degradation and misery which the labourers endured, as compared with their unallowanced forefathers. The national debt represents in a great degree the money expended in unprofitable wars—the waste of capital upon objects that can only be justified by the last necessity, and which are the result of those evil passions which the improved knowledge and virtue of mankind may in time root out. In the same way, had the money expended upon fostering pauperism been raised upon loan, we should have had an amount of some two hundred millions, representing, in a like degree, the waste of capital expended in drying up the sources of industry and skill, and paying the alms of miserable indigence instead of the wages of contented labour. It is difficult to conceive a more complete state of degradation than the allowanced labourers exhibited in 1816. With the feudal servitude had passed away the feudal protection. The parish servitude imposed the miseries and contumelies of slavery, without its exemption from immediate care and future responsibility. The old workhouse system was as productive of evil in principle, though not in amount, as the allowance system. In the parish workhouses the consequences of want of classification and bad management operated with the greatest hardship upon children. Habits were formed in the workhouse which rendered the path to respectability almost inaccessible. These children were disposed of under the apprenticing system, and were doomed to a dreary period of servitude under some needy master who had been tempted in the first instance to take them by the offer of a small premium. The parochial plan of putting out children, with its attendant evils, was a necessary consequence of the want of training while in the workhouse.

In 1807 Mr. Whitbread proposed to the house of commons a very large and comprehensive measure of Poor-law reform. The principles which he advocated were those of real statesmanship. To arrest the constant progress

of pauperism, he desired to raise the character of the labouring classes. He called upon the country to support a plan of general national education; he proposed a method under which the savings of the poor might be properly invested in a great national bank. At the period when Mr. Whitbread brought forward his plan of Poor-law reform, the system of mutual instruction, introduced by Lancaster and Bell, was attracting great attention. Too much importance was perhaps at first attached to the mechanical means of education then recently developed; but the influence was favourable to the establishment of schools by societies and individuals. The government left the instruction of the people to go on as it might, without a single grant, for more than a quarter of a century.

EDUCATION OF THE PEOPLE: REFORMS

From 1807 to the close of the war the legislature heard no word on the education of the people. The man who for forty-five years devoted much of his untiring energy to this great question had in 1816 come back to the place in the councils of the nation which he won in 1812 by a combination of industry and talent almost unprecedented. Henry Brougham had not been in parliament for three years. On the 21st of May, 1816, he moved for the appointment of a select committee "to inquire into the state of the education of the lower orders of the people in London, Westminster, and Southwark." The motion, which was brought forward with great caution by the mover, was unopposed. The committee made its first report on the 20th of June, having conducted its inquiries with more than usual activity. The energy of Mr. Brougham, who acted as chairman, gave a remarkable impulse to this important investigation. It was found that in the metropolis there were a hundred and twenty thousand children without the means of education. The principal labours of the committee had consisted in their examination of evidence as to the number and condition of the charity and parish schools destined for the education of the lower orders. The number of such institutions exceeded anything that could have been previously believed; but the expenditure of the funds was in many cases neither pure nor judicious. A few were educated and brought up—the many were neglected. In the country, instances of flagrant abuses had been heard of. Mr. Brougham's report produced no hostile feelings on this occasion. In 1818 the powers of inquiry granted to the committee were no longer confined to the metropolis. Then the larger question of the extension of education was merged in a furious controversy as to the amount of abuses in endowed charities, and the propriety of subjecting the higher schools, such as Eton and Winchester, and also colleges in the universities, to a searching inquiry into the nature of their statutes, and their adherence to the objects of their foundation. An act was subsequently passed, in consequence of the labours of the committee, to appoint commissioners to inquire concerning the abuse of charities connected with education; and by the second act the right of inquiry was extended to all charities, the universities and certain great foundation schools excepted.

The education commission was thus merged in the charity commission. Of the great national benefits that resulted from that commission no one can doubt. But it may be doubted whether the controversial shape which the question of education assumed in 1818 did much to advance the disposition which prevailed in 1816 to provide a general system of popular instruction. From some unhappy prejudice—from apathy or from cowardice

—the education of the people made small legislative progress for twenty years. Perhaps the old fable of the sun and the wind experimenting upon the removal of the traveller's cloak may afford us some solution of this problem. But the reports of the education committee were of the highest value in showing us the extent of instruction at the time of its labours. There were 18,500 schools, educating 644,000 children; of this number 166,000 were educated at endowed schools, and 478,000 at unendowed schools, during six days of the week. This number was independent of Sunday-schools, of which there were 5,100, attended by 452,000 children; but, of course, many of these Sunday scholars were included in the returns of other schools.

In the plan of Poor-law reform brought forward by Mr. Whitbread in 1807, he earnestly advocated the consideration of a mode by which the savings of the poor might be safely and profitably invested. Three or four years previous Mr. Malthus, in his *Essay on Population*,[x] had argued that "it might be extremely useful to have county banks, where the smallest sums would be received and a fair interest granted for them." Mr. George Rose had, as early as 1793, legislated for the encouragement of friendly societies. In 1798 a bank for the earnings of poor children was established at Tottenham; and this was found so successful that a bank for the safe deposit of the savings of servants, labourers, and others was opened at the same place in 1804. Interest was here allowed to the depositors. A similar institution was founded at Bath in 1808. But the greatest experiment upon the possibility of the labouring poor making considerable savings was tried in Scotland. "The Parish Bank Friendly Society of Ruthwell" was established by the Rev. Henry Duncan in 1810. The first London savings-bank did not commence its operations till January, 1816. In the parliamentary session of 1816 Mr. Rose brought in a bill for the regulation of savings-banks, which was subsequently withdrawn for revision. Of the possible benefits of these institutions there could be no doubt in the minds of all men who were anxious to improve the condition of the people. "What a bubble!" wrote Cobbett.

In the session of 1816 one step was made towards some improvement of that code which Blackstone termed "a bastard slip of the old forest laws; both productive of the same tyranny to the commons, but with this difference, that the forest laws established only one mighty hunter throughout the land; the game laws have raised a little Nimrod in every manor." The attention of the house of commons was called to this subject in consequence of the murder of Colonel Berkeley's gamekeeper by a gang of armed poachers; and a committee was appointed "to take into consideration the laws relating to game." They came to the resolution "that it is the opinion of this committee, that all game should be the property of the person upon whose lands such game should be found." They contemplated the removal of the qualification to kill game—that law which had its beginning in the reign of Richard II, and which, perfected by the aristocratic legislators of the time of Charles II, required "fifty times the property to enable a man to kill a partridge as to vote for a knight of the shire." The committee of 1816 evidently pointed to the necessity of "removing the restraints upon the sale of game." It was not till after fifteen years of controversy that the statute of William IV dispensed with the qualification for killing game, and legalised its sale. The statute of the 9th of George IV, and that of William IV, rendered the law more stringent and effective against poaching, especially by night. The number of convictions under the acts for the preservation of game furnish no uncertain test, not only of the state of morals amongst the agricultural labourers, but of the presence or absence of those qualities which make the landed proprietor a

blessing or a curse to his humble neighbours. In the more daring and depraved of the population of the rural districts, the severe administration of the game laws produced a spirit such as was displayed in January, 1816, by the Berkeley poachers, who cried out, "Glory! glory!" when they had killed one gamekeeper and wounded six others.

THE WRITINGS OF COBBETT

The call for parliamentary reform seems to have made itself very feebly heard in the lower house in the session of 1816. With the exception of some four or five petitions that produced very slight discussion it would scarcely be thought, from an inspection of the parliamentary debates, that such a question agitated any part of the nation at all. On one occasion, in June, some members spoke very briefly upon the subject. One complained of the apathy with which the question was regarded in England; another (Mr. Brougham) mentioned the cause as "opposed by some, deserted by others, and espoused by persons whose conduct excited no small degree of disgust out of doors." But from this time the name of parliamentary reform became, for the most part, a name of terror to the government—to the elevated by rank and wealth—to the most influential of the middle classes. It became fearful from the causes which would have made it contemptible in ordinary times. It was "espoused by persons whose conduct excited no small degree of disgust out of doors." It passed away from the patronage of a few aristocratic lovers of popularity, to be advocated by writers of "twopenny trash," and to be discussed and organised by "Hampden clubs" of hungering philanthropists and unemployed "weaver boys." Samuel Bamford[u] says, "At this time the writings of William Cobbett suddenly became of great authority; they were read on nearly every cottage hearth in the manufacturing districts. Their influence was speedily visible."

Cobbett advocated parliamentary reform as the corrective of whatever miseries the lower classes suffered. A new order of politicians was called into action. "The Sunday-schools of the preceding thirty years" (says Bamford) had produced many working-men of sufficient talent to become readers, writers, and speakers in the village meetings for parliamentary reform; some also were found to possess a rude poetic talent, which rendered their effusions popular, and bestowed an additional charm on their assemblages; and by such various means, anxious listeners at first, and then zealous proselytes, were drawn from the cottages of quiet nooks and dingles, to the weekly readings and discussions of the Hampden clubs." But let it be remembered, that though the Sunday-schools of the preceding thirty years had made some working-men readers, writers, and speakers, the mass of the labouring population were in the lowest state of ignorance, and were consequently ready to accept the crude and violent opinions of a few of their own class as the only true maxims of political action. The speakers at the village meetings echoed the strong words of Cobbett, without the qualifying prudence which generally kept that master of our language pretty safe in argument and phraseology. He was not the man to tempt a prosecution by a rash sentence that could have been construed into sedition.

Up to the 2nd of November, 1816, *Cobbett's Weekly Political Register* was a publication not addressed to the "cottage hearth," but to persons who could afford to pay a shilling and a halfpenny weekly for a single octavo stamped sheet, printed in open type. His writings, singularly clear and argumentative, strong in personalities, earnest, bold, never halting between

two opinions, powerful beyond all anonymous writing from their rare individuality, would have commanded an extensive influence under any form of publication. But at the beginning of November, he announced his intention to print *The Twopenny Register*. We see, therefore, why, at the end of 1816, "the writings of William Cobbett suddenly became of great authority, and were read on nearly every cottage hearth in the manufacturing districts." Never before had any single writer in England wielded such a power. That his cheap *Registers* gave the discontent of the labouring classes a new direction cannot be doubted; that they did much to repress riot and outrage may fairly be conceded. But that they were scattering the seeds of a greater danger than the outrage and plunder of infuriated mobs cannot be denied. Their object was suddenly to raise up the great masses of labourers and mechanics into active politicians; to render the most impatient and uncontrollable materials of our social system the most preponderating. The danger was evident; the means of repression were not so clear. The effect of Cobbett's writings may be estimated by the violence of his opponents, as well as by the admiration of his disciples. From the date of his twopenny *Registers* he was stigmatised as a "firebrand"—"a convicted incendiary." "Why is it that this convicted incendiary, and others of the same stamp, are permitted, week after week, to sow the seeds of rebellion, insulting the government, and defying the laws of the country? We have laws to prevent the exposure of unwholesome meat in our markets, and the mixture of deleterious drugs in beer. We have laws also against poisoning the minds of the people, by exciting discontent and disaffection; why are not these laws rendered effectual, and enforced as well as the former?" The answer is very obvious. The laws, as they stood at the end of 1816, when this was written, could not touch William Cobbett. He knew well how to manage his strength. He risked no libels. He dealt with general subjects. He called upon the people to assemble and to petition. He exhorted the people against the use of force. He sowed the dragons' teeth, it is true, but they did not rise up as armed men. They rose up in the far more dangerous apparition of the masses, without property, without education, without leaders of any weight or responsibility, demanding the supreme legislative power—the power of universal suffrage. The idea ceased to be a theory—it became a tremendous reality.

HAMPDEN CLUBS; THE SPENCEANS

In a report of a secret committee of the house of commons, presented on the 19th of February, 1817, the Hampden clubs are described as "associated professedly for the purpose of parliamentary reform, upon the most extended principle of universal suffrage and annual parliaments"; but that "in far the greater number of them, and particularly in those which are established in the great manufacturing districts of Lancashire, Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire, and Derbyshire, and which are composed of the lower order of artisans, nothing short of a revolution is the object expected and avowed." The testimony of Samuel Bamford shows that, in this early period of their history, the Hampden clubs limited their object to the attainment of parliamentary reform—a sweeping reform, indeed, but not what is understood by the term "revolution." They contended for the right of every male above eighteen years of age, and who paid taxes, to vote for the election of members of parliament; and that parliaments should be elected annually. These demands Bamford describes as "the moderate views and

wishes of the reformers of those days." He adds: "It was not until we became infested by spies, incendiaries, and their dupes—distracting, misleading, and betraying—that physical force was mentioned amongst us. After that our moral power waned; and what we gained by the accession of demagogues, we lost by their criminal violence and the estrangement of real friends." It would appear, however, that in Scotland, at a very early stage of the proceedings of reform clubs, that is in December, 1816, the mode in which large masses of men ordinarily look for the accomplishment of political changes was not so cautiously kept out of view.

Of the Hampden club of London, Sir Francis Burdett was the chairman. Vanity, as well as misery, "makes a man acquainted with strange bed-fellows." Bamford, at the beginning of 1817, came to London as a delegate from the Middleton club, to attend a great meeting of delegates to be assembled in London. The Crown and Anchor tavern was the scene of these deliberations. There was Major Cartwright in the chair—a placid enthusiast, sincere in his belief that unmingled good would be the result of the great experiment which he had so long advocated. The chief supporters were Cobbett, with his shrewd self-possession and "bantering jollity"; and Hunt—"orator Hunt," as he was called—the incarnation of an empty, blustering, restless, ignorant, and selfish demagogue. The great baronet was absent, and his absence provoked no little comment. But he was accessible in his own mansion. Samuel Bamford was awe-struck by the passionate bellowing of Hunt, frozen by the proud condescension of Sir Francis Burdett, but charmed by the unaffected cordiality of Lord Cochrane. These were the chief actors in the procession scenes of the popular drama that was then under rehearsal. Other and more important parts were filled quite as appropriately.

The Middleton delegate was introduced, amidst the reeking tobacco-fog of a low tavern, to the leading members of a society called the "Spencean Philanthropists." They derived their name from that of a Mr. Spence, a schoolmaster in Yorkshire, who had conceived a plan for making the nation happy, by causing all the lands of the country to become the property of the state, which state should divide all the produce for the support of the people. Socialism, in its extremist principles, is not a new doctrine. The schoolmaster was an honest enthusiast, who fearlessly submitted his plan to the consideration of all lovers of their species, and had the misfortune to be prosecuted for its promulgation in 1800. In 1816 "Spence's plan" was revived, and the Society of Spencean Philanthropists was instituted, who held "sectional meetings," and discussed "subjects calculated to enlighten the human understanding." This great school of philosophy had its separate academies, as London was duly informed by various announcements, at "the Cock, in Grafton Street, Soho," and "the Mulberry Tree, Moorfields," and "the Nag's Head, Carnaby Market," and "No. 8, Lumber street, Borough." At these temples of benevolence, where "every individual is admitted, free of expense, who will conduct himself with decorum," it is not unlikely that some esoteric doctrines were canvassed, such as that "it was an easy matter to upset government, if handled in a proper manner." The committee of the Spenceans openly meddled with sundry grave questions besides that of a community in land; and, amongst other notable projects, petitioned parliament to do away with machinery. Amongst these fanatics some dangerous men had established themselves, such as Thistlewood, who subsequently paid the penalty of five years of maniacal plotting; and some, also, who were clearly in communication with the police, and hounded on the weak disciples of the Cock in Grafton street and the Mulberry Tree in Moorfields, to acts

of more real danger to themselves than to the public safety. If we are to believe the chief evidence in these transactions, John Castle, a man of the most disreputable character, who became a witness against the leading Spencean philanthropists, they had murderous designs of sharp machines for destroying cavalry, and plans for suffocating quiet soldiers in their barracks, destroying them as boys burn wasps' nests; and schemes for taking the Tower, and barricading London bridge, to prevent the artillery coming from Woolwich. And there were to be five commanders to effect all these great movements of strategy—Mr. Thistlewood, Mr. Watson the elder, and Mr. Watson the younger, Mr. Castle, and Mr. Preston, who came the last in dignity "because he was lame." And then there was to be a committee of public safety, who were to be called together after the soldiers were subdued —twenty-four good and true men. And then they calculated at what amount of public expense they could buy the soldiers, by giving them each a hundred guineas; and, upon an accurate computation, it was found that the purchase money would be somewhere about two millions, which would be nothing in comparison with the national debt, which would be wiped off. With this preparation, if we may believe the very questionable evidence of Mr. Castle, a meeting was held in Spa fields on the 15th of November.

THE SPA-FIELDS RIOT (1816 A.D.)

The district known as Spa fields, now covered with dwellings of industry and comfortable residences of the middle class, was, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and for some years afterwards, a large unenclosed space, utterly neglected and useless. A public house was there, called by the mysterious name of Merlin's Cave; and thither Mr. Hunt came in a chariot with the Watsons and harangued a mob from the chariot roof, attended with a flag and cockades, and "everything handsome." After adjourning the meeting for a fortnight, Mr. Hunt and the chariot went away, drawn by the mob; and the mob running the chariot against a wall, they all got out and walked. So innocently passed the first Spa-fields meeting—innocently, save that at a dinner at Mr. Hunt's hotel in Bouverie street, where, as he represented the matter, the philanthropists having thrust themselves upon him very much against his will, the betrayer, Castle, gave a toast, which is too infamous to be repeated here, and was threatened to be turned out of the room, but quietly remained, and went into what was described as "a fox-sleep." But the 2nd of December, the day to which the first meeting was adjourned, closed not so peaceably. Mr. Hunt came to town from Essex in his tandem, and, as he passed along Cheapside, at "twenty minutes to one o'clock," he was stopped by Mr. Castle, who was moving along with a considerable crowd; and the worthy man told him that the meeting had been broken up two hours, and that they were going to the Tower, which had been in their possession for an hour. The country squire, to whom "the boisterous hallooing of multitudes was more pleasing than the chinkling of the plough-traces, the bleating of lambs, or the song of the nightingale" (in these terms Cobbett defended his friend for his aspirations after mob popularity), was not weak enough to believe the tempter; and his tandem went on to Spa fields, where the greatest number of people were collected together that he had ever beheld. But more active reformers were in Spa fields before Mr. Hunt. The Spencean philanthropists had provided a wagon for their own operations, and arrived on the ground considerably before the appointed hour of meeting, with banners and inscriptions, one of which was, "The brave soldiers are our

friends!" These men also brought arms and ammunition, which they deposited in their wagon. Mr. Watson the elder commenced a sufficiently violent address, and then his son followed him. The young madman, after declaiming against the uselessness of petition, cried out, "If they will not give us what we want, shall we not take it? Are you willing to take it? Will you go and take it? If I jump down amongst you, will you come and take it? Will you follow me?" And as at every question the encouraging "Yes" became louder and louder, and put down the dissentient "No," he jumped from the wagon, seized a tri-coloured flag, and away rushed the mob to take the Tower. Two resolute men, the chief clerk of Bow street and a Bow street officer, had the boldness to attack this mob, and destroyed one of their banners, without any injury to themselves. The work of mischief necessarily went on. The young fanatic led his followers to the shop of a Mr. Beckwith, a gunsmith on Snow hill; and, rushing in, demanded arms. A gentleman in the shop remonstrated with him, and, without any pause, was immediately shot by him. Instantly some compunction seems to have come over this furious leader, and he offered to examine the wounded man, saying he was himself a surgeon. The assassin was secured, but the mob, who destroyed and plundered the shop, soon released him, and proceeded along Cheapside, where they fired their recently acquired arms, like children with a new plaything. They marched through the Royal Exchange, where they were met by the lord mayor, and several were secured. The city magistrates on this occasion behaved with a firmness which admirably contrasted with the pusillanimity of their predecessors in the riots of 1780. The courage of the lord mayor, Alderman Wood, and of Sir James Shaw, is worthy of honourable record; and it shows, not only the insignificancy of the so-called conspiracy, its want of coherence and of plan, but the real power of virtue in action to put down ordinary tumult. Sir James Shaw says: "On the 2nd of December last I was at the Royal Exchange at half-past twelve; I saw the mob first in Cornhill; the lord mayor and I went in pursuit of them; they crossed the front of the Royal Exchange; we rushed through the Royal Exchange to take them in front on the other side; the lord mayor and I having received information of prior occurrences, determined on putting them down. I seized several of them, and one flag of three colours, extended on a very long pole. I did not then perceive any arms. . . . The lord mayor and I went to meet the mob with Mr. White and two constables; we got five constables in all; the whole party consisted of eight."

Such is the way in which the beginnings of seditions ought to be met. Firmness such as this would have saved Bristol in 1832. After a further plunder of gunsmiths' shops in the Minories, and the summoning of the Tower by some redoubted and unknown champion, who Bamford tells us was Preston, the insurrection fell to pieces, altogether from the want of cohesion in the materials of which it was composed. The only blood shed was that of the gentleman in Mr. Beckwith's shop, who eventually recovered. A wretched sailor was convicted of the offence of plunder at the shop on Snow hill, and was hanged. The younger Watson escaped from his pursuers. The elder Watson was tried for high treason on the 9th of June. The trial lasted seven days. It was memorable from what Lord Campbell[hh] calls "the eccentric exuberance of Sir Charles Wetherell, and the luminous energy of Sergeant Copley," who were assigned as counsel for the prisoner. The exposure of Castle, the spy, was so complete that the jury, without hesitation, returned a verdict of not guilty. Four other prisoners, who were to have been tried upon the same evidence, were at once acquitted.[h]

WAR WITH THE BARBARY STATES (1816 A.D.)

A great national victory of this year, achieved as it also was on England's favourite element and by the right arm of English conquests and triumphs, was better calculated than most events to cheer the public despondency. The piracies, man-stealing, butchery, and plunder which the Barbary states on the Mediterranean had been allowed to practise, had been for ages a standing reproach to Christendom. The dread of the naval power of England had for a long time secured British ships and subjects from the attacks of these barbarians; and if now and then a British sailor was captured and sold into slavery, it was while serving under some foreign flag. There were not wanting among us men of narrow hearts and narrower heads, who would fain have left these Barbary corsairs undisturbed, considering the immunity of the British flag as a great commercial advantage over the other European nations; but such thoughts found no place in the liberal mind of the nation; and Britain was the first to make a costly exertion for the abatement of a monstrous nuisance from which she herself was suffering nothing, and had nothing to fear. It has been well said (by Wallace[j]) that "the enterprise was still more distinguished for the generosity of its motives, than even for its brilliant success." Early in the spring of this year Admiral Lord Exmouth, commanding in the Mediterranean, received orders to demand from the beys of Tripoli and Tunis, and the dey of Algiers, satisfaction and protection for the flags of the Ionian Isles, "which the congress of Vienna had left under our protection," and the flags of Naples and Sardinia, together with the total abandonment of Christian slavery. Tripoli and Tunis, taking counsel of their weakness, implicitly complied; but Algiers, relying on her great strength, offered only a partial satisfaction for the past, and refused or temporised for the rest.

Before taking any steps in fulfilment of his instructions, Lord Exmouth made all the arrangements necessary for an attack, which was to be the alternative if negotiations failed—a result much to be expected at Algiers, which had hitherto withstood so many formidable armaments. His lordship ordered Captain Warde of the *Banterer* to proceed to Algiers, and then carefully to observe the town and the nature of its defences, to draw a plan of the works on the seaward side, to take soundings, to make his observations on the anchorage, etc. "Lord Exmouth's instructions on this occasion," says Osler,[i] "which were written with his own hand, afforded an admirable illustration of the forethought with which he provided for every contingency, and which was the chief secret of his constant success." Captain Warde performed his difficult and important service with wonderful skill and secrecy.

The admiralty were greatly surprised when Lord Exmouth proposed to attack Algiers with only five sail of the line. Many naval officers, upon being consulted by the board, considered those works as altogether unassailable by ships. His lordship was offered any force he required, but he firmly adhered to his first demand; for he had satisfied himself that five ships could destroy the great fortifications on the mole as effectually as a greater number, and with far more safety to themselves. After he had explained his plans, and marked the position which every ship was to occupy, the admiralty allowed him to act upon his own judgment. "All will go well," said this brave sailor and most excellent man; "all will go well, as far at least as it depends on me. I know that nothing can resist a line-of-battle ships' fire." On the 9th of August the veteran was at Gibraltar. Here he found a Dutch squadron of five frigates and a corvette, commanded by Vice-Admiral the baron de Capellan,

who, on learning the object of the expedition, solicited and obtained leave to co-operate. On Tuesday, the 27th of August, they came in sight of Algiers.

As the ships lay nearly becalmed, Lord Exmouth sent Lieutenant Burgess in a boat under a flag of truce with the terms dictated by the prince regent, and a demand for the immediate liberation of the British consul and some other persons whom the dey had cast into prison. At eleven o'clock A.M. Lieutenant Burgess was met outside the mole by the captain of the port, who received the communication and promised an answer in two hours. In the mean time a breeze springing up, the fleet stood into the bay and lay to, about a mile from the town. At two o'clock Lieutenant Burgess and the boat were seen returning with the signal that no answer had been given. The admiral's ship, the *Queen Charlotte*, instantly telegraphed to the fleet, "Are you ready?" And instantly the affirmative signal was displayed from every ship, and they all, English and Dutch, frigates and ships of the line, bore up to their appointed stations. The *Queen Charlotte* led to the attack. There was to be no firing from her until she came to anchor. The Algerines, confident in the strength of their works, also reserved their fire; indeed, they expected to carry the flagship by boarding her from their numerous gunboats. The *Queen Charlotte* proceeded silently to her position; and at half-past two she anchored, by the stern, just half a cable's length from the terrible mole-head. "The mole was crowded with troops, many of whom got upon the parapet to look at the ship; and Lord Exmouth, observing them as he stood upon the poop, waved to them to move away. As soon as the ship was fairly placed and her cables stoppered the crew gave three hearty cheers, such as Englishmen only can give. Scarcely had the sound of the last died away, when a gun was fired from the upper tier of the eastern battery, and a second and a third followed in quick succession. One of the shots struck the *Superb*. At the first flash Lord Exmouth gave the order, "Stand by!" at the second, "Fire!" The report of the third gun was drowned in the thunder of the *Queen Charlotte's* broadside.

The Algerines replied with the fire of nearly five hundred guns. The mole was filled with cannon, like the side of a line-of-battle ship, mostly disposed in a double tier, with ports below and embrasures above; but the eastern batteries, next the lighthouse, had an inner fortification, with a third tier of guns, making sixty-six in these eastern batteries alone. These different batteries on the mole mounted altogether about two hundred and twenty guns, eighteen being twenty-four or thirty-two pounders, and two of them being sixty-eight pounders, upwards of twenty feet long. All these guns were brought to bear point-blank upon Lord Exmouth's ships of the line. Some of his lordship's frigates and some of the Dutch frigates took up positions which three-deckers might have been justly proud of. There were a few bomb-vessels, whose shells were thrown with admirable precision by the marine artillery. There was no lack of courage and resolution on the part of the corsairs. Shortly after the commencement of the battle their flotilla of gunboats most daringly advanced to board the *Queen Charlotte* and the *Leander*. At first the smoke covered and concealed them, but so soon as they were seen a few well-directed shot sent thirty-three out of thirty-seven of these Algerine gunboats to the bottom. At four o'clock a large Algerine frigate was boarded and set on fire. As she burst into a flame Lord Exmouth telegraphed to the fleet the animating signal, "Infallible!" Before seven o'clock all the vessels in port, except a brig and a schooner, were burning fast to the water's edge. As for the tremendous works on the mole-head, they had been ruined by the single fire of the *Queen Charlotte* a very few minutes after the combat had

commenced. The fleet slackened their fire towards night, while the guns of the enemy became silent, and when the necessity was felt of husbanding their ammunition. The expenditure had been beyond all precedent. Our ships had fired nearly 118 tons of powder and 50,000 shot, weighing more than 500 tons of iron, besides 960 thirteen- and ten-inch shells. Such a fire, close, concentrated, and well directed as it was, nothing could resist. The mighty sea defences of Algiers, with great part of the town itself, were shattered and crumbled to ruins.

As the night darkened the breeze freshened, and a tremendous storm of thunder and lightning came on, with torrents of rain; while the flaming ships and storehouses illuminated all the ruins on shore, which increased the awfulness of the scene. In scarcely any former general action had the casualties been so great in proportion to the force employed. In the British ships 128 were killed and 690 wounded; and the Dutch, who had behaved most gallantly, had 13 killed and 52 wounded. The veteran commander-in-chief escaped most narrowly; he was struck in three places, and a cannon-shot tore away the skirts of his coat, breaking one of the glasses and bulging the rim of the spectacles in his pocket.

On the 28th, at daylight, Lieutenant Burgess was sent on shore with a flag of truce, and with the same demands he had carried the preceding morning; our bomb-vessels at the same time resuming their positions. Lord Exmouth was immediately given to understand that all his demands would be submitted to. On the morning of the 29th Captain Brisbane, of the flagship, went on shore, and had a conference with the humbled and astounded dey. The negotiations were intrusted to Sir Charles Penrose. They were very short, for the Algerines could do nothing but submit and agree. The chief conditions were: the abolition of Christian slavery forever, the surrender of all their slaves of whatever nation, and the dey's humble and public apology in person for the insult he had given to the British flag.

Three thousand Christians were delivered from slavery and sent to their own countries and homes. Leaving a ship to receive a few more, Lord Exmouth sailed for England on the 3rd of September. Scarcely Nelson himself had been in hotter fires than Exmouth, yet his lordship declared that he had never been under a fire so hot and terrible as this at Algiers. "The fire all round the mole," said he,[k] "looked like pandemonium. I never saw anything so grand and so terrific; for I was not on velvet, for fear they would drive on board us. Their copper-bottoms floated full of fiery hot charcoal and were red-hot above the surface, so that we could not hook on our fire-grapnels to put the boats to, and could do nothing but push out fire-booms and spring the ship off by our warps, as occasion required. I never saw any set of men more obstinate at their guns, and it was superior fire only that could keep them back. To be sure, nothing could stand before the *Queen Charlotte's* broadside. Everything fell before it; and the Swedish consul assures me we killed above five hundred at the very first fire, from the crowded way in which their troops were drawn up, four deep, above the gunboats, which were also full of men. I believe they are within bounds when they state their loss at seven thousand men."

THE FIVE ACTS (1817 A.D.)

With the commencement of 1817 the public depression occasioned by the reverses which peace had so unexpectedly introduced was not alleviated. Industry in all its commercial and agricultural departments was still under

arrest, and bankruptcies continued to multiply: the rich were suffering under the high price of the common necessaries of life and an income-tax of 10 per cent.; while the working classes, whose wages had fallen from fifteen to five shillings a week, could scarcely procure the scantiest means of living. The prevalent poverty and distress was laid hold of as an opportunity to propagate a spirit of discontent and disloyalty; and both from the press and the platform, remedies of the most anarchical and destructive kind continued to be recommended by mischievous demagogues, who attempted to demonstrate that no relief could be obtained unless the present order of things was swept away and a new government established. These evils were sadly acknowledged in the speech from the throne at the opening of parliament, on the 28th of January; and in reference to those attempts which were making to take advantage of such a state of things, for the purposes of rebellion and change, it was announced that no precautions would be omitted for preserving the public peace and counteracting the designs of the disaffected. A melancholy comment upon this speech followed on the regent's return; for as he passed through the park he was assailed by the mob with loud clamours and revilings; stones and other missiles were thrown at his carriage, and from the manner in which the windows were broken, it was alleged that this effect must have been produced by bullets discharged from an air-gun. This alarming fact was announced in the afternoon in the house of lords by Lord Sidmouth, secretary for the home department, and the two houses by proclamation offered a reward of £1,000 for the apprehension of the daring perpetrators. But they could never be found; the air-gun was supposed to exist only in apprehension, and it was declared that insult rather than assassination had been the purpose of the mob, who had used no worse weapons than stones or gravel.

On the following day there was fierce altercation in both houses on this subject of alarm; and while it was ridiculed by Lord Dudley under the title of the "pop-gun plot," the opposition both in the lords and the commons saw in it nothing more than an argument for retrenchment in every department of government. Further discussion was suspended by the intimation of Lord Sidmouth, that in three days he should present a message from the prince regent on the subject of the alleged detection of large bodies of the people. The message was delivered on the 3rd of February, and on its being referred to a secret committee of both houses, they made their reports on the 18th and 19th. In these a declaration was given of the general state of the country, and of the societies or clubs either existing or to be established throughout the whole of Great Britain, which, under the pretext of parliamentary reform, had for their main object the eversion of all law, religion, and morality, and the plunder of all property. After detailing at length the several districts in which these associations existed, and the variety of their aims and principles, but all sufficiently revolutionary and dangerous, the panic became so great that no measures were thought too stringent for the prevention of the evil. Accordingly, five bills, called the "Five Acts," were introduced and passed by large majorities, who seem at the moment to have thought that no sacrifice could be too great when the state itself was on the point of perishing. They were as follows: 1. A bill to extend to the person of the prince regent the act for the better protection of his majesty's person. 2. A bill to revive the act of 1795 against seditious meetings. 3. A bill to revive the act of 39 George III against corresponding societies. 4. A bill to revive the act against such as seduce soldiers and sailors. 5. A bill to suspend the habeas corpus act. All these were successively carried before the end of March. The last and most dangerous of them all, which gave to the execu-

tive power the despotic privilege of imprisoning without trial, was not carried without a struggle, in which Earl Grey, Lord Wellesley, Lord Darnley, Sir Arthur Pigott, and other members of both houses, distinguished themselves by their opposition to the measure. Although the suspension of the habeas corpus act was decreed, it was to continue in force only till the 1st of July; and it only passed in consequence of the fresh alarms of meetings and conspiracies with which the ears of parliament had been assailed. The event dismayed the leaders and orators of reform who had been so active and so loud in the propagation of their doctrines; and they either retired into obscurity or maintained a cautious silence. Even Cobbett, the boldest as well as ablest of them all, was fain to withdraw to America until the season of danger had expired.

TROOPS WITHDRAWN FROM FRANCE (1818 A.D.)

The chief political event by which the year 1818 was signalised was the full and complete reconciliation of the allied powers with France by withdrawing their army of occupation. This occupation was a painful reminiscence of past wars and mutual injuries; it was galling to a high-spirited people like the French; and as long as it was continued there was no assurance to Europe of international amity or a lasting peace. According to the terms of the original treaty, this military hold upon France would have continued two years longer, had not the present stability of the Bourbon throne and the general tranquillity given assurance that such a precaution was no longer required. A congress was therefore assembled at Aix-la-Chapelle during the autumn of the current year, where the emperor of Russia, the king of Prussia, and the emperor of Austria, with their principal ministers, the duke of Wellington and the representatives of some other powers, agreed that the army of occupation might be safely withdrawn, and the nation left to its own control. A negotiation to this effect was accordingly opened by the allied sovereigns with Louis XVIII; the pecuniary obligations of France were discharged, and the army, with its commander, the duke of Wellington, was recalled in October, after having been in France three years.

REFORMS OF 1819

The beginning of the year 1819 was signalised by the opening of the new parliament, which assembled on the 14th of January, and Mr. Manners Sutton was re-elected speaker without competition. A very important subject of this session was the revision of the criminal code. The sanguinary character of English law had long been a wonder and reproach among foreigners, as well as a matter of regret among the reflective people of England; and it was felt that the time had come when the frequency of capital punishments might very safely be diminished. Repeatedly the subject had been brought before parliament by that upright and talented lawyer, Sir Samuel Romilly; but in consequence of his death in the preceding year, it was now adopted and advocated with equal ability by Sir James Mackintosh. The time also was favourable, on account of a petition from the corporation of London complaining of the increase of crime, and pointing out the advantage that might accrue from the commutation of capital punishments for others of less severity. This momentous inquiry it was resolved to consign to a committee employed upon the examination of prison discipline, when, on the following day, Sir James Mackintosh proposed that the examination of the penal code

should have a distinct committee of its own. After showing the subterfuges which the severity of the laws occasioned, and the difficulty of obtaining a conviction, in consequence of which the worst culprits escaped and the statutes became a dead letter, he explained his views of those circumstances under which alone capital punishment should be administered, whereby not less than one hundred and fifty offences needed to be expunged from the catalogue. His motion was carried, and before the end of the session a committee of inquiry was formed, of which he was appointed chairman.

Another very momentous affair of this session was the consideration of the national currency. The commencement of the war in 1793, and the return of peace in 1815, had equally produced an abrupt diversion of capital, which was keenly felt by the productive classes, and finally by the whole community. To this was added the want of money accommodations during the period of agricultural distress, in consequence of the Bank of England, at the return of peace, having been obliged to reduce its paper circulation, from the apprehension of soon being called upon to pay in gold. Country bankers were in like manner compelled to limit their issues, until the question of the resumption of cash payments by the Bank of England should be settled. It was no wonder that a subject of such vital importance to every individual should have given rise to about fifty debates and conversations in both houses of parliament. The principal parts of the government plan, which was finally adopted, were the following: That it was expedient that the restrictions on payments in cash by the bank should be continued beyond the 5th of July, 1819, the term fixed by law; that a definite period should be fixed for the termination of the restriction, and that in the mean time certain preparatory measures should be taken; that provision should be made for the gradual repayment to the bank of £10,000,000 of its advances for the public service; that from the 1st of February, 1820, the bank should be obliged to give in exchange for its notes gold, assayed and stamped, in quantities of not less than sixty ounces, at the rate of 81*s.* per ounce; that from the 1st of October, 1820, it should be obliged to pay gold for its notes in the same manner, at the rate of 79*s.* 6*d.* per ounce; that after the 1st of May, 1821, the rate should be 77*s.* 10½*d.* per ounce; that from the 1st of May, 1823, the bank should pay its notes on demand, in the legal coin of the realm; and that the laws prohibiting the melting and exportation of the coin should be repealed.

THE MANCHESTER RIOTS (1819 A.D.)

The session was closed by the regent in person, on the 13th of July. In the close of his speech he adverted to the seditious spirit still at work in the manufacturing districts; and notwithstanding the self-gratulations of ministers at the opening of parliament, the existence of such a spirit was too notorious to be denied. The extravagant hopes which the many had founded upon the return of peace had been disappointed; for its benefits, instead of being instant and immediate, were of slow growth, while low wages and high-priced provisions were still the order of the day. Under such circumstances it was easy for restless demagogues to persuade the ignorant multitudes that their continued depression arose from a corrupt court, a venal ministry, and unjust taxes; and that the blessing of peace and the fruits of their own industry could not be realised until these obstacles were removed. It was even queried in their more private meetings, whether the people had not a right to destroy the Bank of England, and to equalise all classes by an agrarian

[1819 A.D.]

division of the landed property of the country. In such a state of things the government could not look tranquilly on, or its adherents be without alarm; and the commencement of open strife and bloodshed was nothing more than a question of time and place, which circumstances were sure to settle. This was done at Manchester on the 16th of August, 1819. The reformers of that city having convened a great public meeting on the 9th, with the object of proceeding, in their own way, to the choice and election of a parliamentary representative, were apprised by the magistrates that the object was illegal, and that such meeting was illegal; upon which the design was modified, and a meeting convened for the 16th to petition for a sweeping reform in parliament.

A little before noon on the 16th the first body of reformers began to arrive on the scene of action, which was a piece of ground called St. Peter's Field. These persons bore two banners surmounted with caps of liberty, and bearing the inscriptions—"No Corn Laws," "Annual Parliaments," "Universal Suffrage," "Vote by Ballot." The flags, after being paraded round the field, were planted on a wagon, on which the orators of the day had taken their stand; but other flags appeared and remained stationary in different parts of the crowd. Numerous large bodies of radicals continued to arrive from the towns in the neighbourhood of Manchester till about one o'clock, all preceded by flags, and many of them came up in regular marching order, five deep, as if they had been well drilled and trained. Two clubs of female reformers advanced, one of them numbering more than 150 members, and bearing a white silk banner. There was a body of reformers who timed their steps to the sound of a bugle, with much of a disciplined air; there was another that had assumed the motto of the illustrious Wallace, "God armeth the patriot." The multitude now amounted to a number roundly computed at eighty thousand, and the arrival of the hero of the day was impatiently looked for by the radicals. Nothing less than a fearful riot, with murder and plunder, was expected by the merchants, mill-owners, and the prosperous classes generally. At last orator Hunt made his appearance, and, after a rapturous greeting, was invited to preside. Mounting a scaffolding, he began to harangue his admirers. A band of special constables who had taken up a position on the field without resistance now disposed themselves so as to form a line of communication from a house where the magistrates were sitting to the stage or platform erected for Mr. Hunt.

The orator had not proceeded far when the appearance of the yeomanry cavalry advancing at a brisk trot excited a panic in the outskirts of the meeting. The civic force entered the inclosure, and after pausing for a minute to recover their disordered ranks, they drew their swords and brandished them in the air. The multitude, by the direction of their leaders, gave three cheers, to show that they were undaunted by this intrusion, and the orator had just resumed his speech to assure the people that this was only a trick to disturb the meeting, and exhorted them to stand firm, when the yeomanry dashed into the crowd, making for the platform. That immense mob offered no resistance; they fell back on all sides, overturning one another. The commanding officer approached orator Hunt, and brandishing his sword, told him that he was his prisoner. Some of the yeomanry then cried out, "Have at their flags!" and upon this the troop began to strike down the banners raised in various parts of the fields, cutting to right and left to get at them. The people scampered off in all directions, and the yeomanry spurred after them, losing all command of temper. There was then a dreadful scene of confusion; numbers were trampled under the feet of men and horses; many

women as well as men were cut down by sabres; several were slain on the spot, and among these were a peace officer and a female—for the undisciplined heroes scarcely knew what they were doing, and slew where they wished to save. The whole number of persons more or less injured was set down at between three hundred and four hundred; but it should appear that this number was exaggerated by the suffering party, and that nine-tenths of the injuries received were of a very trifling nature. In their retreat the reformers threw stones and brickbats at the yeomanry. It is said that some stones were thrown in the same direction before the yeomen charged the people, and that the riot act was read by the magistrates before a sword was used; but some doubt rests upon one, if not upon both, of these assertions. The yeomanry was chiefly composed of a set of hot-headed young men belonging to rich families, who entertained a too great contempt and dislike of spinners, and weavers, and dyers, machine makers, and other artisans, who made up the reform assemblage. The riot act was read, but it seems to have been read when nobody could hear it. In less than ten minutes from the first charge of the yeomanry the ground was entirely cleared of its former occupants, and was filled by various bodies of military, both horse and foot. Mr. orator Hunt, with the broken staves of two of his banners carried in mock procession before him, was hurried before the magistrates, who sent him to prison on a charge of high treason.

THE SIX ACTS (1820 A.D.)

As soon as the news of this riot and its suppression reached London a cabinet council was held; and acting on the partial statements of the despatch, the thanks of government were returned to the magistrates, and to all the military engaged, for their prompt and efficient conduct in the affair. This was a signal for the opponents of government and friends of reform in London; and at a numerous meeting held in the palace yard, Westminster, on the 2nd of September, at which Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. John Cam Hobhouse, his colleague in the representation of Westminster, were the principal speakers, the affair of Peter's Field was denounced as a massacre, and a foul attempt to destroy the liberties of Englishmen; and an address founded on these resolutions was sent to the prince regent. The opposite party were provoked by the occasion to call meetings of their own, in which counter addresses were drawn up, justifying the suppression of the Manchester meeting, and offering to raise yeomanry corps for the support of government and the maintenance of public order. Under such auspices the prisoners were brought to trial; but the capital charge of treason against them was abandoned, and imprisonment, from one to two years and a half, was the utmost punishment inflicted upon five of the chief leaders of the meeting. Still the alarm had been too great and the supporters of government were too numerous to allow the present state of affairs to go on unchecked; and to obtain the restoration of order and secure the inviolability of their own property they were but too ready to place an undue power in the hands of the ministry. The well-known "Six Acts" were introduced, and were carried by large majorities through both houses. In the lords they were proposed by Viscount Sidmouth; in the commons by Lord Castlereagh. They consisted of the following bills: 1. To take away the right of traversing in cases of misdemeanor. 2. To punish any person found guilty on a second conviction of libel, by fine, imprisonment, and banishment for life. 3. For preventing seditious meetings, requiring the names of seven householders to the requisition which, in future,

convened any meeting for the discussion of subjects connected with church or state. 4. To prohibit military training, except under the authority of a magistrate or lord-lieutenant. 5. To subject cheap periodical pamphlets on political subjects to a duty similar to that on newspapers. 6. To give magistrates the power of entering houses by night or by day, for the purpose of seizing arms believed to be collected for unlawful purposes. The only one of these bills which passed without opposition was that for the prevention of secret military training. The entering of houses by night, and the restrictions on the press, were strongly objected to. These acts were to continue in force for the term of five years.

The year 1820 commenced with gloomy auspices in the political horizon. On the 23rd of January the humane, benevolent, and popular duke of Kent died, leaving behind him an infant daughter, Alexandrina Victoria. Only six days after the duke's death the great bell of St. Paul's again sent forth its deep knell, to announce a demise of still higher importance, for his father, the king of the realm, had departed.

DEATH OF GEORGE III (1820 A.D.)

George III died in Windsor Castle on the night of Saturday, the 29th of January, 1820, in the eighty-second year of his age, and (counting the ten years of the regency) in the sixtieth year of his reign. For some years before his death he had been totally blind; and it does not appear that any temporary return of reason allowed him to comprehend and rejoice at the issue of the momentous struggle in which he left his country engaged in 1810, when his malady drove him into retirement. We only know that when others desponded his hopes were high, and that, so long as he had reason, he never despaired of the final triumph of England. No man within his realms had a more thoroughly English heart, or a more ardent desire to promote the welfare of the people and the interests and honour of the country. Unpopular in his youth and earliest government, he became endeared to the people in the midst of the misfortunes of the first American war; and perhaps no sovereign had ever been more popular than he was during the last twenty-five years of his reign. Nearly every circumstance concerning him which has been brought to light of late years, and nearly every conversation which has been reported, or letter written by him which has been published, have tended to clear away the prejudices of former times, and to raise our estimate, not merely of the goodness of his heart and intentions, but also of the powers of his intellect, and of his capacity for public business.[1]

THE ACCESSION OF GEORGE IV (1820 A.D.)

The accession of George IV to the throne was merely nominal, for virtually he had been king for the last ten years; but the glories of his regency, through the success of our arms, had eclipsed whatever could be expected from his sovereignty, surrounded as he was by political and domestic troubles, which his new position could only tend to aggravate. He had also passed the bright meridian of life, and at the period of his accession was laid upon a bed of sickness, from which it was at one time feared he would never rise. Even his assumption of the royal title was accompanied with a great embarrassment. George IV was king, but who was queen of Great Britain? In the alter-

[1 "Expressed in concise terms," says Aubrey,[2] "the long reign of George III comprises sixty years of blundering, injustice, and repression."]

ation of the form of prayer in the church service the name of her who was legally queen consort had been omitted; and as princess of Wales her allowance from the civil list had ceased with the death of George III. It was now asked in parliament whether she, their queen, was to be supported according to her high station, or left to wander in beggary through foreign lands. It was a perplexing question both for her friends and enemies, as the former saw no need for the claim of a title which they considered as hers by law already, while the latter were unwilling to concede it. A vote, therefore, of a royal yearly allowance was passed in her favour without a division, but also without specifying her royal right and title to such allowance. On the close of parliament, by commission, on the 28th of February, the lord chancellor, in his speech on the occasion, turned the public attention into a new channel by announcing that a fearful conspiracy had just been detected, sufficient to open the eyes of the most sceptical to the dangers in which the country was involved. The danger alluded to was the Cato-street conspiracy.[1]

THE CATO-STREET CONSPIRACY (1820 A.D.)

For some time before the Manchester massacre of August, 1819, there had been a subsidence of the sedition and rebellious intentions of the sufferers and demagogues who had caused a panic to the government and a portion of the country magistracy of England and Scotland. The extensive conspiracy supposed by the ruling powers had never existed, and the separate parties of malcontents who had employed the leisure and relieved the painful thoughts of poverty in seditious movements had become tired of fruitless efforts, of disappointment in their leaders, and of that failure in combination which is the invariable lot of the ill-informed and inexperienced when they aim at objects too large for their powers. Their funds fell off; their drillings ceased from non-attendance; and they dropped back into their sad homes, to mutter there their discontents or wait for better days. But the Manchester affair and the subsequent proceedings roused them again as by an express summons, and during the months of September, October, and November there was a busy reorganisation of the associations of the discontented, who put aside their mutual quarrels to carry on the grand one with the government. It was in November that Sir Herbert Taylor, who held a high office in the establishment of the king, was accosted at Windsor by a man named Edwards, who kept a small shop at Eton for the sale of plaster casts, and who gave information of a desperate plot against the ministers. This information was, of course, immediately communicated to Lord Sidmouth. Edwards was taken into the pay of the home office; and the police were employed to verify his statements during the months when he stimulated the purposes of the conspirators, and received their confidence, in order to betray them, day by day, to his paymasters. It was after the affair became known to the government, that an emissary of Oliver the spy appeared at Middleton and elsewhere, and told of other agents who were going about the country with the same commission—to engage the discontented to join in the plot of Thistlewood and his comrades to assassinate the ministers, seize the Bank, the Mansion House, and the Tower, and establish a provisional government. The discontented refused to join. The scheme was too horrible and too foolish. In the end it appeared that the number involved was very small; so small, that the affair would scarcely deserve a place in history, but for the atrocity of the plan, and the illustration the event affords of the working of the spy system adopted by the government of the day.

[1820 A.D.]

The leader, Thistlewood, was a desperate man; too vindictive about his private wrongs to make much pretence of patriotism. He had been engaged with the Watsons, and acquitted on his trial for that matter. After his acquittal, he had sent a challenge to Lord Sidmouth; and this piece of audacity had procured him a year's imprisonment. He came out of jail thirsty for the blood of the minister. He drew about him a few ignorant and desperate men; and they would have attempted the deed at once—in the autumn of 1819—but for a series of accidents which delayed the enterprise, and gave time for an aggravation of their wickedness by the arts of Edwards the informer. When the affair had been delayed till Christmas, there came the dispersion of the intended victims for the holidays; and then the death of the king and the duke of Kent, and the royal funerals; and perhaps Edwards, who furnished the party with so much information about the ministers, might have told the conspirators how uncertain was the tenure of office by their enemies, who were very near going out immediately on the accession of George IV, on account of their refusal to procure him a divorce from his queen. The first record of the existence of the plot is in a note from the duke of Wellington of the 5th of January, wherein he states that he had "just heard that Lord Sidmouth had discovered another conspiracy." On Saturday, February 19th, it was resolved by the gang to murder the ministers, each at his own house; and without further delay, as their poverty would not allow them to wait any longer. On the Tuesday, however, Edwards informed them that there was to be a cabinet dinner at Lord Harrowby's the next day. Thistlewood sent out for a newspaper to see if this was true; and, finding it to be so, remarked, "As there has not been a dinner so long, there will, no doubt, be fourteen or sixteen there; and it will be a rare haul to murder them all together." Thus it was settled. Some of their number were to watch Lord Harrowby's house, to see that no police or soldiers were brought there. One was to call with a note while the ministers were at dinner; and the others were then to rush in, to commit the murders, carrying bags in which to bring away the heads of Lords Sidmouth and Castlereagh. Then they were to fire the cavalry barracks by throwing fireballs into the straw sheds; and the Bank and Tower were to be taken by the people, who, it was hoped, would rise upon the spread of the news.

Edwards was not the only traitor. A man named Hidon, who afterwards found himself well recompensed by the gift of a hackney coach, went from this final council to warn Lord Harrowby, by putting a letter into his hand during his ride in the park. No notice was apparently taken. The preparations for dinner went on at Lord Harrowby's till eight o'clock in the evening; but the guests did not arrive. The archbishop of York, who lived next door, happened to give a dinner that evening; and the arrival of the carriages deceived those of the conspirators who were on the watch in the street, till it was too late to give warning to their comrades, who had assembled in a stable in Cato street near the Edgware road.

While the conspirators were arming themselves in a room above this stable, by the light of one or two candles, the ministers, having dined at home, met at Lord Liverpool's, where they awaited, in great anxiety, the tidings of what the police and soldiers had done. When the news arrived it was bad. One of the police had been stabbed through the heart, and Thistlewood had escaped. This was owing to the soldiers not having been ready, as ordered, to turn out at a moment's notice. The police proceeded without them; and Smithers, the man who was killed, mounted the ladder which led from the stable to the upper room. Thistlewood stabbed him, and blew out the light; and after the

exchange of a few shots in the darkness and confusion several of the conspirators escaped. A reward of £1,000 was immediately offered for the apprehension of Thistlewood; but he was taken before eight o'clock the next morning, in bed at a friend's house in Moorfields. When about fourteen of the conspirators had escaped the soldiers arrived, and captured the remainder of the party—nine prisoners—and their arms and ammunition.

On the publication of the *Gazette* the next morning, with the proclamation of the reward for the apprehension of Thistlewood, London was thrown into consternation, from the natural supposition that this plot was but the first movement of a great insurrection. But there is no evidence that it ever extended beyond the few desperate men who were immediately concerned in it. The vigilance of the government and the magistracy throughout the kingdom detected no more schemes of rebellion, though there were flying rumours from time to time of marches of armies of radicals, who were to burn the towns and overturn the throne. On the 20th of April Thistlewood was condemned to death, after a trial of three days: and on the 1st of May, he and his four principal accomplices were executed [by hanging, the bodies being afterwards decapitated, in accordance with the law]. Five more who pleaded guilty had their punishment commuted to transportation for life; and one, who appears to have been present at Cato street without being aware of the object of the meeting, received a free pardon.[m]

SEDITION IN SCOTLAND (1820 A.D).

Although such a foul, unnational conspiracy stood alone and could find no imitators, the discontent in which it originated was still prevalent in the manufacturing districts, and overt acts of rebellion were not unfrequent. Such was the case in the West Riding of Yorkshire, where there were midnight trainings of the disaffected, with the collecting of firearms and manufacturing of pikes, which had continued during the winter, as a preparation for a general rising; but when the time came, not more than two hundred or three hundred assembled at Huddersfield, and on the advance of a body of cavalry they fled, leaving their pikes and green flag behind them. In Scotland the cause of radicalism was equally rampant; and in Glasgow the walls were placarded with proclamations, supposed to proceed from a committee for the formation of a provisional government, requiring the manufacturers to suspend their employments till further orders from the committee—an imperious command, but readily obeyed by the weavers and colliers of Glasgow and Paisley, so that the streets were filled with thousands of loitering artisans, wondering at the mysterious mandate and talking of a coming revolution. Happily, no worse outbreak resulted from this alarming state of matters in the north than a paltry skirmish at Bonnymuir [the "battle of Bonnymuir"], where a party of armed radicals gave battle to a troop of cavalry and yeomanry, but were dispersed after several of their number had been wounded and nineteen taken prisoners. In all these cases, however, although there was a close imitation of the combinations, purposes, and manifestoes which had characterised the revolutionary proceedings of the French, there was an absence of that violent and sanguinary spirit with which they had been accompanied, and which had formed the source both of their crimes and success. The British reformers were new to revolutions, and were inapt imitators of their more oppressed and less scrupulous and reflective types upon the Continent. In every case, also, government kept a watchful eye upon the disaffected; and both through informers and professional

spies, whom it appears the ministry did not scruple to employ for the purpose, they were warned of every intended movement and enabled to crush it at the commencement.

PARLIAMENTARY REFORMS (1820 A.D.)

The demise of George III having occasioned a dissolution of parliament, the new elections were marked by few acts of violence, although in many cases party contests were keen; and from the late exposures of unconstitutional proceedings connected with the suppression of political riots, as well as from the increase of numbers added to the opposition, there was little promise that the new house of commons would prove as compliant as the old. Of this an indication was given by a movement in the way of parliamentary reform. This was a bill for the disfranchisement of the corrupt borough of Grampound, which had been moved in the last session by Lord John Russell, and which now passed the second reading. The subject of the amendment of the criminal code was now brought forward by Sir James Mackintosh, in six bills, founded on the suggestions of the committee of inquiry appointed during the last session; and of these bills, after much discussion, three were successfully carried and passed into law. By this change, private stealing in shops to the value of forty shillings, the residence of gipsies for more than one year in the realm, or of notorious thieves taking up their abode in Cumberland or Northumberland, or for any person to be found disguised in the mint, or injuring Westminster bridge, were no longer punishable as capital crimes. Other acts hitherto capital were also modified into simple felonies, such as the receiving of stolen goods, the abduction of any maid, wife, or widow, for the sake of her fortune; the destroying of trees, breaking down the banks of rivers, or wounding cattle; the sending of threatening letters, and all the capital offences that had been connected with the laws of bankruptcy and the Marriage act—the punishment of death in all of these many cases being changed into transportation, imprisonment, hard labour, or fine. It will be seen from the above enumeration that this purifying sweep of the sponge over the defiled pages of the statute book was fully needed, while it will readily be surmised that much more still remained to be accomplished. Mr. Brougham also brought forward his comprehensive and national plan for the education of the poor, but without success; and owing to the jealousy of the dissenters it had finally to be abandoned, but not until it had awoke a spirit of inquiry, by which the good that had been sought was to be effected by other agencies. And not the least important change that had commenced during the session was that which had reference to free trade. During the war, when Britain by her maritime superiority had engrossed the carrying trade and enjoyed a monopoly of commerce, English merchants had rejoiced in this profitable exclusiveness. But now that the war was ended, a period of stagnation had succeeded, and it was felt that a new impulse must be given to commercial industry, even though it should be at the cost of removing these restrictions and admitting every nation into full competition with Britain. The attention of parliament was called to the subject by petitions from the cities of London and Glasgow in favour of free trade, and the propriety of a change in British commercial policy was suggested in the house of lords, on the 26th of May, by Lord Lansdowne, who moved for a committee of inquiry concerning the foreign trade of the empire. He was seconded by the earl of Liverpool, and the motion was unanimously carried.

THE TRIAL OF QUEEN CAROLINE (1820 A.D.)

It was at this stage that every public movement was arrested by the entrance of a new personage on the scene. By the advice of Canning the princess Caroline had retired to Italy in 1814. Of the life she had been leading during her exile there was many an unfavourable and even foul report; and although the "Delicate Investigation" had been extinguished, a new one had followed her in her wanderings, and all the reports that were multiplying against her were collected and sent to London as fresh matters of accusation, should circumstances compel such a step. Our ambassadors, instructed from home, refused to recognise her as princess of Wales, and the courts at which they resided were closed against her entrance. But when her name was struck out of the liturgy, and the recognition of her rank as queen withheld at the accession of her husband, she felt as if her silence would justify her condemnation—that she must come to England to demand an open trial, and vindicate her innocence and her claims. She may have felt, too, that from the irritated state of public feeling and the unpopularity of George IV, the bulk of the nation, right or wrong, would be ready to advocate her cause. Brougham, her principal legal adviser, received her commands to meet her in France. He left London on the 1st of June, bearing the following proposition to the queen, which had been placed in his hands by Lord Liverpool, the premier: "The king is willing to recommend to parliament to enable his majesty to settle an annuity of £50,000 a year upon the queen, to be enjoyed by her during her natural life, and in lieu of any claim in the nature of jointure or otherwise, provided she will engage not to come into any part of the British dominions, and provided she engages to take some other name or title than that of queen, and not to exercise any of the rights or privileges of queen, either with respect to the appointment of law officers, or to any proceedings in courts of justice. The annuity to cease upon the violation of these engagements, *viz.*, upon her coming into any part of the British dominions, or her assuming the title of queen, or her exercising any of the rights or privileges of queen, other than above excepted, after the annuity shall have been settled upon her."

The princess, who ever proclaimed that she was supported by the consciousness of her own innocence, rejected these propositions with disdain, and declared that she would presently be in England to confront her enemies and to appeal to a generous people. She was at Calais, on her way to London, on the 5th of June, and the intelligence was conveyed to Whitehall by telegraph. A cabinet council was assembled hereupon, and it sat through nearly the whole night. On the next morning—the morning of the 6th—the king went in state to give the royal assent to such bills as had passed parliament, and this being done he left Lord Liverpool to deliver the following message to the lords: "The king thinks it necessary, in consequence of the arrival of the queen, to communicate to the house of lords certain papers respecting the conduct of her majesty since her departure from this kingdom, which he recommends to the immediate and serious attention of this house."

The papers referred to were laid on the table in a green bag, which was sealed. This was the famous green bag which made such a figure in the chronicles of the day. A similar message was delivered to the commons by Lord Castlereagh. Both ministers announced the intention to move an address to the king, and to refer the papers to a secret committee on the following day. The lords were silent; but in the commons there was some vehement debate.

[1820 A.D.]

On the 7th Lord Liverpool proposed that the papers should be submitted to a secret committee of fifteen peers, to be appointed by ballot. Lord Liverpool, however, announced that the course to be pursued against the queen could not be an impeachment for treasonable conspiracy, seeing that Bergami, the alleged partner in her guilt, being an alien, was not amenable as a traitor to the crown of England, and that to constitute conspiracy there must be at least two criminals. The secret committee was appointed by ballot on the following day.

While this was passing in the lords there was another vehement debate in the commons. Mr. Brougham presented a message from the queen, which set forth that she had come to claim her rights and maintain her innocence; that she protested against a secret tribunal appointed by her accusers; and finally, that she appealed to the justice of the house of commons. Lord Castlereagh declared that ministers were neither persecutors nor prosecutors in this matter, and that the illustrious personage would not and could not be judged without an open inquiry and examination of witnesses. Mr. Canning, who entertained a kind and generous feeling towards the princess, solemnly vowed that he would never place himself in the situation of her accuser. The same eminent orator and statesman declared that he would take no further share in these deliberations; and, finding the cabinet resolved to proceed, he very soon resigned his office. Mr. Wilberforce moved the adjournment of the question to the next day but one, in the hope that during the interval some amicable arrangement would prevent a disgusting investigation, which might go far to taint the public morals, and which could not but degrade the two contending parties—the king as well as the queen. This motion was agreed to, and for several days there was silence in the house upon the subject.

Caroline of Brunswick had landed at Dover from the ordinary packet on the 6th, accompanied by Alderman Wood and Lady Ann Hamilton. Her entry into London was a kind of triumph, for she was received with joyful acclamations by the common people, and an immense mob followed her carriage, shouting, "The queen forever!" and heaping vituperations and curses upon the heads of her husband's ministers. On the 14th the somewhat radically composed common council of the city of London presented an address, congratulating her majesty on her arrival in the country. The example was speedily followed, and for many months the metropolis was kept in a ferment by addresses and processions, got up by all manner of people, of trades, and of bodies corporate and not corporate, in honour of the queen's happy return.[1]

The secret committee of the lords made its report on the 4th of July. The report declared that the evidence affecting the honour of the queen was such as to require, for "the dignity of the crown, and the moral feeling and honour of the country," a "solemn inquiry," which might "be best effected in the course of a legislative proceeding, the necessity of which," the committee declared, "they cannot but most deeply deplore." The queen the next day declared, by petition to the lords, her readiness to defend herself, and prayed to be heard by counsel, in order to detail some weighty matters, which it was necessary to state in preparation for the inquiry. Her petition was refused, and Lord Liverpool proceeded to propose the Bill of Pains and Penalties,[1] which is the everlasting disgrace of his administration. The bill

[1] "It is not our intention," says Knight,[h] "to furnish even the very briefest abstract of the evidence that was brought forward to sustain, or to rebut, the charge against the queen upon which the Bill of Pains and Penalties was founded—namely, that her royal highness conducted herself towards Bartolomeo Bergami, a foreigner engaged in her service in a menial

was entitled "An act to deprive her majesty, Queen Caroline Amelia Elizabeth, of the title, prerogatives, rights, privileges and exemptions of queen consort of this realm, and to dissolve the marriage between his majesty and the said Caroline Amelia Elizabeth." It charged the queen with improper and degrading conduct generally during her residence abroad, and particularly with an adulterous connection with a menial servant, named Bartolomeo Bergami; and provided for her degradation and divorce. It was read a first time, and copies were ordered to be sent to the queen, and to her attorney and solicitor-general. The next day her majesty offered to the house of lords her protest, and a renewed prayer to be heard by counsel. Her counsel were called in, and instructed to confine themselves to the subject of the mode of procedure under the bill. The substance of their demand was that the whole business, if not dropped, should be proceeded with, without any delay, to a final issue. Brougham declared that her majesty "was clamorous" for this.

The second reading of the bill was fixed for the 17th of August, and it was at this stage that the attorney-general adduced the charges on the part of the Crown, and followed them up by the testimony of witnesses. From this day to the 8th of September the house of lords was occupied with the testimony offered on behalf of the bill. And it was not only that house that was thus occupied. Nothing else was heard of throughout the country—one might almost say throughout Europe. From day to day indecent tales were told by a party of Italian domestics—tales such as, at other times, are only whispered by the dissolute in private and are never offered to the eye or ear of the moral and modest who compose the bulk of the English nation. These tales were now translated by interpreters at the bar of the house of lords, given in full in the newspapers, and spread through every town, hamlet, and lone house within the four seas. The advisers of the king said much of what the queen had done for the tainting of public morals and the degradation of the dignity of the crown; but it was plain to most people then, and is to every one now, that nothing that it was in her power to do, if she had been all that her prosecutors declared, could have so injured public morals and degraded the crown as the king's conduct in pursuit of his divorce. If he had obtained it, it would have been at the cost of a responsibility towards his people, the weight of which could have been borne by no man worthy to occupy a throne.

It was a season of extreme heat. Horses dropped dead on the roads, and labourers in the fields. Yet, along the line of the mails, crowds stood waiting in the burning sunshine for news of the trial, and horsemen galloped over hedge and ditch to carry the tidings. In London the parks and the West-end streets were crowded every evening; and through the bright nights of July neighbours were visiting one another's houses to lend newspapers or compare rumours. The king was retired within his palace—unable to come forth without danger of meeting the queen, or of hearing cheers in her favour. She had her two-o'clock dinner parties—"Dr. Parr and a large party,"—now a provincial mayor, now a country baronet, now a popular clergyman come up to tender his own homage and that of his neighbours—and then came the appearance to the people in an airing, and on other days the going down to the house of lords. Elsewhere were the Italian witnesses—guarded like a

situation, both in public and private, 'with indecent and offensive familiarity and freedom, and carried on with him a licentious, disgraceful, and adulterous intercourse.' The impression of the character of the queen, produced upon all impartial persons by the publication of the evidence, was pretty much the same as that expressed by Sydney Smith[n] after the proceedings had closed:—'The style of manners she has adopted does not exactly tally with that of holy women in the days that are gone, but let us be charitable and hope for the best.'"]

[1820 A.D.]

gang of criminals as they went to and fro; pelted and groaned at wherever they were seen; driven fast to back doors of the house of lords, and pushed in, as for their lives. Within the house there was the earnest attention of the lords to the summing up of the solicitor-general (Copley), previous to the production of the witnesses, the rushing out to see the eclipse when the pith and marrow of the matter were disposed of, and the rushing back presently during the mingling of his voice at the close with the sound of "the drums and flourish, announcing the queen's arrival"; and then the reception of her majesty, all standing as she entered and took her seat, as hitherto, on "the crimson chair of state, three feet from the bar"; and then the swearing-in of the interpreter, and the introduction of the first witness, at whose entrance the queen was looking another way, but on perceiving whom she uttered an inarticulate exclamation and hastily retired. She had nothing to fear from this witness, however; for his evidence was, on the face of it, so ludicrously untrustworthy that his name, Majocchi, became a joke throughout the country. The poor wretch was an admirable theme for the mob outside in the intervals between their exhortations to the guards, and the peers, and all who passed to the house, to "remember their queen"—"remember their sisters," their "wives," their "daughters." Then there was the perplexity of underlings how to act. The sentinels at Carlton palace, "after a momentary pause, presented arms" as her majesty's carriage passed; "the soldiers at the treasury did not." Daily was the fervent "God bless her!" repeated ten thousand times, from the nearest housetop to the farthest point of vision; and daily did the accused appear "exhausted by fatigue and anxiety," on returning from hearing or being informed of the disgusting charges, the time for replying to which had not yet arrived. Those who remembered that July and August, when men's minds were fevered with passion or enthusiasm, and the thermometer was ranging from 80 to 90 degrees in the shade, could always be eloquent about the summer of 1820.

On the 9th of September her majesty's counsel applied for and obtained an adjournment to Tuesday, the 3rd of October. The defence consisted of attempts, generally successful, to overthrow the credit of the witnesses against the accused, and in bringing forward testimony in favour of her conduct and manners while abroad. On the 2nd of November the arguments of counsel on both sides being concluded, the lords proceeded to discuss the question of the second reading of the Bill of Pains and Penalties. The division was taken on Monday the 6th, when the majority in favour of the second reading was only 28 in a house of 218. On the third reading, which took place four days afterwards, the majority was reduced to 9. Such a result in this house, the stronghold of ministerial power, at once showed the government that it must yield, and that it would yield, "considering the state of public feeling, and the division of sentiment just evinced by their lordships," Lord Liverpool announced on the spot. The king's ministers had come to the determination not to proceed further with the measure.

The joy which spread through the country with the news of the abandonment of the bill was beyond the scope of record. Among the generality of persons who did not look beyond the interest of the particular case, the escape of the queen was a matter of congratulation; but to this persons of more reflection and a more comprehensive knowledge added a deeper joy. They felt as Lord Erskine did when he burst forth with his rejoicings on the announcement of the abandonment of the bill. "My life, whether it has been for good or for evil, has been passed under the sacred rule of the law. In this moment I feel my strength renovated by that rule being restored. The ac-

cursed change wherewithal we had been menaced has passed over our heads. There is an end of that horrid and portentous excrescence of a new law, retrospective, iniquitous, and oppressive; and the constitution and scheme of our polity is once more safe. My heart is too full of the escape we have just had to let me do more than praise the blessings of the system we have regained."

Three nights of illumination in London, sanctioned by the lord mayor, followed the announcement of the triumph of the queen's cause. Prince Leopold, the son-in-law of both the royal parties, ordered Marlborough House to be illuminated; and no abode shone more brightly. The witnesses for the prosecution were burned in effigy in the streets; and there was some mobbing of the newspaper offices which had taken the government side on the question; but there was no serious breach of the peace.

On the 23rd the queen sent down a message to the house of commons, which Mr. Denman had begun to read, when he was stopped by the summons to the commons to attend the house of lords, which preceded the prorogation of parliament. The contents of the message were, of course, made known. Her majesty had declined offers of money and a residence, made by the government since the dropping of the prosecution; and she commended herself to the house of commons, for a due provision, and for protection, in case of a resumption, under some other form, of the proceedings against her—an event strongly apprehended by herself, and by some others more fitted to exercise a cool judgment.

Addresses were presented to the queen from all parts of the country and almost all descriptions of people. On the 29th of November she went in procession to St. Paul's, to return thanks for her deliverance from a great peril and affliction. Her reception was everything that could be wished, as far as the conduct of the vast multitude was concerned; and they did honour to her by the utmost propriety of bearing; but, within the cathedral, we stumble upon an incident characteristic of that time, but scarcely credible in ours. "In the general 'thanksgiving,' the officiating clergyman, Mr. Hayes, one of the minor canons of St. Paul's, omitted the particular thanksgiving which, at the request of any parishioner, it is customary to offer up, and which it was understood her majesty desired might be offered up for her on the present occasion. It is said that Hayes refused, on the ground that the rubric directs that those may be named as returning thanks who have been previously prayed for; but that the queen, not having been prayed for, could not be named in the thanksgiving." Thus the same interdict which deprived her of the prayers of the nation, wrought to prevent her from returning thanks—a privilege which is commonly supposed to be the right of every worshipper within the Christian pale. The life of this unhappy lady offers but little more for record; for the life itself was drawing to a close.[m]

PARLIAMENTARY REFORMS OF 1821 A.D.

The parliament of 1821 which commenced its session on the 23d of January, was characterised by the exhibition of a new spirit. An important proceeding was the introduction of the subject of parliamentary reform, which had been dinned into the ears of the legislature by the long and loud outcry from without, and which could no longer be safely neglected. One motion on the subject, which defeated itself by its own violence, was that of Mr. Lambton (afterwards Lord Durham), who proposed to divide the kingdom into elective districts, extend the franchise to every householder, and limit

the duration of parliaments to three years. Another, and a more moderate one, was that of Lord John Russell, who proposed to extend the right of election to the more populous towns that were still unrepresented, and to disfranchise every borough which might thereafter be convicted of corruption. It was lost, indeed, but the subject itself was too firmly implanted to be rooted out, and after years of blight and storm it was to produce the desired fruits. An earnest even already was afforded of this result by the disfranchisement of the borough of Grampound, from which the right of election was transferred to the county of York. It was a most important feature in the history of this session that the cause of parliamentary reform had commenced in it. Another question which in like manner was to wait its time, and be successful at last, was that of Catholic emancipation, which was brought forward by Mr. Plunkett on the 28th of February, and supported by Canning. It consisted of two bills, one for repealing Roman Catholic disabilities; the other for securing the safety of the Protestant church, and the Protestant succession to the crown. They were thrown out in the lords, chiefly through the protest of the duke of York, the presumptive heir to the throne. "Educated," said his royal highness, "in the principles of the established church, the more I inquire, and the more I think, the more I am persuaded that her interests are inseparable from those of the constitution. I consider her as an integral part of that constitution; and I pray that she may long remain so. At the same time, there is no man less an enemy to toleration than myself; but I distinguish between the allowance of the free exercise of religion, and the granting of political power." By these sentiments the duke took the place of his venerated father, and was recognised as the head of those who were opposed to Catholic emancipation.

CORONATION OF GEORGE IV; DEATH OF THE QUEEN

While these important parliamentary proceedings were going forward, the tables of both houses continued to be inundated with petitions on behalf of the queen. The opening speech had recommended a suitable provision to be made for her, instead of that which she had enjoyed as princess of Wales; but she had expressed her firm determination to accept of no settlement while her name was omitted in the liturgy. Not deterred by this declaration, £50,000 had been voted to her for life; and after some demur, the pressure of poverty prevailed; she consented to accept the boon, and by doing so lost much of that popularity which her previous rejection had procured for her. But the coronation, which her arrival had delayed, must now be solemnised at every risk, for George IV valued the pomp of royalty more than even its power, and he could not feel himself "every inch a king" until his head had been surmounted by the crown. The 19th of July was therefore fixed for the pageant; and here the queen had determined to take her final stand. On the 25th of June, she lodged her claim to be crowned, like her royal predecessors, and her claim was ably supported by her law advisers, Messrs. Brougham and Denman; but after a long antiquarian and historical exploration, it was found that the coronation of a king did not necessarily imply that of his consort, and that since the reign of Henry VIII only six out of thirteen queen consorts had been crowned; so that, on the strength of these precedents, her claim as a right was rejected. Caroline then wrote to Lord Sidmouth, stating her determination to be present at the ceremony, and desiring that a suitable place should be provided for her accommodation; and when this was refused, she made a similar application to the duke of Norfolk

as earl-marshal of England, but with the same result. Rejected in these appeals, she now tried one that looked like downright insanity: she requested the archbishop of Canterbury to crown her alone on the following week, while the Abbey of Westminster was in preparation for the final ceremony, which could be done without further national expense. But to her letter containing such a singular request, the astonished primate returned the following brief reply: "The archbishop of Canterbury has the honour to acknowledge with all humility the receipt of her majesty's communication. Her majesty is undoubtedly aware that the archbishop cannot stir a single step in the subject matter of it without the commands of the king."

The coronation took place, with unwonted splendour and magnificence, on the 19th of July. The queen resolved to be present, or to make a scene by seeking admittance in the eyes of the people. It is said that the more prudent of her friends endeavoured to dissuade her; but it is to be apprehended that most of those who surrounded her, and who were making use of her merely for party or factious purposes, without any regard to the shock her feelings might sustain, strongly urged her to go down to the Abbey. She went, and stopping before the Abbey door, was there refused admittance by the door-keepers and military officers on guard. She then wandered round the Abbey walls, in a vain search of some other entrance, and having thus exhibited her humiliation, she retired through the dense multitude, applauded by some, but hissed and hooted and called foul names by others. It has been concluded that this was her death-blow; but for many months she had been living in a state of excitement sufficient to kill a younger and stronger woman. She expired at Brandenburg House on the 7th of August; having directed that her only epitaph should be—"Here lies Caroline of Brunswick, the injured queen of England." Blood was shed almost over her coffin. Ministers had ordered that the funeral procession, which was to proceed from Brandenburg House towards Harwich (where the body was to be embarked for Brandenburg), should make a circuit, in order to avoid passing through the populous parts of London, where some rioting was to be feared. On arriving at Kensington, the procession, finding every road but that leading through London blocked up or barricaded by the mob, was obliged to take part of the forbidden route, intending, however, to get into the high north road by passing through Hyde Park. The park gate by Apsley House was found closed and barricaded, but it was soon forced open by the military; and, followed by a rabble, the funeral procession moved up to the Cumberland gate of the park. This upper gate was also barricaded and the mob seemed to be determined to prevent its being opened, for they stood in a dense mass behind their barricade, and some of them threw stones and pieces of brick-bat at the soldiery. A conflict ensued, in which two of the mob were shot dead on the spot—one by a common soldier, and one by an officer of the guards. The gate being at length forced open, the procession would have moved along the Edgware road, and have soon reached the quiet open country; but the mob renewed the conflict with a very unusual show of resoluteness; their shouts and shrieks were terrific; and to prevent bloodshed, the directing civil magistrate, Sir Richard Birnie, after consulting with some of the military, gave orders that the mob should have their own way. The corpse was then borne right through London, and no very serious mischief happened. But the government forthwith dismissed Sir Richard Birnie, and also deprived that distinguished officer, Sir Robert Wilson, of his commission in the army, for having remonstrated with some soldiers and an officer on duty. Sir Robert's disgrace or deprivation continued until the accession of William IV.

THE KING VISITS IRELAND, HANOVER, AND SCOTLAND

After the coronation the king was impatient to visit the more distant parts of his dominions; and on the 11th of August—four days after the queen's decease—he set sail for Ireland, and landed at Howth on the following afternoon. His arrival threw the Irish into a delirium of loyalty, and they hoped all kinds of impossible blessings from the event, of which boundless plenty and uninterrupted peace occupied the foreground. It is needless to add how their hopes were disappointed, and how the reaction only deepened the general poverty and disorder. Heralded by shouting mobs, and scattering his smiles and compliments among all classes, he entered Dublin on the 17th; and when the accounts reached him of the riots at the funeral procession of the queen, he expressed himself in no gentle terms about his ministers for not making better arrangements for the maintenance of the public tranquillity. The king left Ireland on the 7th of September, after making a proclamation exhorting the people to mutual agreement; but at his departure the national disturbances were resumed with double violence, while this unmeaning visit was blamed by the Irish as the cause of their sufferings and misfortunes.

After resting a few days in London, George IV embarked at Gravesend on the 20th of September, to visit his Hanoverian dominions, the capital of which he entered on the 11th of October, after travelling from Calais, where he landed, through Lisle, Brussels, Osnaburg, and Nieburg. Here he spent ten days, and here also he enjoyed the pleasures of a second coronation; while he secured the affections of his German subjects by adopting their manners and using their language, so that, unaccustomed to such royal condescension from their former sovereigns, they regarded him as the *beau ideal* of a patriot king.

The visit of George IV to Scotland, viewed as a conciliary act of royalty, was of greater importance than political calculations could have promised. It gratified the national pride of the Scots, and roused their old feudal affections for the descendant and representative of their ancient dynasty of kings. It edged anew the loyalty of the well-affected, and abated the rancour of political discontent and the extravagances of radical reform. No king had visited their bleak and barren land since the undesirable advent of Charles I in 1617; and on account of this neglect it was felt as if Scotland was unthought of, or merely regarded as an English province or county. When tidings, therefore, arrived that their sovereign was about to visit them, every town, village, and hamlet—the remotest of Scottish isles and the most secluded of Highland straths—were roused at the intelligence, and all poured forth their populations into the ancient capital of the kingdom to grace his court and welcome his arrival. It was an occasion on which the regal bearing and frank debonair manner of George IV had their fairest field for action, and the people forgot his faults and follies in the elegance with which he played his part and the cordiality with which he received their enthusiastic homage.

On the 14th of August the royal yacht and its accompanying war vessels cast anchor in Leith Roads, and on the following day the king landed and went in state to Edinburgh and to the home of his ancestors, the venerable palace of Holyrood; while not only every street, window, and house-top, but the neighbouring fields, Arthur's Seat, Salisbury Crags, the Calton Hill, might be said to contain the population of the kingdom itself, who with a nation's universal voice welcomed his coming among them. It was a reception such as might well compensate for the scoffs and groans of the London

mobs. During his sojourn of a fortnight in Scotland, the king, who took up his residence in Dalkeith Palace, within six miles of Edinburgh, held frequent levees at Holyrood, and in that brief space he purchased an amount of popularity which years of substantial favours, if churlishly accorded, would have failed to secure. Nor was this visit without its substantial benefits, independently of the public impulse it had imparted. Several of the Scottish peerages had been attainted through the rebellions of 1715 and 1745, and their hereditary owners were still in the condition of commoners, through the errors of their grandfathers and great-grandsires. But now their case was taken into account, and in the following year the attainders were reversed, by which they were restored to the rank of nobility. It was a boon happily selected by its appeal to the ancient feudality and historical remembrances of Scotland—feelings to which her people clung the more intensely, that they still formed part and parcel of their national identity. Another gift fully as national was accorded during the same year. From the wide extent of the Highlands, and the smallness of the population, the parish churches were few and far between, so that many persons found it difficult to partake in the public ordinances of religion, and whole families were utterly deprived of them. An act of parliament was accordingly passed in 1823 for the erection of forty or more churches in the more destitute of the Highland localities, with a manse for the minister, and a stipend of £120 a year. In this way the religious and Presbyterian, as well as the patriotic feelings of the Scots, were gratified by the visit of George IV. It was an auspicious introduction to the happy change which was to commence in less than a quarter of a century, when Scotland was to become not a place of casual advent but a home of royalty.

THE PARLIAMENT OF 1823 A.D.

The session of parliament was opened by commission on the 4th of February, and the speech gave general satisfaction. This was especially the case when his majesty declared that he would be no party to those proceedings of the congress of Verona which sanctioned the interference of foreigners with the internal affairs of Spain, and that he would use his best endeavours to avert the calamities of war between that country and France. But France had decided for war; and the armed *cordon sanitaire* became an army of invasion that crossed the Spanish frontiers for the purpose of suppressing the liberal constitution which the patriots of Spain had enforced upon their king at the sword-point, and for restoring that unworthy Bourbon to all the despotic power which he had so grossly abused. This aggression roused the opposition in the British parliament, more especially as they had hoped that this would be a signal for an armed intervention in behalf of Spain and a remonstrance with the Holy Alliance, by whom the invasion was encouraged. But such interference, besides incurring the risk of a fresh European war, would have been useless for Spain, the bulk of whose population knew nothing about liberty, and preferred the old régime of priestship and kingship. It was necessary in this case for Canning [the secretary for foreign affairs] to explain and justify his principle of non-intervention, and this he did on the 14th of April. He showed how all the attempts of British mediation had failed, and how necessary it was to adopt a system of entire neutrality. He then pointed out the conduct which must be pursued in reference to Portugal and the South American colonies of Spain in the event of certain contingencies. Should Portugal unite with Spain in repelling the French, Britain would have

no call to interfere; but if Portugal, remaining quiescent, should be attacked, we must then come forward to support the independence of our ancient and faithful ally. As for the South American colonies, it was clear that Spain, though still claiming them, had lost all power over them. If in the course of the war, Canning added, France should capture any of them, so that it became a last question whether they should be ceded, and to whom, it would be necessary for all parties to know the mind of the British government upon the subject, which was to the following effect: that she "considered the separation of the colonies from Spain to have been effected to such a degree that she would not tolerate for an instant any cession which Spain might make of colonies over which she did not exercise a direct and positive influence. To such a declaration the British government had at last been forced."

Having been successful in their Spanish aggressions, which they commenced with doubt and hesitation, the French now contemplated the reconquest of the Spanish-American colonies, for the purpose of restoring them to the dominion of the mother country. But here the forbearance of Britain was at an end, and Canning interposed. "We will not," he said, "interfere with Spain in any attempt which she may make to reconquer what were once her colonies, but we will not permit any third power to attack or reconquer them for her." Accordingly, in October he applied to the French government for an explanation of its intentions regarding these colonies. The answer of the French minister, the prince de Polignac, was in the true spirit of the Holy Alliance school of politics. He could not understand, in the present divided and distracted state of these colonies, what was meant by recognising their independence, and thought that giving such a recognition while there was no solid established government among them, would be nothing less than a real sanction of anarchy. It was for the interest of humanity, he added, and especially of the colonies themselves, that the European governments should concert measures for stilling the contentions of these remote regions, and restoring them to a principle of union in government, whether monarchical or aristocratical. To this the reply of Canning was, "that however desirable the establishment of a monarchical form of government in any of these provinces might be on the one hand, or whatever might be the difficulties in the way of it on the other hand, his government could not take upon itself to put it forward as a condition of their recognition." The hopes of conquest in South America, whether for Spain or herself, which France had entertained, were dispelled, and her warlike preparations for the purpose arrested. Having thus vindicated the right of a people to choose the form of government under which they preferred to live, instead of having one thrust upon them by a foreign power, the British government recognised the independence of these colonies by appointing consuls at their different ports, an example which was soon afterwards followed by the United States of America.[1]

During the progress of the deliberations of the British cabinet on the subject of the South American republics, Mr. Rush, the minister of the United States, was addressed by Canning, with a view that the two governments should come to an understanding and join in a concurrent declaration as to the policy to be pursued by them. Mr. Rush,[2] in a despatch to President Monroe, on the 23rd of August, 1823, says: "The tone of earnestness in Mr. Canning's note naturally starts the inference that the British cabinet cannot be without its serious apprehensions that ambitious enterprises are meditated against the independence of the new Spanish-American States, whether by France alone, or in conjunction with the continental powers, I cannot now say on any authentic grounds." It would seem that, the president having

made a communication of this despatch to his celebrated predecessor, it was understood by Mr. Jefferson as a proposition by Mr. Canning, that Great Britain should unite with America in an armed resistance to the possible attempt of the allied powers to intrench upon the independence of the infant republics. Mr. Jefferson considered this as the most momentous question that had been ever offered to his contemplation since that of their own independence. The venerable ex-president appears at once to have thrown aside the prejudices against Great Britain which had sometimes marked his official career. "Great Britain" [he is reported by Tucker[1] as saying] "is the nation that can do us the most harm of any one, or all, on earth; and with her on our side, we need not fear the Old World. With her, then, we should most sedulously cherish a cordial friendship; and nothing would tend more to knit our affections than to be fighting once more, side by side, in the same cause."

STEPS TOWARDS FREE TRADE (1823–1826 A.D.)

In January, 1823, Mr. Huskisson became president of the board of trade. He was held to be a political adventurer, and it was not till 1825 that his great talents and vast financial and commercial knowledge gave him a seat in the cabinet. Liverpool, in 1823, had not hesitated to accept in Mr. Huskisson, as its representative, a second political adventurer. In 1816 Mr. Canning had told his constituents that he pleaded guilty to the heavy charge that had been made against him that he was an adventurer. "A representative of the people, I am one of the people, and I present myself to those who choose me, only with the claims of character, be they what they may, unaccredited by patrician patronage." The talent and knowledge of Mr. Huskisson soon rendered him the highest official authority in his own walk, in spite of Lord Eldon's dislike of this colleague and his principles, "looking to the whole history of this gentleman." In the session of 1823 Mr. Huskisson developed a broader system of commercial policy than any previous government had dared to propose, in opposition to the prejudices of generations—to the belief that the prosperity of the commerce and manufactures of Great Britain rested upon the exclusive employment of her own shipping, upon prohibitory duties, upon restrictive duties almost amounting to prohibition, and upon the balance of trade. Mr. Wallace and Mr. Robinson had taken some steps towards commercial freedom, but Mr. Huskisson, by rapid strides, advanced towards the completion of a healthier system than had as yet prevailed in the world. In 1823 he carried through parliament a measure known as the Reciprocity of Duties Bill, the object of which was that duties and drawbacks should be imposed and allowed on all goods equally, whether imported or exported in British or in foreign vessels; but reserving the power of continuing the existing restrictions with respect to those countries which should decline to act upon a system of reciprocity. The bill was passed on the 4th of July. On that occasion Mr. Stuart Wortley made a remark which we may now regard somewhat as a prophecy: "So many impolitic restrictions called protections being removed from the trade and shipping, it would be impossible to retain for any considerable time the protection given to agricultural produce."

The measure of 1823, which struck a heavy blow at the old navigation laws, provoked little opposition compared with the clamour against the proposition of Mr. Huskisson, on the 5th of March, 1824, that the prohibitions on the importation of silk manufactures should cease on the 5th of July, 1826; that the duties on raw silk should be largely reduced, and those on

thrown silk reduced one half. We all now know the value of the great argument which Mr. Huskisson employed: "The system of prohibitory duties, which has been maintained with respect to the silk trade, has had the effect —to the shame of England be it spoken—of leaving us far behind our neighbours in this branch of industry. We have witnessed that chilling and benumbing effect which is always sure to be felt when no genius is called into action, and when we are rendered indifferent to exertion by the indolent security of a prohibitory system. I have not the slightest doubt that if the same system had been continued with respect to the cotton manufacture, it would at this moment be as subordinate in amount to the woollen as it is junior in its introduction into this country."

NEGRO SLAVERY IN THE WEST INDIES.

Negro slavery in the West Indies was the subject of animated debates in the house of commons in 1823 and 1824. The difficult question of negro emancipation in the colonies has been happily settled by a magnificent effort on the part of the government and the people. The curse of slavery no longer exists on a single rood of the vast possessions and dependencies of the British Empire. But this result could not have been attained without the persevering efforts of the same zeal which had accomplished the abolition of the slave trade. A few of the first abolitionists still remained. Younger men had joined their ranks, with the determination to banish slavery from England's colonies, and if possible to unite all Christendom in a league against the hateful traffic, which some states still openly perpetrated and others indirectly encouraged. On the 15th of May, 1823, Mr. Thomas Fowell Buxton moved as a resolution, "That the state of slavery is repugnant to the principles of the British constitution and of the Christian religion, and that it ought to be gradually abolished throughout the British colonies with as much expedition as may be found consistent with a due regard to the well-being of the parties concerned." Mr. Canning met this resolution by proposing other resolutions to the effect that decisive measures should be taken for ameliorating the condition of the slave population of the British colonies; that through such measures the house looked forward to such a progressive improvement in the character of the slave population as might prepare them for a participation in civil rights and privileges. Mr. Canning's proposal was unanimously agreed to by the house. The West Indian interest at home was greatly alarmed. The resident proprietors were in a state of indignant terror when the colonial secretary issued a circular which announced the determination of the British government to interfere between the owner and his slave. This circular contained an absolute prohibition to inflict the punishment of flogging under any circumstances upon female slaves, and a strong recommendation with regard to males that the whip should no longer be carried into the field and there displayed by the driver as the emblem of his authority, or employed as the ready instrument of his displeasure. In most of the West India islands the circular of Lord Bathurst produced only votes of indignation in their local assemblies. In Demerara the court of policy passed regulations in compliance with the instructions of the circular, but the negroes entertained a belief that orders had come from England for their complete emancipation. The government of the colony had previously issued a prohibition against the negroes attending divine service except under certain conditions, on the belief that the sectaries incited them to insubordination. On the 18th of August a rising took place amongst some of the slaves, who imprisoned

their masters but shed no blood. On the 19th martial law was proclaimed, and under sentences of courts-martial forty-seven negroes were executed, and a great number were tortured by the most merciless flogging. The colony was subjected to martial law for five months. Under this law Mr. John Smith, a missionary of the Independent persuasion, was tried upon a charge of having incited the negroes to revolt, and of having concealed their intention to rise. He was convicted and sentenced to death. The governor did not venture to execute the sentence, but left the decision to the British cabinet, who rescinded the sentence, but decreed Mr. Smith's banishment from the colony. Mr. Brougham brought the whole case before the house of commons, on the 1st of June, 1824. The missionary, who had been cast into a loathsome dungeon in a weak state of health, had died after some weeks of severe suffering. The feeling produced at home was that of pity for the victim, and of indignation at the injustice of the court by which he was tried. The proceedings of this general court-martial, held on the 13th of October, 1823, published by the missionary society, displayed "a series of errors so gross as to mock belief, and of oppressions which are unexampled in the dispensation of English justice." Mr. Brougham, in this memorable debate, uttered a solemn warning to the slaveholders: "Yet a little delay, yet a little longer of this unbearable trifling with the commands of the parent state—and she will stretch out her arm in mercy, not in anger, to those deluded men themselves; exert at last her undeniable authority; vindicate the just right and restore the tarnished honour of the English name!"

FURTHER REFORMS IN THE CRIMINAL LAW; "THE PANIC"

Of the six bills for the repeal of capital punishments which Sir James Mackintosh introduced in the sessions of 1820, three eventually became laws. These were the only formal results of the perseverance of the legislator upon whom the mantle of Romilly had fallen. In 1822 he obtained a pledge from the house that it would proceed to a general consideration of the criminal laws in the next session. On the 21st of May, 1823, he proposed nine resolutions, which went at once to do away with capital punishments in a number of offences to which they referred. Mr. Peel, who was now secretary of state for the home department, objected to the extent of these measures. He admitted the necessity of some amendment, and intimated his intention to propose measures which should embrace several of the improvements which Sir James Mackintosh contemplated. His son has recorded that the defeat on this occasion was a signal to Sir James for surrendering the superintendence of further reforms into the hands of one whose position as a minister gave him peculiar facilities for carrying them into effect: "He lived," says his biographer, "to see the propriety of many of these very alterations acquiesced in to an extent which he dared scarcely have imagined, and which drew from him the expression, instancing the growth of opinion on these subjects, that he could almost think that he had lived in two different countries, and conversed with people who spoke two different languages."

When the session of parliament was opened on the 3rd of January, 1825, the exultation of the royal speech upon "public prosperity" was far stronger than ministerial prudence and reserve often ventured to indulge. "There never was a period in the history of this country when all the great interests of the nation were at the same time in so thriving a condition." Alas, for the instability of human affairs! In the king's speech on the 2nd of February, 1826, we have this sentence: "His majesty deeply laments the injurious

effects which the late pecuniary crisis must have entailed upon many branches of the commerce and manufactures of the United Kingdom." The pecuniary crisis was, indeed, the most unexpected, the most astounding, and the most severe in its consequences of any derangement of commercial operations ever produced by extravagant hopes and exaggerated alarms. This pecuniary crisis universally obtained the name of the Panic. It was described by Mr. Huskisson as "such a complete suspension of all confidence as, contra-distinguished from commercial distress, rendered it impossible to procure money upon even the most unobjectionable security. . . . If the difficulties which existed in the money market had continued only eight-and-forty hours longer, he sincerely believed that the effect would have been to put a stop to all dealings between man and man, except by way of barter."

There can be no doubt whatever that at the beginning of 1825 the sanguine views of the chancellor of the exchequer, which obtained for him the name of "Prosperity Robinson," were really justified by whatever was apparent in the material condition of the country. In June of that year an article appeared in the *Quarterly Review* which went very carefully into the proofs that there had scarcely ever been a time when every branch of industry had been so generally prosperous. We are taken into the country to look upon fields better cultivated than a few years before; barns and stackyards more fully stored; horses, cows, and sheep more abundant; implements of husbandry greatly improved. In cities, towns, and villages, more numerous and better shops, and a vast increase of goods, indicating the flourishing circumstances of the community. In manufactories similar manifestations of the increase of wealth. We are then told that if we could examine the accounts of the bankers of the metropolis, and in the small as well as large provincial towns, we should find that the balances resting with them were increased to an enormous amount. The reviewer then adds: "This indeed may be fairly inferred from the low rate of interest in the floating public securities, from the prices of the funds, from the avidity with which every project for the employment of capital is grasped at, and from the general complaint, almost the only complaint heard, that there is now no way of making interest for money." Those who in all times are ready to treat such maladies in the body politic by salutary venesection, were most busy and successful at the end of 1824 and the beginning of 1825. Joint-stock companies suddenly rose up, some for provident schemes of home industry, but others holding forth the prospect of enormous wealth by working the mines of South America. "All the gambling propensities of human nature [says the *Annual Register*[8]] were constantly solicited into action, and crowds of individuals of every description—the credulous and the suspicious—the crafty and the bold—the raw and the experienced—the intelligent and the ignorant—princes, nobles, politicians, placemen, patriots, lawyers, physicians, divines, philosophers, poets, intermingled with women of all ranks and degrees—spinsters, wives, and widows—hastened to venture some portion of their property in schemes of which scarcely anything was known except the name."

The South American mining schemes required large remittances in money, and an equal expenditure in stores and machinery for the operations to be carried on. The new South American states asked and obtained considerable loans. Speculations in goods were carried forward to an extent, and with a temporary amount of profit, previously unknown. The rush of purchasers to invest in coffee, in spices, in indigo, in tallow, and in cotton, with a total ignorance of everything connected with the relation of the supply to the consumption, had for a while the effect of producing a general rise of prices.

Every article which had not advanced in price was soon made the subject of an exaggerated demand. Very soon after parliament had separated, cheered by the official announcement of public prosperity, a reaction commenced. The price of every article that had been the subject of this overtrading began to fall. More precipitous was the downward tendency of the loan and share market; for no dividends came from the South American loans; no remittances in the precious metals to attest that increased productiveness of the mines which was expected to arise out of the application of British capital and machinery. The rage for speculation had so penetrated into uncommercial circles, and the sober tradesman who once used to be content with the moderate profits of his own industry had so embarked his capital in rash ventures, that, when a want of confidence began to be felt, universal distrust soon succeeded. The Bank of England, which had £10,000,000 of bullion and coin in its coffers in April, had only £1,300,000 in November to meet the rapid drain that was going forward. The directors of the Bank of England, in their alarm, suddenly diminished their circulation to the extent of £3,500,000. In the general want of confidence, the country bankers had to endure the consequences of an almost unlimited circulation of their notes, nothing loath as they had been to assist the speculative tendencies of their customers by what seemed a method so easy to themselves. The time was at hand when every man would look suspiciously upon the dirty pieces of paper which he had held to be as good as gold; and these promises to pay would travel, first slowly and then rapidly, to the banker's counter, and many who saw these obligations return to their source would ask what they had done to provoke this run upon them. In London those large balances in the hands of the bankers which the reviewer described as "ready to embrace favourable changes in the price of any commodity, or to be placed at interest as beneficial securities presented themselves," were suddenly withdrawn to meet unforeseen losses, to satisfy unexpected demands, and, in many cases, out of a selfish mistrust of the security of those depositories which had once justly received the public confidence. Selfish and short-sighted was the panic that drove men to the banker's counter, in their ignorant belief that it was his duty to have ready in his till an amount sufficient to pay the balances of every customer. On the 5th of December the banking house of Sir Peter Pole and Company stopped payment. On the 6th the bank of Williams and Company followed.

During the three weeks of alarm and misery which preceded the Christmas of 1825, the cabinet was daily deliberating upon measures to be pursued to stop the disorder and to mitigate its consequences. The bank directors came forward to lend money upon any description of property; and relaxed all their accustomed regulations for the discount of bills. The amount of mercantile bills under discount had been four millions on the 3rd of November; it had increased to fifteen millions on the 29th of December. Sovereigns were coined at the mint at the unprecedented speed of one hundred and fifty thousand daily. At the Bank of England notes were printed with equal promptitude; for with the sanction of the cabinet it was determined that one- and two-pound notes which the Bank of England had called in should again be issued for temporary purposes. Still these two supplies of an unexceptionable currency could not be produced fast enough to fill up the vacuum occasioned by the almost total withdrawal of country bank paper. An accidental circumstance solved the difficulty. A box containing about seven hundred thousand pounds of one-pound notes, which had been put aside unused, was accidentally discovered at the bank. Mr. Harman, one of the

directors, stated it as his opinion [as quoted by Porter †] that the timely issue of these notes "worked wonders—it saved the credit of the country."

When the session of parliament was opened on the 2nd of February, 1826, it was truly said in the royal speech that some of the causes of the evil which had occurred were beyond the reach of direct parliamentary interposition, nor could security against the recurrence of them be found unless in the experience of the sufferings which they had occasioned. But to a certain portion of the evil correctives at least, if not effectual remedies, might be applied. It was desirable to place on a more firm foundation the currency and circulating credit of the country. Lord Liverpool then stated the measures which government intended to submit for the consideration of parliament. One of those measures was a regulation by which one- and two-pound banknotes should be gradually withdrawn from circulation, and a metallic currency substituted for them. The other measure had reference to the exclusive privileges of the Bank of England, under their charter which would not expire till 1833. Lord Liverpool said, if the bank could be induced to give up so much of their exclusive privilege as related to country banks, and if they would accompany that surrender with a measure which would be desirable for their own sakes, namely the establishment in some parts of the country of branches of their own institution, the effect on the general circulation of the country would, he thought, be most beneficial. The privilege of the Bank of England had prevented the establishment of any banking concern with a greater number of partners than six. Lord Liverpool said he was old enough to remember the time when there was scarcely such an institution as a country bank except in great commercial towns, and when the transactions of the country were carried on in Bank of England notes, and money obtained from London. There had been a great change. Any small tradesman, a cheesemonger, a butcher, or a shoemaker might open a country bank. The exclusive privilege of the Bank of England did not touch them. But an association of persons with fortune sufficient to carry on a banking concern with security was not permitted to do so. The panic of 1825 produced the great measure of 1826, sanctioning the establishment of joint-stock banks; under which enactment a banking firm might include any number of partners except within sixty-five miles of London. This year was also the date of the establishment of branch banks of the Bank of England. Scotland was exempted from the prohibition of the small note currency. It is worthy of note that during the panic not a single Scotch bank failed.

THE QUESTION OF CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION

At the close of the session on the 31st of May the royal intention was announced "to dissolve without delay the present parliament." It was the seventh session of that parliament. The dissolution at this early season had no reference to the state of political parties, but simply had regard to the convenience of the time for a general election. The leading question upon which men's minds would be most stirred throughout the kingdom, and especially in Ireland, would be that of Catholic emancipation. The cabinet remained in the position as to this question which it occupied in 1812, when Lord Castlereagh became one of its members. Catholic emancipation was what is called "an open question," upon the principle described by Mr. Canning —"the principle of treating it as a question out of the ordinary course of ministerial business; as one to be argued upon its own merits, such as they

might appear to each individual member of the administration." Lord Liverpool, as the head of the government, was opposed to the Catholic claims, but his opposition was qualified by the moderation of his character, and no one doubted his sincerity. Lord Eldon [according to his biographer, Twiss "] again and again avowed his "firm and determined purpose to support to the last our establishment in church and state." When Mr. Canning became secretary of foreign affairs, he was unpopular with the anti-Catholic party in general, and obnoxious to the lord chancellor in particular. Lord Eldon was, however, consoled by the decided views of Mr. Peel on this subject, whose influence with the anti-Catholic party was materially strengthened by his position as representative of the University of Oxford. Mr. Peel, although then of comparative unimportance as a political leader, was in 1818 preferred by the university as a representative of its orthodoxy, whilst Mr. Canning was rejected. Upon the great "open question," the party of Mr. Canning in the cabinet obtained in 1825 a majority in the house of commons upon a bill for the repeal of disabilities, the enactment of a state provision for the Roman Catholic clergy, and the raising of the qualification of the Irish franchise from forty shillings to ten pounds. The bill passed the commons by a majority of twenty-seven. It was rejected by the lords by a majority of forty-eight. In the session of 1826 the question of Catholic emancipation was not agitated in parliament.

DEATH OF THE DUKE OF YORK AND LORD LIVERPOOL; THE MINISTRY OF CANNING

On the 1st of January, 1827, the death of the duke of York was momentarily expected. The duke died on the 5th. The lord chancellor mourned deeply over the loss of the prince, chiefly because he had great influence with the king, and in correspondence with his majesty upon political questions, and in his recommendation of proper persons to be continued or appointed ministers, was much governed in his judgment by what had been, and what he thought would be, the conduct of each person as to the Catholic claims. This was the one test of fitness for office with the duke of York and with the lord chancellor, who thus recorded their mutual opinions.

On the 16th of February Lord Liverpool moved an address to the king, expressive of the concurrence of the peers in a message recommending a provision for the duke and duchess of Clarence. The next morning the servant of the prime minister, going into his sitting-room after breakfast, found him senseless on the floor in a fit of apoplexy. On the 18th Lord Eldon thus expressed his opinion as to the results of this event: "His life is very uncertain, and it is quite certain that as an official man he is no more. Heaven knows who will succeed him." [Lord Liverpool's death did not occur till about two years later, but he never sufficiently recovered normality of mind even to resign the premiership, which he had held since 1812.]

There was no one to be found, either pro-Catholic or anti-Catholic, who could be placed at the head of the government with the same power and influence as Lord Liverpool had exercised for continuing the system of compromise. Mr. Canning saw the difficulty, and offered to retire if the king could form an administration wholly composed of persons thinking as the king himself thought. His majesty did not see the possibility of maintaining such a ministry; and finally on the 10th of April gave his commands to Mr. Canning to prepare, with as little delay as possible, a plan for the reconstruction of the administration.

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On the 12th of April a new writ for the borough of Newport was moved in the house of commons, in consequence of the acceptance by Mr. Canning of the office of first lord of the treasury. At the same time it was agreed that the house should adjourn till the 1st of May. During this interval the greatest excitement prevailed, not only amongst political partisans, but in every circle in which the characters and opinions of public men formed subjects of discussion. The commanding talents and the liberal policy of Mr. Canning produced a very extended hope that he would be able to maintain his great position against the attacks of his numerous enemies. When the houses met, after the Easter recess, on the 1st of May, Mr. Canning had completed the formation of his ministry. On that day all the avenues to the house of commons were crowded by persons anxious to catch a glimpse of the minister so beloved and trusted, so feared and hated. He walked up the old staircase which led to the lobby with a firm and agile step, and one of the crowd, at least, who looked upon his radiant face, thought of Burke's famous description of Conway, "hope elevated and joy brightened his crest." The house of commons on that night presented an unusual spectacle. Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Tierney sat immediately behind the minister. Mr. Brougham took his seat on the ministerial side, with other members who three weeks previously had sat on the benches of opposition. In the house of peers, Lord Lyndhurst was on the woolsack. Three new peers took the oaths, Viscount Goderich (late Mr. Robinson), Lord Plunkett, and Lord Tenterden. Mr. Peel on that night made a most elaborate exposition of the causes which had led to the resignation of himself and other members of the late government. There was no acrimony in his studied oration. Mr. Canning had the gratifying assurance from Mr. Brougham, who in the eminent position which he had won had the right to speak the sentiments of a large and powerful body, that the new government should have his support, without the possibility of his taking office himself.

During the two months in which the session was continued after the reassembling of parliament on the 1st of May, the irregular discussions in both houses left but little opportunity for real progress in the nation's business. The personal hostility to Mr. Canning, which the duke of Wellington almost acknowledged, was something strange in parliamentary tactics, and some attributed it to the traditional jealousy of the aristocracy, whether whig or tory, that a plebeian—an adventurer—should presume to take the helm of the state instead of one of their "order." Others ascribed the personal attacks of many peers and commoners to that hatred of genius, too often entertained by mediocrity of understanding. The incessant exhibition of this spirit rendered it impossible for the minister either to make a triumphant display of his oratorical power, or to carry through any measure of great public importance. He spoke for the last time on the 18th of June, on the subject of the corn trade. The session was closed on the 2nd of July.

When men were speculating in February on the probable successor of Lord Liverpool, Lord Eldon wrote, "I should suppose Canning's health would not let him undertake the labour of the situation; but ambition will attempt anything." The prorogation of parliament did not produce the usual effect of comparative relaxation upon the toil-worn minister. Four years previous, Mr. Canning, Mr. Huskisson, and Mr. Robinson were described after a prorogation as "boys let loose from school." The American minister, who was thus astonished at the deportment of grave statesmen, was more astonished when the secretary for foreign affairs, after dinner, proposed that the company should play at the game of "twenty questions." Complete relaxation,

however impaired may be the health of a prime minister, is one of the few things which he is utterly powerless to command. Mr. Canning had an interview with the king on the 30th of July, when his majesty was so struck by the looks of the premier, to whom he had given a cordial support, that he sent his own physician to attend him. The next day Mr. Canning had to work in Downing street. The duke of Devonshire had lent him his villa at Chiswick, in the belief that change of air would restore him. He occupied the bedroom in which Fox had died. On the 31st a few friends had dined with him; but he retired early. The suffering from internal inflammation which he felt on that last night of July terminated in his death on the 8th of August. He was buried in Westminster abbey on the 16th in the most private manner. But the universal display of sorrow told more than any funereal pomp that a great man had departed.

ENGLAND AND GREEK INDEPENDENCE (1827 A.D.)

The settlement of a treaty between Great Britain, France, and Russia, on the subject of the affairs of Greece, was the latest, as it was amongst the most important, of the official acts of Mr. Canning. That treaty was signed on the 7th of July, 1827. Forty years had elapsed since, a schoolboy at Eton, he had written a very eloquent poem on *The Slavery of Greece*. He painted the ancient glories of her arms and her arts; he evoked the great names of her philosophers and her poets, to point the contrast of her glories fading into shame—servitude binding in its galling chain those who had stood up against Asia's millions—cities mouldering—the fallen column on the dusty ground—worst of all, the sons of the freedom-breathing land sighing in abject bondage, groaning at the labours of the oar or of the mine, trembling before

"The glitt'ring tyranny of Othman's sons."

The position of Greece since 1821 was such as to arouse the deepest sympathies of every Englishman who knew anything of her ancient story. The Greeks in that year, seizing the opportunity of a war between the sultan and Ali Pasha, rose in revolt. A proclamation issued by the archbishop of Patras produced a general insurrection. For six years a cruel and devastating war had gone on, in which the Greeks, at first successful, had more and more quailed before the greater force which the Porte was able at last to bring against them by employing the disciplined troops of the pasha of Egypt. The story of this war has a peculiar interest to us in connection with the individual efforts of Englishmen to promote this struggle for freedom—of Byron, who died at Missolonghi with "Greece" on his lips—of Cochrane, whose hopes of rousing the Greek leaders to decisive and unanimous action came to an end when all was lost at the great battle before Athens. In September, 1826, the divan having obstinately refused to enter into negotiations with those over whom they considered themselves the absolute masters—those "who form part of the nations inhabiting the countries conquered ages ago by the Ottoman arms"—the British government proposed to Russia that the Porte should be apprised that the result of this obstinacy would be the recognition of the independence of Greece. What, according to international laws, should be the basis of this recognition, was clearly laid down by Mr. Canning. The Turks were to be told that Great Britain and Russia "would look to Greece with an eye of favour, and with a disposition to seize the first occasion of recognising, as an independent state, such portion of her territory as should have freed itself from Turkish dominion; provided that such state should have shown itself substantially capable of maintaining an independent

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existence, of carrying on a government of its own, of controlling its own military and naval forces, and of being responsible to other nations for the observance of international laws and the discharge of international duties." Such was the exposition which the British government then adopted, in the affairs of Greece, of the principles which should determine the recognition of the independence of a revolting or separating state. The principle of what should constitute a belligerent was laid down with equal clearness by Mr. Canning at an earlier stage of this conflict: "The character of belligerency is not so much a principle as a fact. A certain degree of force and consistency acquired by any mass of population engaged in war entitles that population to be treated as a belligerent, and even if their title were questionable renders it the interest, well understood, of all civilised nations so to treat them. For what is the alternative? A power or community (whichever it may be called) which is at war with another, and which covers the sea with its cruisers, must either be acknowledged as a belligerent or treated as a pirate."

Upon the conclusion of the treaty of July, 1827, it was agreed that instructions should be sent to the representatives at Constantinople of the three contracting powers that they should present a joint declaration to the divan, stating that as the war of extermination had been prolonged for six years, producing results shocking to humanity, and inflicting intolerable injury on the commerce of all nations, it was no longer possible to admit that the fate of Greece concerned exclusively the Ottoman Porte. They were to offer their mediation between the Sublime Porte and the Greeks to put an end to the war, to settle by amicable negotiation the relations which ought for the future to exist between them, and to propose that all acts of hostility should be suspended by an armistice. A similar proposition should be made to the Greeks. A month was to be given to the Ottoman Porte to make known its determination. If no answer were returned, or an evasive answer were given, the divan was to be informed that the three powers would themselves interfere to establish an armistice. Although the admirals of the allied squadrons of the three powers were to be instructed to take coercive measures to enforce an armistice, they were to be warned against any hostile step which would be contrary to the pacific character which the three powers were desirous to impart to their interference.

PREMIERSHIP OF LORD GODERICH; THE BATTLE OF NAVARINO

The death of Mr. Canning placed Lord Goderich at the head of the government. The composition of the cabinet was slightly altered. Mr. Huskisson became colonial secretary, Mr. Herries chancellor of the exchequer. The government was generally considered to be weak, and not calculated for a long endurance. Its greatest accession of strength seemed to be in the acceptance of the office of commander-in-chief by the duke of Wellington. Lord Eldon, in serious apprehension that this appointment committed the duke to the support of the administration, wrote to him a letter which called forth this explanation: "If, on the one hand, the administration have no claim upon my services out of my profession, I, on the other hand, can be of no counsel or party against them." The cabinet of Lord Goderich had not a long existence. It lasted scarcely five months, and it fell through the petty jealousies of some of its members, which gave the finishing blow to the tottering fabric.

On the 10th of November it was known in London that despatches had been received at the admiralty, announcing a great naval battle in the bay of

Navarino. If the popular belief in omens of national success or disaster had not nearly passed away, the public might have looked with trembling anxiety to these despatches, in the dread that the battle would prove a defeat. For, at the lord mayor's banquet on the 9th of November, a great device of illuminated lamps representing an anchor suddenly fell down upon the dignitaries below, slightly wounding the duke of Clarence and the lord mayor, scattering unwelcome oil over the dresses of the ladies who graced the civic feast, and altogether marring the usual flow of hollow compliment which is so coarsely proffered and so greedily accepted on these occasions. The *Gazette* soon proclaimed that the Turkish fleet had been nearly annihilated; that the flags of England, France, and Russia floated supreme on the shores of the Morea. Nevertheless, politicians shook their heads at what they considered an aggression, which might lead to an interminable war—an aggression which ultra-toryism regarded as particularly objectionable, inasmuch as it crippled the means of a despotic power effectually to crush its rebellious subjects. The Sublime Porte had well learned the lessons taught by the congresses of Troppau and Laybach when it proclaimed, in its manifesto of the previous June, that "Almighty wisdom, in dividing the universe into different countries, has assigned to each a sovereign, into whose hands the reins of absolute authority over the nations subject to his dominion are placed."

When the demand under the Treaty of London, which was made by England, France, and Russia, for an immediate armistice, as a preliminary and an indispensable condition to the opening of any negotiation, was announced by the ambassadors of these powers at Constantinople, the divan declined to recognise any interference with its conduct towards its rebellious subjects. The Greeks readily accepted the armistice proposed by the treaty. Ibrahim Pasha had come from Alexandria with the Egyptian fleet during the period of the discussions at Constantinople. The allied fleets were lying off Navarino, their admirals being without authority to prevent the junction of the Egyptian fleet with the Turkish, already moored in that harbour. The Egyptian commander was informed by Sir Edward Codrington that he might return, if he chose, with a safe-conduct to Alexandria, but that if he entered the harbour he would not be suffered to come out. Ibrahim Pasha made his choice to join the Turkish fleet. On the 25th of September a conference took place between the admirals and Ibrahim Pasha, at which the Egyptian prince entered into a verbal agreement for a suspension of hostilities during twenty days. The English and French commanders, relying upon this agreement, sailed to Zante to obtain fresh provisions. Ibrahim Pasha then came out of the harbour, with the object of carrying his warfare to some other point in the Morea. Sir Edward Codrington met him near Patras with a small force, and compelled him to return. After that, says the protocol of the three admirals, "the troops of the pasha have not ceased carrying on a species of warfare more destructive and exterminating than before, putting women and children to the sword, burning their habitations, and tearing up trees by the roots, in order to complete the devastation of the country." The despatch of Sir Edward Codrington, dated from H.M.S. *Asia*, in the port of Navarino, narrates the subsequent decisive event. The count de Hayden, rear-admiral of Russia, and the French rear-admiral, the chevalier de Rigny, having agreed with him to enter the port in order to induce Ibrahim Pasha to discontinue his brutal war of extermination, took up their anchorage about two o'clock in the afternoon of the 20th of October. The Turkish ships were moored in the form of a crescent. The combined fleet was formed in the order of sailing in two columns, the British and French forming the

weather or starboard line, and the Russian the lee line. The *Asia* led in, followed by the *Genoa* and *Albion*, and anchored close alongside a ship of the line bearing the flag of the capitana bey.

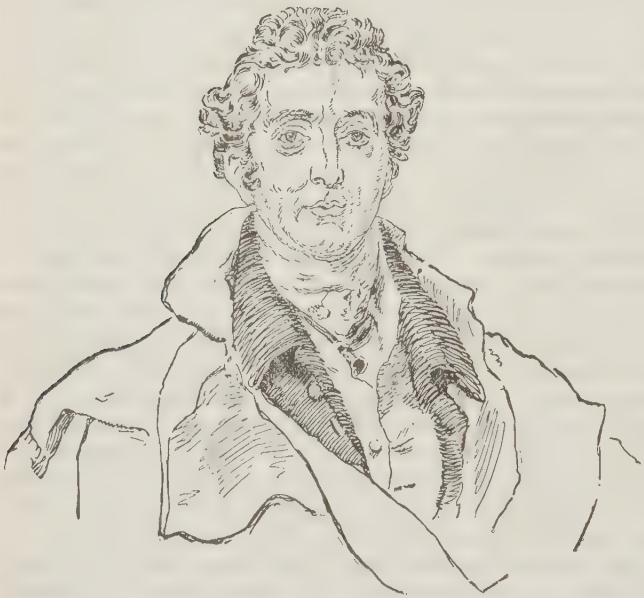
The stations of the French and Russian squadrons were marked out by the English admiral, who was the chief in command. "I gave orders," says Sir Edward, "that no gun should be fired unless guns were fired by the Turks, and those orders were strictly observed." The three British ships passed the batteries, and moored without any act of hostility on the part of the Turks, although they were evidently prepared for a general action. At the entrance of the harbour were six Turkish fire-vessels, which a portion of the English squadron were appointed to watch. On the *Dartmouth* sending a boat towards one of these vessels her crew was fired upon by musketry. The fire was returned from the *Dartmouth* and *La Syrène*, which bore the flag of Admiral de Rigny. An Egyptian ship then fired a cannon-shot at the French admiral's vessel, which was immediately returned; "and thus," says Sir Edward Codrington, "very shortly afterwards the battle became general." After describing, with the usual indistinctness, the movements of various ships, he comes to the catastrophe. "This bloody and destructive battle was continued with unabated fury for four hours, and the scene of wreck and devastation which presented itself at its termination was such as has been seldom before witnessed." Of the Egyptian and Turkish fleets, which numbered about a hundred and twenty men-of-war and transports, one-half were sunk, burned, or driven on shore. The allied admirals published a notice after the battle, that as they did not enter Navarino with a hostile intention, but only to renew propositions to the commanders of the Turkish fleet, they would forbear from destroying what ships of the Ottoman navy might still remain, "now that so signal a vengeance has been taken for the first cannon-shot which has been ventured to be fired on the allied flags." They threatened that if there were any new act of hostility they would immediately destroy the remaining vessels and the forts of Navarino. The despatch of Sir Edward announcing the victory contains a frank admission that he was not insensible to other feelings than those of professional obedience to his instructions: "When I found that the boasted Ottoman word of honour was made a sacrifice to wanton, savage devastation, and that a base advantage was taken of our reliance upon Ibrahim's good faith, I own I felt a desire to punish the offenders. But it was my duty to refrain, and refrain I did; and I can assure his royal highness [the duke of Clarence] that I would still have avoided this disastrous extremity if other means had been open to me."

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON BECOMES PREMIER (1828 A.D.)

The differences upon financial measures between Mr. Herries, the chancellor of the exchequer, and Mr. Huskisson, secretary of state for the colonies, could not be reconciled by Lord Goderich, and he therefore tendered his resignation to the king on the 9th of January, 1828. His majesty immediately sent to Lord Lyndhurst to desire that he and the duke of Wellington should come to Windsor. The king told the duke that he wished him to form a government of which he should be the head. "He said that he thought the government must be composed of persons of both opinions with respect to the Roman Catholic question; that he approved of all his late and former servants, and that he had no objection to anybody excepting to Lord Grey." It was understood that Lord Lyndhurst was to continue in office. The duke of Wellington immediately applied to Mr. Peel, who, returning to his post of

secretary of state for the home department, saw the impossibility of reuniting in this administration those who had formed the cabinet of Lord Liverpool. He desired to strengthen the government of the duke of Wellington by the introduction of some of the more important of Mr. Canning's friends into the cabinet and to fill some of the lesser offices.

On the 29th of January parliament was opened by commission. On the ninth day after the meeting of parliament, Mr. Brougham took that position which he ever after maintained, of being the most indefatigable and persevering of law reformers. The reformation of the criminal law was no longer opposed, except by a few whose opinions had very speedily come to be considered as worthless as they were obsolete. A commission had been appointed to inquire into abuses in courts of equity. The course of improvement which was open to Mr. Brougham was to promote an inquiry "into the defects occasioned by time and otherwise in the laws of this realm of England, as administered in the courts of common law." Mr. Brougham introduced his motion in a speech of nearly six hours. It has been said of this speech, "its huge length and unwieldy dimensions compelled attention." These are not the qualities which usually compel attention in the house of commons. During that extraordinary exhibition of the rare ability to mass an infinity of details, so as to make each contribute something to the general effect, the attention of the house was uninterruptedly sustained. The first listeners were amongst the last. Whilst the orator exhibited no signs of physical exhaustion, scarcely one of his audience seemed to feel a sense of weariness. The peroration of this great effort of memory and judgment was the only portion that could be properly deemed rhetorical: "It was the boast of Augustus—it formed part of the glare in which the perfidies of his earlier years were lost—that he found Rome of brick, and left it of marble; a praise not unworthy a great prince, and to which the present reign also has its claims. But how much nobler will be the sovereign's boast when he shall have it to say, that he found law dear, and left it cheap; found it a sealed book—left it a living letter; found it the patrimony of the rich—left it the inheritance of the poor; found it the two-edged sword of craft and oppression—left it the staff of honesty and the shield of innocence!" On the adjourned debate of the 29th of February, upon Mr. Brougham's proposition



Duke of Wellington
(1769–1852)

for a commission, the government, through the law officers and the home secretary, expressed its intention so far to concur in the motion as to consent that separate commissions should issue—one for inquiry into the progress of suits at common law; the other into the state of the laws affecting real property. Mr. Brougham concurring in this alteration, the two commissions were forthwith appointed.

The house of commons was now fairly engaged in the work of improvement. On the motion of Mr. Peel a select committee was appointed to inquire into the public income and expenditure; to consider measures for an effectual control on all charges connected with this receipt and expenditure, and also for reducing the expenditure without detriment to the public service. No one can trace the course of our parliamentary history after the close of the war without feeling how much of the tardy recognition by the government of principles of financial economy was due to the unwearied exertions of Mr. Hume. His views, however they might at times be impracticable, produced as a whole the inevitable triumph of all zealous and continuous labour. Mr. Secretary Peel early in the session proposed another measure which, he said, might at first sight appear limited in its application, and local in its objects, but which was connected with considerations of the highest importance to the well-being of the country. He proposed that a committee should be appointed to inquire into the state of the police of the metropolis. In the next session of parliament Mr. Peel carried his great plan for abolishing the local establishments of nightly watch and police, for forming the metropolitan police district, and for appointing a sufficient number of able men under the direction of the secretary of state to be the police force for the whole of this district. For several years a prodigious clamour was raised against this force, not only by thieves and street-walkers, but by respectable upholders of the ancient watch, and by zealous friends of the nation's freedom, who dreamt that the new police would have the certain effect of depriving us of our immemorial liberties. The new police was to be [as Fonblanque says] "the most dangerous and effective engine of despotism." Sensible men were satisfied to believe that Mr. Peel's innovation would have no other effect upon our liberties than that of depriving us "of the liberty we have hitherto enjoyed of being robbed and knocked on the head at discretion of their honours the thieves."

A great parliamentary struggle was at hand in 1828, which was the prelude to a still more important conflict in 1829. This was Lord John Russell's motion, on the 26th of February, for a committee of the whole House to consider of so much of the acts of the 13 and 25 of Charles II as requires persons, before admission into any office in corporations, or having accepted any office civil or military, or any place of trust under the crown, to receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the practice of the Church of England. The motion was opposed by Mr. Huskisson, Lord Palmerston, and Mr. Peel. It was opposed, says Sir Robert Peel in his *Memoirs*,[w] "with all the influence and authority of the government recently appointed." Nevertheless, on a division on the motion of Lord John Russell, it was carried by a majority of 44, there being 237 in favour of the motion, and 193 against it. Sir Robert Peel says, in his *Memoirs*, that the administration considered that they should not be justified in abandoning the service of the crown in consequence of this defeat, and farther, that it would have been very unwise hastily to commit the house of lords to a conflict with the house of commons on a question of this nature. Mr. Peel eventually proposed a measure of compromise—that a declaration should be substituted in place of the sacramental test. The bill as amended passed the house of commons and met with very little

effectual opposition in the house of lords, the two archbishops and three bishops speaking in its favour. Sir Robert Peel says that the conciliatory adjustment of the question was what he earnestly desired; that had any other course been taken by the government the final result of parliamentary discussion would probably have been the same—namely, the repeal of the Test and Corporation acts; and that it may fairly be questioned whether the repeal would have taken place under circumstances more favourable to the true interests of the church, or more conducive to the maintenance of harmony and goodwill amongst the professors of different religious creeds. It was in vain that Lord Eldon described the bill to be "as bad, as mischievous, and as revolutionary as the most captious dissenter could wish it to be." He nevertheless prophesied truly when he said, "Sooner or later, perhaps in this very year, almost certainly in the next, the concessions to the dissenters must be followed by the like concessions to the Roman Catholics."

ELECTION FOR CLARE OF DANIEL O'CONNELL

The appointment of Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald to a ministerial office caused a vacancy in the representation of the county of Clare. The contest for this seat produced events in Ireland "of deep importance, especially in their relation to the Catholic question." Mr. Fitzgerald was a person of great influence in the county of Clare. He had conciliated the Roman Catholics by a constant advocacy in parliament for the removal of their disabilities. Certainly no Protestant could have had a fairer chance of support, not only from the landlords but from their tenantry. Yet the whole power of the Catholic Association was called forth to prevent his return, and to secure the election of Mr. O'Connell, who, by his faith, was disqualified from sitting in parliament. During the short administration of Mr. Canning the association, founded in 1823, had voluntarily dissolved itself, having confidence that the minister would bring forward some effectual measure of relief. The accession to power of the duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel, and the subsequent changes in the cabinet which had disturbed the balance of opinions on the greatest question of domestic policy, revived the association with new strength, which was calculated to produce the most serious alarm. Lord Anglesey, the lord lieutenant, had gone to Ireland with the decided opinion that concessions to the Catholics should be refused. What he saw there in the summer of 1828 produced in his mind a conviction of the positive danger of persevering in the old system of policy. Mr. O'Connell, whose power as a demagogue was probably never exceeded by any Irishman or Englishman—gifted with a popular oratory which completely won the hearts of a fervid peasantry—professing the utmost deference to the Catholic priesthood, which he swayed as much by his devotion as a son of the church as by his prompt and versatile ability—wanting perhaps "very determined courage," but with every other quality for the leader of a rebellion—Mr. O'Connell stirred up his countrymen to a madness of which the Clare election was the type. The Catholics had a common grievance and a common sympathy, which, since the union, had been a constant source of irritation and of occasional alarm. But a real sense of the imminent danger of refusing concession had never been produced until the proof was supplied by the Clare election that local and personal attachments were weakened, that the friendly relations of men in different classes were loosened, and that a power had arisen "to unite the scattered elements of society into a homogeneous and disciplined mass, yielding willing obedience to the assumed authority of superior intelligence, hostile to the law and

to the government which administered it." At the period of the Clare election the lord lieutenant wrote to the home secretary that he was quite certain that the agitators could lead on the people to rebellion at a moment's notice, but that the hope of tranquillity, present and future, rested upon the belief of O'Connell and his friends that they could carry their cause by agitation and intimidation, without coming to blows. Lord Anglesey believed their success to be inevitable. "There may be rebellion: you may put to death thousands; you may suppress it; but it will only be to put off the day of compromise, and in the mean time the country is still more impoverished, and the minds of the people are, if possible, still more alienated." On the 5th of July Mr. O'Connell was elected for Clare. A petition against his return was presented to the house of commons, but nothing was done, for the session was nearly at an end. The great agitator did not attempt to take his seat during the three weeks which elapsed between his return and the prorogation of parliament. He had six months before him for continued agitation. The session closed on the 28th of July, without a word in the king's speech regarding Ireland.

THE CATHOLIC RELIEF BILL (1829 A.D.)

The duke of Wellington, in the course of a debate in May, 1829, said "It is now well known that during the whole of the last autumn and summer I had those measures in contemplation which have been since brought into effect. It is also well known that my principal object, and that to which all my efforts were directed, was to prevail upon the person in these kingdoms the most interested of all others, from his situation, in the settlement of the Catholic question, to give his consent to its being brought forward." In the autumn and summer of 1828 the duke had not only a difficulty with the king, but with the one of most importance amongst his colleagues. At the beginning of August the premier and the lord chancellor had been in communication with the king. Mr. Peel was invited to participate in the proposed arrangement. He gave his deliberate opinion by letter to the duke of Wellington, that there was upon the whole less of evil in making a decided effort to settle the Catholic question than in leaving it, as it had been left, an open question. Mr. Peel, however, proposed to retire from the government, although he was willing to support it, but unwilling to undertake the management of this business in the house of commons. Twenty years after, he says that this letter was written with a clear foresight of the penalties to which the course he resolved to take would expose him—"the rage of party, the alienation of private friends, the interruption of family affections." He would not condescend to notice other penalties, such as the loss of office and of royal favour, "if they were not the heaviest in the estimation of vulgar and low-minded men incapable of appreciating higher motives of public conduct."

The efforts of the duke of Wellington to obtain the sanction of the king that the whole subject of Ireland, including the Catholic question, should be taken into consideration by his confidential servants, were not successful during the remaining months of 1828. In his interviews with the duke his majesty manifested much uneasiness and irritation. Lord Eldon represents that the king told him, at an interview on the 28th of March, 1829, that his ministers had threatened to resign if the measures were not proceeded in, and that he had said to them, "Go on," when an interview which had lasted several hours had brought him into such a state that he hardly knew what he was

about. Mr. Peel, very early in the course of these discussions, had expressed his opinion that whenever it was once determined that an attempt should be made by the government to settle the Catholic question, the settlement should be, if possible, a complete one. Partial concessions would be of no use. On the 12th of January, 1829, the six ministers who had voted uniformly against the Catholic claims had each a separate interview with his majesty, when he intimated his consent that the whole question of Ireland should be considered without his being pledged by such consent to adopt the views of his confidential servants, however unanimous they might be. On the 17th the duke of Wellington wrote to Mr. Peel, that he did not see the slightest chance, in consequence of what had passed in interviews with the king, and with certain of the bishops, of getting rid of these difficulties, if Mr. Peel should not continue in office. Mr. Peel yielded to his earnest solicitation. When the draft of the speech from the throne was submitted to the king, he gave a reluctant assent to the passage which implied an intention on the part of the government to make a decisive effort to adjust the Catholic question. The parliament was opened by commission on the 5th of February. The day before the meeting of parliament Mr. Peel addressed a letter to the vice-chancellor of Oxford expressing his intention to vacate his seat for that university.

In the speech from the throne the existence of an association in Ireland dangerous to the public peace, and inconsistent with the spirit of the constitution, was pointed out, to ask for such powers as might enable his majesty to maintain his just authority. "His majesty recommends that, when this essential object shall have been accomplished, you should take into your deliberate consideration the whole condition of Ireland; and that you should review the laws which impose civil disabilities on his majesty's Roman Catholic subjects. You will consider whether the removal of those disabilities can be effected consistently with the full and permanent security of our establishments in church and state, with the maintenance of the reformed religion established by law, and of the rights and privileges of the bishops and of the clergy of this realm, and of the churches committed to their charge." In the house of peers the duke of Wellington announced that the measure which it was the intention of the government to propose for the adoption of parliament, would extend to the removal generally of all civil disabilities under which the Roman Catholics laboured, with exceptions solely resting on special grounds. In the house of commons Mr. Peel made a similar announcement. The great contest in parliament was not to come on till Mr. Peel should be in his place to take his proper share in the discussions. He was persuaded to allow his name to be put in nomination for re-election at Oxford. His friends did not sufficiently estimate the power of a party cry. Sir Robert Inglis, his opponent, was finally returned by a majority of one hundred and forty-six votes. Lord Colchester records the termination of the election, adding, "Cheers for Lord Eldon in convocation, hisses for the king, hisses and groans for Peel." Nevertheless the value of these hisses and groans may be tested from the fact that Mr. Peel polled twice as many first-class men as Sir Robert Inglis, and the "No popery" and "Church in danger" cries were not universally successful, for he had three hundred and thirty-three clergymen amongst his supporters. Mr. Peel took his seat for Westbury on the 3rd of March. The bill for suppressing the Catholic Association had passed during the secretary's absence from parliament. In that interval several thousand petitions were presented to parliament—the greater part against the proposed measures of concession. Lord Eldon was the most indefatigable in

the enforcement of the prayer of these very exclusive productions, which echoed his own assertion on the first night of the session, that if a Roman Catholic were ever admitted to form part of the legislature, or to hold any of the great offices of state, from that moment the sun of Great Britain was set forever. In the house of commons Mr. Peel gave notice, on the 3rd of March, that on the 5th he would call attention to that part of the speech from the throne which referred to the civil disabilities of the Roman Catholics. On the evening of the 3rd the king commanded the duke of Wellington, Lord Lyndhurst, and Mr. Peel to attend him at Windsor on the following day. The audience lasted five hours. The king most tenaciously insisted that no alteration should be made of the ancient oath of supremacy. The ministers as firmly maintained that without this alteration the measure of relief would be unavailing. They left the royal closet in the assured belief that their official functions were at an end. "At the close of the interview [says Peel [w]] the king took leave of us with great composure and great kindness, gave to each of us a salute on each cheek, and accepted our resignation of office, frequently expressing his sincere regret at the necessity which compelled us to retire from his service." Before the king went to rest a great and sudden change had come over him. He wrote to the duke of Wellington to acquaint him that he anticipated so much difficulty in the attempt to form another administration that he could not dispense with the services of those whose resignations he had accepted, and that they were at liberty to proceed with the measures of which notice had been given in parliament.

On the 5th of March, from ten o'clock in the morning, all the avenues of the house of commons were crowded by persons who hoped to gain admission to the gallery. The doors were not opened till six o'clock; for, according to a notice previously given, the house was called over. To put an end to all possible cavil on the part of the king, Mr. Peel had suggested to the duke of Wellington that a distinct authority should be given to them to say to parliament that the measures in contemplation were proposed with the entire sanction of his majesty. That authority having been received during the night, Mr. Peel commenced his speech in these words: "I rise as a minister of the king, and sustained by the just authority which belongs to that character, to vindicate the advice given to his majesty by an united cabinet." With regard to himself, he had for years attempted to maintain the exclusion of Roman Catholics from parliament and the high offices of state. He did not think it was an unnatural or unreasonable struggle. He resigned it, in consequence of the conviction that it could no longer be advantageously maintained. As Mr. Peel proceeded to explain the proposed measure, in a speech of four hours, the cheers of the house were occasionally heard in Westminster Hall. The bill would admit a Roman Catholic to parliament upon taking an oath, in place of the old oath of supremacy, that he would support the existing institutions of the state, and not injure those of the church. It would admit a Roman Catholic to all the greatest offices of government, with the exception of regent, lord chancellor of England, and lord chancellor and viceroy of Ireland. All corporate offices and municipal privileges, all that pertained to the administration of justice, would be open to Roman Catholics. From all offices connected with the church, with its universities and schools, and from church patronage, they would be necessarily excluded. Commands in the army and navy had been open to them before this measure. Connected with the Bill of Relief, there were securities and restrictions proposed; and by a separate bill the qualification for the freeholder's electoral franchise in Ireland was increased from forty shillings to ten pounds.

It is unnecessary to trace the course of the debates in either House during the conflict, which lasted to the 10th of April, when the Relief Bill was read a third time in the house of lords by a majority of a hundred and four. It had been passed in the house of commons, on the 30th of March, by a majority of a hundred and seventy-eight. Amidst the passionate invectives, the taunts and sneers, of the opposers of the measure, there was one sentence in the speech of a great man who relied upon no oratorical power for enforcing conviction, which made more impression upon the mind and heart of the nation than the highest displays of argument or declamation. Thus spoke the duke of Wellington, on moving the second reading of the bill on the 4th of April: "My lords, I am one of those who have probably passed a longer period of my life engaged in war than most men, and principally, I may say, in civil war; and I must say this,—that if I could avoid, by any sacrifice whatever, even one month of civil war in the country to which I am attached, I would sacrifice my life in order to do it. I say that there is nothing which destroys property and prosperity, and demoralises character, to the degree that civil war does; by it the hand of man is raised against his neighbour, against his brother, and against his father; the servant betrays his master, and the whole scene ends in confusion and devastation. Yet, my lords, this is the resource to which we must have looked—these are the means to which we must have applied, in order to have put an end to this state of things, if we had not made the option of bringing forward the measures, for which I hold myself responsible." The great captain was assailed as virulently as Mr. Peel was assailed, by the most furious of those who assumed to be the only true supporters of church and state.

The earl of Winchelsea published a letter in which he insinuated that the duke had supported the establishment of King's College, that he "might the more effectually, under the cloak of some outward show of zeal for the Protestant religion, carry on his insidious designs for the infringement of our liberties, and the introduction of popery into every department of the state." The duke demanded that the letter should be withdrawn; the earl refused to do so. On the 21st of March the two peers had a hostile meeting in Battersea Fields. The duke of Wellington fired without effect; the earl of Winchelsea discharged his pistol in the air, and then tendered a written apology. In a letter to the duke of Buckingham a month after this transaction the duke of Wellington thus defended a conduct which he admitted must have "shocked many good men": "The truth is that the duel with Lord Winchelsea was as much part of the Roman Catholic question, and it was as necessary to undertake it and carry it out to the extremity to which I did carry it, as it was to do everything else which I did to attain the object which I had in view. I was living here in an atmosphere of calumny. I could do nothing that was not misrepresented as having some bad purpose in view." When Lord Winchelsea published his letter the duke determined to act upon it. "The atmosphere of calumny in which I had been some time living cleared away. The system of calumny was discontinued." Mr. Peel had to endure calumnies even more galling than those which the duke of Wellington decided to resist by the course which a brave soldier, jealous upon the point of honour, was then almost compelled to take in deference to the false opinions of society. Twenty years after this great political struggle Sir Robert Peel wrote the following solemn appeal to protect his memory: "I can with truth affirm, as I do solemnly affirm in the presence of Almighty God, 'to whom all hearts be open, all desires known, and from whom no secrets are hid,' that in advising and promoting the measures of 1829 I was swayed by no fear except the fear of public

calamity, and that I acted throughout on a deep conviction that those measures were not only conducive to the general welfare, but that they had become imperatively necessary in order to avert from interests which had a special claim upon my support—the interests of the church and of institutions connected with the church—an imminent and increasing danger."

The Catholic Relief Bill received the royal assent on the 13th of April. Lord Eldon at two previous audiences of George IV had urged him to refuse the royal assent. The king, who was a great actor, not only in the power of mimicry which he possessed, but in exhibiting a well-feigned passion, deceived his ex-chancellor into the belief that his old master would peril everything, even his throne, by this obsolete exercise of the royal prerogative. Dangerous, almost infatuated, as was this advice of Lord Eldon, we cannot doubt his sincerity; we cannot believe that any corrupt motive, or even any personal ambition, prompted his interference to avert what he believed would be a great political evil. He distrusted the Roman Catholics, not from a blind adherence to a worn-out bigotry, but from a reliance upon that unstatesmanlike caution which could not look beyond a dark present into a brighter future. Happily, he had to deal with a sovereign of different character than he who compelled Pitt—in the fear that he might drive the king into insanity—to lay aside the implied pledges of the union, and thus to make the legislature equivocate for thirty years with the just expectations of disappointed millions. A few childish lamentations, and there would be an end of the opposition of George IV to the resolve of his ministry. He would go to Hanover—he would return no more to England—let them get a Catholic king in Clarence—were his ejaculations at the interview of the 9th of April. On the 14th Lord Eldon wrote to his daughter: "The fatal bill received the royal assent yesterday afternoon. After all I had heard in my visits not a day's delay."

O'CONNELL'S SECOND RETURN FOR CLARE (1829 A.D.)

About a month after the passing of the bill Mr. O'Connell was introduced to the house of commons for the purpose of taking his seat for Clare. A petition against his return had been referred to a committee, who declared that he was duly returned. Mr. O'Connell had been elected before the passing of the new act, and the clerk of the house accordingly tendered to him the oath of supremacy which was required to be taken under the old law. This oath Mr. O'Connell refused to take, claiming to take the oath set forth in the Relief Act. He was the next day heard at the bar. His courtesy, his moderation, his legal knowledge, surprised the house, and called forth the approving voices of the great law officers who had opposed his claim at once to take his seat. Upon a division a new writ was ordered for Clare. A large subscription was entered into for securing Mr. O'Connell's second return, which took place on the 30th of July. His violence at that election was a painful and disgusting contrast to his assumed gentleness at the bar of the house of commons. His unmeasured words almost induced a general apprehension that the great measure of Catholic emancipation had been too readily yielded to that sense of an overwhelming necessity which had converted opposing statesmen into its responsible promoters.

The parliament was prorogued on the 24th of June. The landowners when they returned to their country mansions did not find happy faces amidst either tenants or labourers. The summer and autumn were wet and cold; the harvest was protracted; the crops were ill got in, and were hurried

to market. They were found to be of inferior quality, and prices suffered temporarily a great depression. Then came the severest winter since 1813–1814. Parliament met on the 4th of February, 1830. The king's speech lamented that notwithstanding the indication of active commerce afforded by increased exports, distress should prevail amongst the agricultural and manufacturing classes. One effectual mode of mitigating the pressure upon industrial capital was announced in the intention to propose a considerable reduction in the amount of public expenditure. The promise was realised. The chancellor of the exchequer proposed, on the 15th of March, the total remission of the excise duties on beer, cider, and leather. Increased duties on spirits were to supply a portion of the deficiency. The propositions of the government were finally agreed to.

DEATH OF GEORGE IV (1830 A.D.)

On the 24th of May a message was sent to both houses of parliament by the king, announcing his illness and stating the inconvenience of signing public instruments with his own hand. A bill was introduced for the appointment of commissioners to affix the king's sign-manual by a stamp, in the king's presence, and by his immediate order given by word of mouth. The bill received the royal assent on the 29th of May. On the 26th of June, at three o'clock in the morning, King George IV expired at Windsor castle. It is difficult to look back upon the career of this prince, whose sovereignty either as regent or king formed one of the most important eras in the annals of the country, without feeling how much his life had been one of great opportunities wasted and of natural powers perverted; how the circumstances by which he had been surrounded from his youth were almost wholly injurious to his character and his happiness. Succeeding generations—in some degree by the force of contrast—have come to look very severely upon the faults of this erring brother. They were painfully visited upon him by the absence of all domestic happiness, by the feeling that he was not beloved or respected by the people he was appointed to rule over. The duke of Wellington has given a character of the monarch who held in dread the great captain's strong sense and inflexible resolution. "He was indeed," said the duke, "the most extraordinary compound of talent, wit, buffoonery, obstinacy, and good feeling—in short, a medley of the most opposite qualities, with a great preponderance of good—that I ever saw in any character in my life." [h]





CHAPTER III

WILLIAM IV AND THE REFORM BILL

[1830–1837 A.D.]

> The end was already approaching. King and queen sat sullenly apart in their palace. Peer and country gentleman moodily awaited the ruin of their country and the destruction of their property. Fanaticism still raved at the wickedness of a people; the people, clamouring for work, still succumbed before the mysterious disease which was continually claiming more and more victims. But the nation cared not for the sullenness of the court, the forebodings of the landed classes, the ravings of the pulpit, or even the mysterious operations of a new plague. The deep gloom which had overshadowed the land had been relieved by one single ray. The victory had been won. The bill had become law.—WALPOLE.[k]

UPON the death of George IV, on the 26th of June, 1830, William Henry, duke of Clarence, was forthwith proclaimed king by the title of William IV. No immediate alteration took place in the government, his majesty signifying to the duke of Wellington and the ministers of his cabinet that he was anxious to retain their services. A portion of the whigs had been for some time contemplating a coalition with the Wellington and Peel party; but their advances were not met half way, and the whigs more resolutely than before took up the cry for a reform in parliament.

On Friday, the 23d of July, his majesty went in state to the house of lords and, after a most gracious speech, prorogued parliament. The necessary dissolution was made next day by proclamation; and writs were ordered for the election of a new parliament, to be returnable on the 14th of September.

On the 8th of September the coronation of the king, by the title of William IV, was solemnised in the ancient abbey of Westminster; and even on this occasion the change of times and fashions as well as sovereigns was marked in the event. In the coronation of George IV, who was eminently a king of shows and pageants, not an iota of the old feudal observances, whether chivalrous or mediæval, had been omitted, and according as the minds of the spectators had been affected, it was the most august and splendid of exhibitions,

or the most useless and ridiculous of imitations or caricatures. On the present occasion, it was an observance suited to the more refined spirit of the times and the serious importance of the occasion. It was mainly a solemn religious service, confined to the interior of the building; and the chief procession was that of the state carriages which conveyed William and his queen Adelaide from St. James's palace to the abbey. William was dressed in his naval uniform, the sight of which warmed the hearts of his subjects as the appropriate token of our naval supremacy, and the joyful cry that rang from street to street, as he moved along, was, "God bless our sailor-king!"

It was under circumstances of gloom and anxiety that the new parliament assembled on the 26th of October. The king opened the session in person. In his speech he alluded to the events which had occurred on the Continent; to the continuance of his diplomatic relations with the new French dynasty; to the endeavours which, in concert with his allies, he was making to restore tranquillity to the Netherlands; and to the expediency of maintaining those general treaties by which the political system of Europe had been established. The usual addresses were carried in both houses, though not without very evident signs of a vigorous opposition to ministers. The rallying cry was "parliamentary reform," or "parliamentary reform and retrenchment." The duke of Wellington resolutely declared that he would grant no reform—that no reform was necessary—that the constitution would be spoiled if an attempt were made to amend it. In replying to Earl Grey, he said that he would not hesitate unequivocally to declare his opinion that we possessed a legislature which answered all good purposes, better than any which had been ever tried; and that if he had to frame a legislature for another country, his aim would be to form one which would produce similar results: under such circumstances, he was not only unprepared to bring forward any measure of reform, but ready at once to declare that, so long as he held a station in the government, he should feel it his duty to resist any such measures when proposed by others. In the commons, Mr. Brougham brought forward the question of reform even before the address was moved. He reprobated the report that he was desirous of introducing a radical, sweeping innovation. This report was utterly devoid of truth. He for one was resolved to take his stand on the ancient ways of the constitution.

The king and queen had promised to honour the lord mayor's feast at Guildhall with their presence. The citizens had made magnificent preparations for their reception. Late on the evening of the 7th of November the lord mayor received a note from the home secretary (Mr. Peel), stating that his majesty had resolved, by the advice of his ministers, to postpone his visit to the city to a future opportunity, because, from information recently received, "there was reason to apprehend that, notwithstanding the devoted loyalty and affection borne to his majesty by the citizens of London, advantage would be taken of an occasion which must necessarily assemble a vast number of persons by night to produce tumult and confusion, and thereby to endanger the properties and lives of his majesty's subjects; and it would be a source of deep and lasting concern to their majesties were any calamity to occur on the occasion of their visit to the city of London." This announcement filled the metropolis with doubt and alarm. Men believed that some atrocious conspiracy against the royal person had been discovered, or that the poorer classes had organised a revolution. The funds fell, and in the provinces it was pretty generally expected that the next mail would bring intelligence that London was in a state of insurrection. By the advice of ministers the proposed visit of the king was abandoned.

The most was made of the event by the opposition in parliament. It was laid to the account of ministers that his majesty could not meet his faithful commons of London without fear and riot. It was urged that the exceeding unpopularity of the duke of Wellington had been the cause of so shameful an occurrence; and that that excessive unpopularity had been caused by the fatal declaration of the duke against every species of reform. It was asked whether the duke did not now feel that he had quitted his own proper sphere of greatness; whether a ministry so unpopular could hope to stand.

On the 15th of November Sir Henry Parnell moved for a select committee to make a thorough revision of the civil list. The debate was a short one. On the division there appeared a majority of twenty-nine against ministers, the numbers being 233 to 204. Next day the duke of Wellington in the lords, and Sir Robert Peel in the commons, announced that, in consequence of the vote of the preceding evening, they had tendered, and his majesty had accepted, their resignations, and that they continued to hold their offices only until successors should be appointed. They afterwards declared that they had come to this resolution, not so much on account of the civil-list vote, as from an anticipation of the result of a division on Mr. Brougham's proposition for reform, which stood for the very day on which the announcement was made.

EARL GREY FORMS A MINISTRY (1830 A.D.)

The tories and anti-emancipationists had lent their votes to displace the duke of Wellington, but by themselves they were not strong enough to entertain any hope of setting up a cabinet of their own. The Canning party were far asunder from them, some of them being all for the duke, and some for reform. The king had no choice. He could only take the whigs. Accordingly he authorised Earl Grey to form a new administration. The earl accepted the office, on condition that he should have his majesty's authority to make parliamentary reform a cabinet measure. In the course of a week the new government was put together: it contained a considerable admixture of those who had been adherents of Mr. Canning and Mr. Huskisson. Earl Grey was first lord of the treasury; Mr. Brougham, lord chancellor; Lord Althorp, chancellor of the exchequer; Lord Melbourne, home secretary; Lord Palmerston, foreign secretary; Lord Goderich, colonial secretary; Sir James Graham, first lord of the admiralty; Marquis of Lansdowne, president of the council; Lord Durham, lord privy-seal; Lord Hill, commander-in-chief; Lord Auckland, president of the board of trade; Mr. C. Grant, president of the board of control; Lord Holland, duchy of Lancaster; the duke of Devonshire, lord chamberlain; the duke of Richmond, postmaster-general; Lord John Russell, paymaster of the forces; the Right Hon. C. W. Wynne, secretary for war, etc. Mr. Denman became attorney-general; Sir William Horne, solicitor-general. The marquis of Anglesey was again appointed lord lieutenant for Ireland. There was a suspension of business in parliament till the new members should be re-elected. Mr. Stanley, the new chief secretary for Ireland, encountered a mortifying defeat at Preston, where the right of suffrage was almost universal. He was opposed by orator Hunt; and by that demagogue, aided by radical reform, the heir of the house of Derby, a member of the new whig ministry, and the representative of temperate and moderate reform, was completely beaten.

During the remainder of the year no business of importance was transacted, except the passing of a regency bill. This bill provided that, in the event of a posthumous child of the present queen, her majesty should be guardian and

regent during the minority. If no such event should occur, the duchess of Kent was to be guardian and regent during the minority of her daughter, the princess Victoria, the heiress presumptive. The princess Victoria was not to marry, while a minor, without the consent of the king, or, if he died, without the consent of both houses of parliament; and the regency of the duchess of Kent was to be at an end if, while regent, she married a foreigner.

On the 23rd of December parliament adjourned to the 3rd of February, ministers having declared that a long adjournment was necessary, in order that they might have time to prepare the different measures which they intended to submit, and more especially to concoct that plan of reform to which they had pledged themselves on accepting office, and by which alone they could hope to retain it.

In the course of this eventful year there came into operation in England a change far more important than all the political mutations on the Continent put together. The first great railway with locomotive engines—that between Liverpool and Manchester—was finished and opened; and the triumphant success of the experiment led directly to the construction of far more extensive lines. Unhappily the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway was clouded by the lamentable death of Mr. Huskisson, one of the members for Liverpool, who had accompanied the duke of Wellington to the celebration.

Before the close of 1830 the demand for parliamentary reform had assumed a new character and aspect. It was no longer the mere war-cry of a political party, that could be silenced by contradictions or trivial concessions. It was no longer limited to the disfranchisement of a few close or corrupt boroughs, and the transference of the forfeited suffrage to certain towns and communities that were still unrepresented. Neither could it be postponed, as had hitherto been the case, to a convenient season, when circumstances would be more favourable for change, and the public mind in a more tranquil state for its accomplishment. It was to be upon a scale so ample, that instead of being a political step in advance, which the contention of parties might favour or retard, it was to be a national revolution; and not only was it to be granted by wholesale, instead of instalments, but granted immediately—upon the instant. Never indeed was the "omnipotence" of parliament so devoutly believed in as now for the cure of every national evil, and in proportion to the extravagance of such a hope, was the loudness and universality of the outcry.

PLANS FOR PARLIAMENTARY REFORM

On the 3rd of February, the appointed day, parliament reassembled, and Earl Grey in the lords, and Viscount Althorp in the commons, announced that a plan of parliamentary reform had been agreed to by ministers, and would be introduced at as early a period as possible. It was not, however, until the 1st of March that the plan was introduced in the commons by Lord John Russell. The plan, we believe, had been altered and realtered during the interval. Lord John Russell now declared that ministers discarded the notion of complying with violent and extravagant demands. Their wish was to frame a measure which would give satisfaction to every reasonable man in the country: they wished to take their stand between two hostile parties, neither agreeing with the bigots on the one hand that no reform was necessary, nor agreeing with the fanatics on the other that only one particular reform could be wholesome and satisfactory.

The leading principles of the ministerial plan consisted, first, of disfranchisement of small places which had hitherto sent members to parliament,

and of enfranchisement of large towns and cities which had hitherto been unrepresented: of an extension of the franchise, in order to increase the number of electors in those places which were allowed to retain, in whole or in part, their existing privileges. All voters were to be duly registered—an excellent regulation. In order to diminish the expenses of elections, as well as opportunities for bribery, drunkenness, and corruption of all kinds, the duration of the poll was to be diminished, and that for counties to be taken simultaneously at different places. The good which has proceeded from this regulation is indisputable and great. Lord John Russell said that the general result of the measure would be to create a new constituency of about 500,000; for the increase in counties would be about 100,000, that in towns already represented about 110,000, that in the new boroughs 50,000, that in London 95,000, that in Scotland 60,000, and that in Ireland about 40,000. His lordship declared himself against short parliaments and vote by ballot, and concluded by requesting leave to bring in his bill.

This motion brought on a debate which lasted seven nights, and which called up more than seventy orators. The opponents of it said that the whole essence of the scheme was not reform but revolution; that the measure proposed nothing less than to remove from the house of commons every alloy of monarchical or aristocratical principle, and convert it into a pure and resistless democracy, which it never had been, and which, consistently with the British constitution, it never ought to be. This new constitution rested on some supposed necessity for increasing the power of the people; but the power of the people was already strong enough: the true danger to be dreaded in this mixed government arose from the influence of the people, and not from the influence of the crown or of the aristocracy. Was it intended to convert these kingdoms into an unrestricted democracy? Were ministers prepared to say that a mob could govern a mob? There was a variety of interests connected with the country which required to be represented in parliament, and were now represented by means of the boroughs (called rotten) that were to be disfranchised by this bill. If they were so disfranchised, the representation of those interests would be annihilated. Mr. Horace Twiss said he had no objection to any increase of the representation of great trading interests; but he could not see the policy of calling in the wisdom of householders paying £10 of rent. The measure would let in no great interests: it would promote the influence of shopkeepers and country attorneys. The leader of the country club would now be the important man in his district, and these interests, however respectable in their way, were not the interests which required additional representation. They were interests which would be represented under the proposed change, by those shallow but dogged politicians with whom relief from taxation was everything, and public credit and national faith nothing—by whom rent and tithe were regarded as vile incumbrances. And when half the constitution had thus been surrendered, would the violent reformers be satisfied? They themselves had avowed that they would not; and that, having obtained so much, they would, at a convenient time, demand more. It was not this parliamentary reform that could reduce the present expenditure or pay off the debts of the past. Numerous references were made to the French Revolution and to the imitations of it in other parts of Europe. The promoters of the bill more than hinted that the reformers would try a revolution in England, if they were not pacified by this measure; the opposers of the bill denied that there was any such fear—denied that the measure would satisfy the radicals. There was a better security than the moderation or timidity of the radicals for the preservation of order. The widely spread

industry of the country, the stored-up savings even of the lower orders, the dividends of the public stocks, were solid grounds for confidence in the security of the institutions of the country. The very burdens of the country formed some sort of security for its tranquillity and welfare. The superincumbent weight of the national debt, while it pressed, gave stability. There would be no revolution to fear nor any permanent dissatisfaction to dread. But if we decided on this great question, not according to experience and wisdom, but according to the cry of the day, then we should let in danger, then we should let in revolution, by teaching the people that their impatient will alone could control the course of the legislature. The opponents of the bill, however, permitted this long contest to terminate without a division: and Lord John Russell's bill was brought in, and ordered to be read a first time. Ministers afterwards admitted that if a division had now taken place, they would, according to their calculation, have been left in a minority. But the opposition did not form a combined body; it had no regular plan of operations, and it was guided by no great leader.

On the 21st of March the second reading of the bill was moved in the commons. The debate lasted two days. It was opened by Sir R. Vyvyan, who moved, as an amendment, that the bill should be read a second time that day six months. At the division there were, including the speaker and the four tellers, 603 members present, the largest number that had ever divided on any question in that house. Of these 302 were for the original motion, and 301 for the amendment; the second reading being thus carried by a majority of one.

On the 18th of April Lord John Russell moved the order of the day for a committee of the whole house, when General Gascoyne immediately endeavoured to get rid of the bill by a motion for counteracting one of its essential clauses, respecting the proposed diminution of the number of representatives for England and Wales. This motion led to a violent debate, ending in a division on the following night, which left ministers in a minority of eight.

Two days after this division, or on the 21st of April, Lord Wharncliffe in the upper house asked Earl Grey whether ministers had advised his majesty to dissolve this parliament, which had not yet existed quite six months. He put the question, he said, because, if he received a certain answer, it was his intention to adopt some measure in relation to that subject. Earl Grey replied that he declined answering the question. Lord Wharncliffe then gave notice that he would next day move an address to the king, praying that his majesty would be graciously pleased not to exercise his own undoubted prerogative of dissolving parliament. On the same day Sir R. Vyvyan asked ministers in the commons whether they intended to proceed with the reform bill, or to advise his majesty to dissolve parliament, because the house of commons would not consent to reduce the number of English members. The chancellor of the exchequer, Lord Althorp, replied, that he had no hesitation in answering one of the questions, or in saying that ministers, having considered the necessary consequence of the division of the House on the bill the other evening, it was not their intention to proceed further with the bill. It would not be consistent with his duty to answer the second question. On the 22nd, which was the very day after the question was put by Lord Wharncliffe and Sir R. Vyvyan, there was a great ferment in both houses, for the rumour had been spread in the course of the day that king and ministers had made up their mind for dissolution. In the lords the ferment became a storm, a tempest. The order of the day was Lord Wharncliffe's motion for an address to his majesty against the dissolution. His lordship had uttered

only a few words, when the duke of Richmond, postmaster-general in this recently seated ministry, rose to complain that all the peers were not sitting in their proper places, as was usual on such occasions. Some expressions of dissent being uttered, his grace of Richmond insisted that the standing order should be enforced—that their lordships should keep their places, and that persons present who were not members of that house should be ordered to withdraw. Noise and confusion ensued, and the marquis of Londonderry was heard to say that ministers were taking the crown off the king's head. The duke of Richmond would then move another standing order—that against the use of improper language. The marquis of Londonderry denied that any offensive language had been used, "though the noble duke seemed to think himself the hero of this *coup d'état*, and to be able to smother the expression of their lordships' sentiments on this most extraordinary occasion."

Lord Wharncliffe being allowed to proceed, hurriedly moved: "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, humbly to represent that we, his majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal, etc., think ourselves bound in duty humbly to represent to his majesty that alarming reports of an intended dissolution of parliament have gone forth; that, dutifully acknowledging the wisdom of the constitution in trusting to the crown that just and legal prerogative, and fully confiding in his majesty's royal wisdom and paternal care of his people for the most beneficial exercise of it, we desire with great humility to represent to his majesty that it appears to us that a prorogation or dissolution of parliament at the present juncture, and under the present excitement of the public mind both in Great Britain and Ireland, is likely to be attended with great danger to his majesty's crown and dignity, and to every institution of the state, by preventing that calm and deliberate consideration of any question tending to the reform of the representation of the people which the importance of that subject so especially requires." Lord Shaftesbury being called to the woolsack, amidst great excitement and discordant noises, succeeded in restoring some degree of order. Lord Mansfield then addressed the house. Such a scene as this, he said, he had never before witnessed in that house, and he hoped never to see anything like it again. He would use no intemperate language, but he would nevertheless assert, as far as God Almighty gave him the means of understanding, that the crown and the country were now about to be placed in a most awful predicament, unparalleled at any previous period.

PARLIAMENT DISSOLVED (1831 A.D.)

Lord Mansfield was yet speaking when the king entered the house and put an end to all discussion. The house of commons having been summoned, his majesty prorogued parliament with a speech in which he said the prorogation was with a view to immediate dissolution, and that he had been induced to resort to this measure for the purpose of ascertaining the sense of his people, in the way in which it could be most constitutionally expressed, on the expediency of making such changes in the representation as circumstances might appear to require. The speech also thanked the commons for the supplies which they had voted. Next day came forth the proclamation announcing a dissolution and directing a new election. The writs were made returnable on the 14th of June.

The dissolution was celebrated in many places by illuminations. The lord mayor authorised an illumination of the city of London. At the West End a rabble vented their fury on the houses or windows of several peers and com-

moners, because they had opposed the Reform Bill. Among the windows which suffered most were those of the duke of Wellington and Mr. Baring. "In political disputes, to place candles in windows is no proof of political opinion or of anything else except a prudent desire to avoid the outrages of a mob; but these illuminations were made use of by the reformers to keep up their incessant cry that the inhabitants of the country, from one end to another, were animated by one universal feeling of enthusiasm for the Reform Bill, and for the act which got rid of a parliament that would never have passed it."

THE NEW PARLIAMENT REJECTS THE REFORM BILL (1831 A.D.)

After an amount and universality of rioting, that shook the island to its extremities, the election for the new parliament was completed. It was as thoroughly pledged to reform as the most sanguine of the expectants could desire; and from the test that had been established for the candidates when they presented themselves for the suffrage, and the promises exacted from them, the chosen members were styled by their opponents a company of pledged delegates, and no true house of commons. Only six out of eighty-two county members were opposed to the bill. London returned four reforming members, and Yorkshire the same number. On the 14th of June the parliament was opened by commission, and Mr. Manners Sutton was re-elected speaker without opposition; but a whole week was occupied with swearing in the members, so that the session was not opened by his majesty in person until the 21st. The first subject in the royal speech was that of reform, to which the attention of both houses was earnestly called, and the confident hope was expressed that in their measures for its adjustment they would "carefully adhere to the acknowledged principles of the constitution, by which the prerogative of the crown, the authority of both houses of parliament, and the rights and liberties of the people are equally secured." It expressed the confident hope that peace would be maintained by England, notwithstanding the civil commotions which had disturbed some parts of Europe and the contests that were existing in Poland. It stated that a British squadron had been sent before Lisbon with a peremptory demand of satisfaction for a series of insults and injuries; that a prompt compliance with that demand had prevented the necessity of further measures, but that his majesty had not yet been enabled to re-establish his diplomatic relations with the Portuguese government. The only dismal parts of the speech were those which referred to the spread in Europe of the cholera, to the scarcity and famine which prevailed in the western counties of Ireland, and to the system of violence and outrage which had for some time been carried on to an alarming extent in that country. As the king returned to St. James's palace he was vociferously applauded by the people as "the patriot king," "the sailor king," "the best king that had ever been."

In both houses the government was severely blamed for not acting with proper vigour in suppressing the disgraceful riotous proceedings at the late illuminations. The addresses were agreed to without any useless division. And then to the Reform Bill!

On the 24th of June Lord John Russell again brought forward that bill, admitting that there had been some slight alterations made in it, and insisting that all such alterations were improvements. Sir Robert Peel professed his unaltered sentiments in opposition to the measure. The first reading was allowed to pass, but at Sir Robert's suggestion the second reading was postponed from the 30th of June to the 4th of July. The alterations which had

been made in the bill went rather to enlarge than to limit the number of electors.

On the 4th of July, when the second reading was proposed, Sir John Walsh moved as an amendment that the bill should be read a second time that day six months. The debate, prolonged to very late hours, was continued during the 5th and 6th. At the end the division showed a majority of 136 in favour of ministers; the votes for the second reading being 367, and those for the amendment 231. Other efforts were made to obstruct the passage of the bill into committee, and five distinct motions for adjournment were made and defeated. In committee the bill was discussed clause by clause from the 12th of July to the 15th of September, when it was ordered to be engrossed. On the 19th of September Lord John Russell moved the third reading, and was backed by 113 against 58. After two more days of debate on the question "that the bill do pass," ministers carried their point by 345 against 236. Next day, the 22nd of September, the bill was carried up to the lords by Lord John Russell, attended by about one hundred of its stanch supporters in the lower house. The bill was then read a first time on the motion of Earl Grey, without any remark being made, and was directed to be read a second time on the 3rd of October.

When that day had arrived, after the presentation of numerous petitions in favour of the bill, Earl Grey moved the second reading. His speech on this occasion was chiefly remarkable by an appeal to the bench of bishops. He said, as they were the ministers of peace, he did most earnestly hope that the result of their votes would be such as might tend to the tranquillity and happiness of the country. And this was a species of intimidation; for, in other words, it was telling the prelates that if they voted against the Reform Bill, the tranquillity and happiness of the country would be put in peril. Lord Wharncliffe again declared that the bill would destroy the constitution by giving too great power to a most democratically constituted house of commons. A popular or rather delegated house of commons had passed this measure, and now the upper house was told that it had nothing to do but to record and register it. His lordship concluded by moving "that the bill be rejected"; but on being reminded that this mode of proceeding implied disrespect towards the lower house, Lord Wharncliffe withdrew his motion for another, "that the second reading be postponed to that day six months." The lords then adjourned. On the next day the principal speakers were, for the bill Viscount Melbourne, and against it Lord Harrowby and the duke of Wellington. The debate was again adjourned, to be renewed on the morrow. Lord Dudley and Ward, the marquis of Londonderry, lords Wynford and Eldon, argued against the whole bill with great force and with equal excitement. Lord Chancellor Brougham concluded a speech of four hours' duration, by conjuring their lordships to pass the bill, as the only means of preserving tranquillity. "As your friend," said he, "as the friend of my country, as the servant of my sovereign, I counsel you to assist us in preserving the national peace and perpetuating the national prosperity. For these reasons I pray and beseech you not to reject this bill! I call on you by all you hold most dear, by all that binds every one of us to our common country —I solemnly adjure you, yea, even on bended knees, my lords [here the chancellor bent his knee on the woolsack], I implore you not to reject this bill!" Their lordships, however, at six o'clock on the following morning did reject the bill by a clear majority of forty-one.[c]

Lord Eldon[d] rejoices, in a letter of the next day, that the mob would not stay for the close of the debate. Their patience during a cold and drizzling

night of waiting in Palace Yard had been worn out; and when the peers came forth there were none to salute them with cheers or hisses. The rolling of the carriages alone was heard, as reformers or conservatives, in the broad daylight, went to their homes as quietly as if a whole nation had not been anxiously awaiting that morning to know how the great work was so far concluded.

The rejection of the Reform Bill by the house of lords was not unforeseen. The disproportion of the two parties in that house was perfectly well known. During the reigns of George III and George IV, the creation of peers had been almost exclusively confined to the tory party;—the bishops had, with very few exceptions, been selected with no forgetfulness of their political opinions. To remedy, in some degree, this disproportion, sixteen new peers had been created before the second reading of the bill. Lord Grey, in moving that reading, had addressed to the bishops a very significant warning "to put their house in order." Many of the peers had refrained from voting; but on the 7th of October the bishops were on their bench in strong numbers; and, of thirteen present, twelve voted against the bill, nine others sending their proxies for the same object in defeating the measure which had so triumphantly passed the house of commons. The great contest was yet, however, to be fought out in another campaign. The lords had gone from the house on the Saturday morning, after such a night of excitement and fatigue as few had before encountered. On the following Monday Lord Ebrington, member for Devonshire, moved in the house of commons a resolution to the effect that the house, lamenting the present fate of the bill for amending the representation, feels itself called upon to reassert its firm adherence to the principle and leading provisions of that great measure, and to express its unabated confidence in the integrity, perseverance, and ability of those ministers who, in introducing and conducting it, had so well consulted the best interests of the country. The resolution was carried by 329 votes to 198. The public enthusiasm gave a hearty assent to the principle urged on that occasion by Mr. Macaulay, when he asked, "ought we to abandon the bill merely because the lords have rejected it? We ought to respect the lawful privileges of their house, but we ought also to assert our own." Riot and outrage at Derby, and at Nottingham the burning of the castle by a frantic mob, clouded for a time the hope which all honest reformers entertained that reason and justice should alone prevail. The saddest, however, could relish the wit, which, however pungent, was like oil upon the waves. "Mrs. Partington" became famous throughout the land. "As for the possibility of the house of lords preventing ere long a reform of parliament," said Sydney Smith,[e] "I hold it to be the most absurd notion that ever entered into human imagination. I do not mean to be disrespectful, but the attempt of the lords to stop the progress of reform reminds me very forcibly of the great storm of Sidmouth, and of the conduct of the excellent Mrs. Partington on that occasion. In the winter of 1824 there set in a great flood upon that town—the tide rose to an incredible height—the waves rushed in upon the houses, and everything was threatened with destruction. In the midst of this sublime and terrible storm, Dame Partington, who lived upon the beach, was seen at the door of her house with mop and pattens, trundling her mop, squeezing out the sea-water, and vigorously pushing away the Atlantic Ocean. The Atlantic was roused. Mrs. Partington's spirit was up; but I need not tell you that the contest was unequal. The Atlantic Ocean beat Mrs. Partington. She was excellent at a slop, or a puddle, but she should not have meddled with a tempest. Gentlemen, be at your ease—be quiet and steady. You will beat Mrs. Partington."

PARLIAMENT PROROGUED; NATIONAL EXCITEMENT (1831 A.D.)

The ministry stood firm, although they were taunted with their continuance in power after they had found themselves opposed by such a majority in the house of lords as no minister had ever encountered a second time. There was no wavering in the king. He went to the house of peers on the 20th of October; and having given the royal assent to Lord Brougham's Bankruptcy Court Bill, amongst other bills, he prorogued the parliament, stating that its attention must necessarily be called upon at the opening of the ensuing session to the important question of a constitutional reform in the commons house of parliament.

It is impossible to look back at the interval between the prorogation of parliament on the 20th of October, 1831, and the conclusion of the labours of the last unreformed parliament on the 16th of August, 1832, without a sense of relief in feeling that the country had passed without permanent damage through a crisis of unexampled danger. The times were truly alarming. Nevertheless, during the great political conflict of seven months—during the terrific outbreak of a knot of miscreants at Bristol, the occasional violence of the mob in London, the partial outrages of the peasantry of the southern counties, the terrors of a new and frightful disease for which no medical authority could prescribe a satisfactory treatment and which no public regulation could arrest—the political excitement was so great and universal that, like combatants on a field of battle, the energy of the hour was sufficient to repress, whether amongst reformers or anti-reformers, any sentiment of fear that would have amounted to a panic. The nation, whether ranged on one side or the other, had never been so much in earnest since the days of the Long Parliament. It is true that the popular cause could number its supporters by thousands, whilst those on the other side might be counted by hundreds. But the leaders of the hundreds believed that they had everything to lose, and they not only fought with desperation themselves, but were cheered on by a most zealous following, who sincerely dreaded that the end of all government and the destruction of all property were close at hand. There were everywhere wrong-headed men in popular assemblies ranting about the unequal distribution of wealth; pretended teachers of political economy proclaiming the tyranny of capital, and showing how easily a change might be made by which the labourers, without any intervention, might till the fields and work the looms. Some more modestly proposed that at the death of any member of the community his widow and children should have no exclusive claim; and that all his property should be divided amongst every member of society of adult age. The absurdities that hung around every scheme for the "division of property" neutralised their possible effect upon the great body of mechanics, who were not without some means of instruction that had been placed within their reach. There was another class more open to dangerous advice, and more incapable of weighing the probable consequences of lawless acts.

The labourers in husbandry had been often told that they had a claim upon a much higher rate of allowance from the poor's-rates, whilst at this very time the enormous pressure of those rates was driving the land even of whole parishes out of cultivation. The labourers believed, as they had been long encouraged by magistrates to believe, that the parish was bound to find work and pay wherever there was no profitable work to be done. The "*Organisation du Travail*" of the French political philosophers in 1848 was not

an original invention. In England we had not the national workshop, but we had the parish gravel-pit. The gravel-pit lowered the wages of all agricultural labour, by confounding the distinctions between industry and idleness, between strength and weakness, between dexterity and clumsiness. All the moral qualifications that made one labourer more valuable than another were utterly broken down. And so, when the weekly pittance for unprofitable labour was doled out by the overseer of the poor—when the farmer equalised the rate of wages by reducing his ploughman and carter almost to the level of the gravel diggers, and sent their wives to the overseers to make up by allowance the just payment of which they were defrauded—the peasantry took to burning ricks and breaking machines. The machine breaking was intelligible. Machines were held to be substitutes for manual labour, and thus to diminish profitable employment. But the rick burning: How could arson be a relief for hunger? The destruction of food raised the price of food. The excessive ignorance of the peasantry—the hateful isolation of their class from their employers—the neglect of the rich—made them apt listeners to the devilish promptings of some village Cade in the beer-shop. They had undoubted grievances, and we can scarcely wonder that paupers and poachers became rick burners and machine breakers, in the belief that those above them in rank were in a conspiracy to oppress them. The southern labourers knew nothing of the Reform Bill, and cared nothing. They thought only of the misery and neglect of their own unhappy lot. "Swing" was at work months before Lord Grey came into power—"Swing" was their one reform leader. They took their own course of proclaiming their wretchedness and their ignorance, to the terror and shame of those who had kept them ignorant, and passed them by in the haughty indifference which regarded a peasant and a slave as something near akin—"slaves in ignorance," as Arnold[f] said, "without having them chained and watched to prevent them hurting us." The jail and the gallows seemed the only remedies when property became unsafe—

> "The blind mole casts
> Copp'd hills toward heaven, to tell, the earth is throng'd
> By man's oppression, and the poor worm doth die for 't."

In the same state of ignorance, especially of political ignorance, as the southern peasantry, but not with equal provocation for their outrages, were the dregs of the people who broke open the city jail at Derby and set the prisoners at liberty, and those who burned down Nottingham castle. More entirely distinct, even than the agricultural labourers, from those who cherished any over-zealous aspirations for an amended representation of the people, were those who formed the mass of rioters at Bristol. There, an insignificant mob of the merest outcasts of a seaport long remarkable for a filthy, ignorant, and drunken horde of labourers of the lowest class—many of the so-called workers habitual thieves—held during a Saturday afternoon, and the whole Sunday till daybreak on Monday, the lives and property of the inhabitants of one of the great cities of the empire at the mercy of their reckless brutality.

The Bristol Riots (1831 A.D.)

Sir Charles Wetherell had been amongst the most determined opponents of the Reform Bill during its passage through the house of commons. He was recorder of Bristol, and being a man of as much eccentricity as talent, he

disregarded the warnings which were given him, that it might be more prudent to open the city sessions on the 29th of October without any public entry. Recorders nowadays go more modestly about their business; but Sir Charles Wetherell determined to have a procession. A large number of influential inhabitants, whether as political supporters or to maintain the dignity of his judicial function, formed a great cavalcade around the sheriff's carriage in which the recorder was to enter the city. He reached the Guildhall amidst the hisses of the populace, but with no injury from the few stones that were thrown at his carriage. There was some confusion in the hall during the opening of the commission; but the preliminary business having been gone through, and the court adjourned till Monday morning, the recorder retired, the people giving three cheers for the king. Sir Charles Wetherell took up his residence at the Mansion house. This, during the whole of the afternoon, was surrounded by a mob, upon which constables occasionally rushed to seize some prominent offender, boy or man, who manifested his spirit by hurling some missile at an irritated guardian of the peace. The evening came on; the mob of blackguards became more daring; colliers came in from the neighbouring pits to join the fun, and the Mansion house was attacked in a far more formidable manner than at the earlier hour in the afternoon; for the greater number of constables had left the rioters to their diversion, and had quietly gone away to seek refreshment. In the darkness of that autumnal night the windows of the chief magistrate's residence were shattered, the doors were forced, and preparations were made to set the Mansion house on fire. Sir Charles Wetherell during the tumult effected his retreat. The troops arrived, and arrested the conflagration. The soldiers were cheered as they trotted their horses backward and forward; the commander of the district, Colonel Brereton, exhorted the mob to peace, but he did not effectually clear the streets. The ragged populace were triumphant for that Saturday.

On the Sunday morning the consequences of a too humane lenity were signally exhibited. The troops had remained in the streets all night. On the Sunday morning, all being quiet, they retired to their quarters. The churches and chapels were filled as usual, without any apprehension of danger. A crowd was again collected before the Mansion house. They burst into the hall, and reaching the upper rooms threw the furniture into the street. They penetrated to the wine cellars, and carrying off the corporation stores of the choicest port, were soon lying upon pavements dead with drunkenness. The troops again came out, and the tumult now became a wide-wasting career of rapine and destruction. There was a little firing of the 14th light dragoons upon the mob, who assaulted them with brickbats. Still there was a belief that the worst had passed. The soldiers were then, for the most part, withdrawn from the city. The subsequent proceedings of the mob sufficiently indicated the class of persons of which it was composed. They beat in the doors of the bridewell with sledge-hammers, set free the prisoners, and fired the building. Another party conducted the same operations with equal success at the new borough jail. A third manifested their zeal for liberty by releasing all confined in the Gloucester county jail. There were to be no more prisons in Bristol. From these three places of confinement the flames were rising at one and the same time. Fire now became the great manifestation of the savagery which some dreaded, or pretended to dread, as the natural result of the reform agitation. The Mansion house was set on fire. The demoniacs ran from room to room, kindling the flames, and when the roof fell in, the progress of the conflagration had been so rapid that many were cut off from a retreat. The bishop's palace was reduced to ashes. The

custom-house followed. This building was near the Mansion house in Queen's square. Prisons and stately buildings were not the sole objects of this most causeless outbreak. There was no rallying-cry in the streets, such as that of "No popery" in 1780, and of "Church and king" in 1791. No voice was heard to exclaim "The bill." It was all mad fury without any possible object except plunder and the indulgence of the grossest sensuality. At three o'clock in the morning there were forty-two dwelling-houses and warehouses burning. Two sides of Queen's square, with the exception of two houses, were destroyed. The flames were lighting the ruffians who paraded the streets and, knocking at the doors of ale houses and liquor shops, were demanding "drink or blood." Their intoxication quelled the outrages even more effectually than the soldiery, who were now brought back into the city, and hesitated not to fire and charge, as they might have done far more advantageously had force been employed at the commencement of the outbreak. The outrages were at an end; not through this final act of tardy vigour by direction of the magistracy, but through the exhaustion of the handful of blackguards when the daylight showed the extent of the ruin which they had perpetrated.

THE REFORM BILL PASSED (1832 A.D.)

Parliament assembled on the 6th of December. In the king's speech, first of all was recommended a careful consideration of the measures to be proposed for the reform of parliament; a speedy and satisfactory settlement of the question becoming daily of more pressing importance to the security of the state and to the contentment and welfare of his majesty's people. On the 12th of December Lord John Russell introduced the new bill for parliamentary reform. It was in many respects really a new measure. The results of the census of April had been obtained. The census of 1821 had been found a fallacious guide as to what boroughs ought or ought not to be disfranchised. Taking the census of 1831 as the basis of the population test, the boundaries of towns, which had been carefully surveyed, were included in the boroughs of which they had previously formed no part. A mixed test of the importance of boroughs was to be determined by the number of persons, the number of houses, and the amount of assessed taxes paid. The disfranchised boroughs were still to be fifty-six, though the list of those to be placed in what was called Schedule A was materially varied from that formerly proposed. Schedule B, of boroughs to return only one member was now reduced from forty-one to thirty, whilst others which had formerly been in this schedule were to be taken out, and to return two members. These variations from the former scheme were rendered necessary chiefly by the determination of the government not to diminish the number of the house of commons, continuing the number as it then stood of 658. Some of the most ardent reformers thought that the bill was impaired by these alterations. Sir Robert Peel taunted the ministers with having adopted amendments offered from his side of the house, but nevertheless expressed his determination of giving to the principle of this bill a steady and firm opposition. On the second reading in the house of commons there was a debate of two nights, terminating on the morning of Sunday the 18th, when the ministerial majority was 162. Parliament was now adjourned to the 17th of January.

To follow the progress of the Reform Bill through the house of commons during the next two months would be impossible for us to attempt, even if the details of the conflict were less wearisome than they now would be when the interest of such a session of skirmishes is wholly lost in the result of the

great battle. The Scotch and Irish bills were brought in on the 19th of January. On the 20th the house went into committee on the English bill, which committee was not ended till the 10th of March, the report being considered on the 14th. On the 19th the third reading of the bill was moved. There was again a final debate, in which the combatants on each side were marshalled in as great numbers as on any previous occasion. In a house of 594 members the bill was passed by a majority of 116.

On Monday the 26th of March the Reform Bill was carried up to the house of lords, and was read a first time on that day. There was a general opinion that the bill would not pass unscathed through the upper house without a large creation of peers. On the 7th of January Sydney Smith wrote to the countess Grey that everybody expected a creation as a matter of course. "I am for forty, to make things safe in committee." It was impossible that Lord Grey should not have felt the most extreme reluctance to resort to so bold and hazardous a measure. Somewhat later Sydney Smith wrote: "If you wish to be happy three months hence, create peers. If you wish to avoid an old age of sorrow and reproach, create peers." Upon this letter of Sydney Smith, which was addressed to Lady Grey, the following note is written by herself: "Many of Lord Grey's friends, as represented by Mr. S. Smith, concurred in the opinions expressed in this letter, and the whole of the liberal press, the *Times* in particular, urged the necessity of creating peers." The debate was carried on for four nights, Lord Ellenborough having moved as an amendment that the bill be read that day six months. At seven o'clock in the morning of the 14th of April the bill was read a second time by a majority of 9—184 contents; 175 non-contents. There were votes for the bill from some who had been absent from the division in 1831; some who had voted against it now abstained from voting; 17 who had voted against the previous bill now voted for this bill. Jeffrey, who was present through the debate, described it as not very brilliant, but in its latter stage excessively interesting. Lyndhurst's, he said, was by far the cleverest and most dangerous speech against the government; Lord Grey's reply, considering his age and the time, really astonishing—he having spoken near an hour and a half after five o'clock, from the kindling dawn into full sunlight. Of the aspect of the house through that night the lord advocate has left a striking picture. The benches of the peers very full; their demeanour, on the whole, still and solemn; nearly three hundred members of the commons clustered in the space around the throne or standing in a row of three deep below the bar; the candles renewed before the blue beams of the day came across their red light, and blazing on after the sun came in at the high windows, producing a strange effect on the red draperies and dusky tapestries on the walls.

Parliament was adjourned for the Easter recess till the 7th of May. Although there might be some rejoicing at the majority for the second reading of the bill, the popular conviction was, that it was not safe from mutilations which would have materially changed its character. For three weeks there was incessant agitation, far more formidable than riot and window-breaking. Petitions from almost every populous place exhorted "King William, the father of his country," not to hesitate if a necessity should arise for creating peers. The petition from Birmingham to the lords implored them to pass the Reform Bill into a law unimpaired in any of its great parts and provisions. On the day appointed for the parliament to meet, the political unions of Warwick, Worcester, and Stafford were assembled in Birmingham, at New Hall hill. It was considered to be the largest meeting ever held in Great Britain. There was a solemnity in the enthusiasm of this vast body of

people which may awake the memory of the fervid zeal of the old Puritans. One of the speakers, Mr. Salt, called upon the vast multitude to repeat, with head uncovered, and in face of heaven, the words which he should repeat—and every man bared his head, and slowly uttered word by word this comprehensive resolve—"With unbroken faith through every peril and privation we here devote ourselves and our children to our country's cause." On that afternoon the house of lords went into committee on the Reform Bill. The first great principle of the measure was the disfranchising of the boroughs. Lord Lyndhurst moved that the first and second clauses of the bill be postponed. These were the disfranchising clauses; and the motion was carried against ministers by a majority of thirty-five. Lord Grey, on that Monday night, moved that the chairman of the committee should report progress, and ask leave to sit again on Thursday. His motion was carried. That interval of two days preceded a week of intense excitement, such as the country had not witnessed in any previous stages of this contest—such as had certainly not occurred in the memory of man—perhaps had not occurred since the revolution of 1688.

On the morning of the 8th of May the cabinet, not without some apprehensions of the ultimate consequences of such a proceeding, resolved upon asking the king to give his sanction to a large creation of peers. Lord Brougham[a] has recorded his doubts as to this step in the following words: "I had a strong feeling of the necessity of the case, in the very peculiar circumstances we were placed in; but such was my deep sense of the dreadful consequences of the act, that I much question whether I should not have preferred running the risk of confusion that attended the loss of the bill as it then stood, rather than expose the constitution to so imminent a hazard of subversion." The king without any hesitation refused his assent to the proposition. "His majesty's resolution," says May,[b] "had already been shaken by the threatening aspect of affairs, and by the apprehensions of his family and court, and he not unnaturally shrank from so startling an exercise of his prerogative." The resignation of the ministers was at once tendered to the sovereign, and the next day was formally accepted by letter.

For one week the nation was left to its conjectures, to its fears, to its anger, at the position of the government. The functions, indeed, of a government were suspended. The whig cabinet had gone out without leaving one holder of a subordinate office who would consent to join the government which the duke of Wellington had received authority from his sovereign to form. He set out with confidence upon a royal commission to endeavour to give the necessary cohesion to the variously shaped atoms whose parliamentary union had thrown out the Reform Bill. Out of the conglomeration of these, a road was to be formed over which the state carriage might travel in safety—not a macadamised road, but one constructed of round and square, smooth and rough materials, thrown together in a heap, to become serviceable when the people had sustained many accidents with fortitude, had ceased to be impatient of unavoidable obstruction, and were reconciled to what they deemed tyrannous. Of the failure of this plan the duke of Wellington gave a narrative to the house of lords on the 17th of May.

On the 15th of May it was announced in both houses that ministers had resumed their communication with his majesty. As the news went through the land the people everywhere settled down, in patience to abide the result. On the 18th Lord Grey declared in the house of lords that he now entertained a confident expectation of being able to carry the Reform Bill unimpaired and immediately. Upon what grounds did this confidence rest?

[1832 A.D.]

Lord Grey and Lord Brougham had an audience of the king at Windsor, on the 17th. The king, it is stated, was alarmed, and manifested not only emotion, but displeasure. He kept the two peers standing, contrary to usage, during their audience. He retained his private secretary, Sir Herbert Taylor, in the room during the whole time. Lord Grey and Lord Brougham declined to return to office unless the king gave a promise to the necessary creation of peers. The promise was most reluctantly given. Lord Brougham requested permission to have it in writing. The words of this document [according to Roebuck[a]] were as follows: "The king grants permission to Earl Grey, and to his chancellor, Lord Brougham, to create such a number of peers as will be sufficient to insure the passing of the Reform Bill—first calling up peers' eldest sons. (Signed) William R., Windsor, May 17th, 1832." The power of creation was never called into exercise. The king, through Sir Herbert Taylor, employed his personal influence with the opposition peers to induce them to desist from further attempts to arrest the course of the Reform Bill. The pressure of the royal will upon the peers was unconstitutional. "This interference of the king with the independent deliberations of the house of lords was in truth," says May,[b] "a more unconstitutional act than a creation of peers." But it overcame the difficulties of an alarming crisis. It saved the necessity of what was popularly called "swamping the house of lords"; it averted the manifold dangers of a continued resistance to the wishes of the people; it removed a great embarrassment from the cabinet—for unquestionably the prime minister, the lord chancellor, and others, would have hesitated to use at all, certainly to use to their full extent, the powers which were granted to them. The advice tendered by Sir Herbert Taylor was at once adopted. The duke of Wellington withdrew after his explanation on the 17th, and did not return to the house of lords till the night after the passing of the Reform Bill. His wise and patriotic example was followed by a sufficient number of peers to afford a decided majority for the ministers. On the 21st of May the discussion of the bill was resumed. The duke of Newcastle, after several of the clauses had been passed, said, with bitter irony, that he would recommend to the committee to vote all the details of the bill at once, and send it up to a third reading. The business in committee was finished on the last day of May. On the 4th of June the bill was passed by a majority of eighty-four. The commons next day agreed to the unimportant amendments proposed by the lords, and on the 7th of June the English Reform Bill received the royal assent. The Reform Act for Scotland and the Reform Act for Ireland were also quickly passed—the Scotch bill on the 13th of July, the Irish on the 18th.[j]

It is now time to advert to the provisions of this famous statute, and to inquire how far it corrected the faults of a system which had been complained of for more than a half century. The main evil had been the number of nomination, or rotten boroughs enjoying the franchise. Fifty-six of these—having less than 2,000 inhabitants, and returning 111 members—were swept away. Thirty boroughs, having less than 4,000 inhabitants, lost each a member. Weymouth and Melcombe Regis lost two. This disfranchisement extended to 143 members. The next evil had been, that large populations were unrepresented, and this was now redressed. Twenty-two large towns, including metropolitan districts, received the privilege of returning two members; and twenty more, of returning one. The large county populations were also regarded in the distribution of seats, the number of county members being increased from 94 to 159. The larger counties were divided; and the number of members adjusted with reference to the importance of the constituencies.

Another evil was the restricted and unequal franchise. This too was corrected. All narrow rights of election were set aside in boroughs; and a ten-pound household franchise was established. The freemen of corporate towns were the only class of electors whose rights were reserved, but residence within the borough was attached as a condition to their right of voting. Those freemen, however, who had been created since March, 1831, were excepted from the electoral privilege. Crowds had received their freedom in order to vote against the reform candidates at the general election; they had served their purpose and were now disfranchised. Birth or servitude were henceforth to be the sole claims to the freedom of any city, entitling freemen to vote.

The county constituency was enlarged by the addition of copyholders and leaseholders, for terms of years, and of tenants-at-will paying a rent of fifty pounds a year. The latter class had been added in the commons, on the motion of the marquis of Chandos, in opposition to the government. The object of this addition was to strengthen the interests of the landlords, which it undoubtedly effected; but as it extended the franchise to a considerable class of persons, it was at least consistent with the liberal design of the Reform Act.

Another evil of the representative system had been the excessive expenses at elections. This too was sought to be mitigated by the registration of electors, the division of counties and boroughs into convenient polling districts, and the reduction of the days of polling.

It was a measure at once bold, comprehensive, moderate, and constitutional. Popular, but not democratic, it extended liberty without hazarding revolution. Two years before, parliament had refused to enfranchise a single unrepresented town; and now this wide redistribution of the franchise had been accomplished! That it was theoretically complete, and left nothing for future statesmen to effect, its authors never affirmed; but it was a masterly settlement of a perilous question. Its defects will be noticed hereafter, in recounting the efforts which have since been made to correct them; but whatever they were, no law since the Bill of Rights is to be compared with it in importance. Worthy of the struggles it occasioned, it conferred immortal honour on the statesmen who had the wisdom to conceive it, and the courage to command its success.[b]

Such was the Reform Act of 1832, by which the landed interests were brought down some little way from a supremacy which had once been natural and just, but which had now become insufferably tyrannical and corrupt. As the manufacturing and commercial classes had long been rising in numbers, property, and enlightenment, it was time for them to be obtaining a proportionate influence in the government. By this act they did not obtain their due influence, but they gained much, and the way was cleared for more. Great as was the gain thus far, there was a yet mightier benefit in the proof that the will of the people, when sufficiently intelligent and united, could avail to modify the government through the forces of reason and resolution, without violence. This point ascertained, and the benefit secured, all subsided into quiet. Trade and manufactures began immediately to prosper; credit was firm, and the majority of the nation were in high hope of what might be expected from a government which had begun its reforms so nobly, and promised many more. There were some, and not a very few, who declared that the sun of England had set forever; but yet nobody could see that it was growing dark. Men in general thought that if they had ever walked in broad daylight, it was now.

The king was presently pitied and pardoned, as an old man called late to

[1832 A.D.]

the throne—more amiable than enlightened, and entangled between public duty and private affections which had been brought by the fault of others into contrariety; but, as was fitting, he never recovered his original popularity. When the Reform Bill was once secure, men no more carried a black flag with the inscription, "Put not your trust in princes"; nor a crown stuffed with straw, with the inscription "Ichabod"; but neither did they rend the clouds again with cheers for their "King William, the father of his country." There was no longer anything to fear from him; but men saw that neither was there anything to hope from him; and he was thenceforth treated with a mere decorum, which had in it full as much of compassion as of respect.

As for his ministers, they were idols, aloft in a shrine.

THE CHOLERA EPIDEMIC: PARLIAMENT DISSOLVED (1832 A.D.)

While the Reform Bill was in progress and in jeopardy, little else was thought of—except, indeed, the new plague, the cholera, which had come to overcloud all hearts, and to attract to itself some of the terror which would otherwise have been given entire to the apprehension of coming revolution. There were many in those days who would have been intensely grateful to know, first, that the cholera would have departed by a certain day, leaving them and their families in safety; and next, that revolution—by which they understood the overthrow of the whole social fabric—would not happen in their lifetime. If they could have been assured of these two immunities, they would have been quite happy, would have believed their way was clear for life, and that affairs would remain in their existing state, as long as their own generation had any concern with them. Very different from this view was that taken by braver spirits, with that truer vision given by courage and enlightenment. "The truth is," wrote Dr. Arnold, in April, 1831, "that we are arrived at one of those periods in the progress of society when the constitution naturally undergoes a change, just as it did two centuries ago. It was impossible then for the king to keep down the higher part of the middle classes; it is impossible now to keep down the middle and lower parts of them. One would think that people who talk against change were literally as well as metaphorically blind, and really did not see that everything in themselves and around them is changing every hour by the necessary laws of its being." "There is nothing so revolutionary, because there is nothing so unnatural and so convulsive to society, as the strain to keep things fixed, when all the world is by the very law of its creation in eternal progress; and the cause of all the evils of the world may be traced to that natural but most deadly error of human indolence and corruption, that our business is to preserve and not to improve."

The much-dreaded cholera proved the smallest of the prominent evils of the time. Its first assault was the most violent; and then it attacked few but the vicious, the diseased, and the feeble; and it carried off in the whole fewer victims than many an epidemic, before and since, which has run its course very quietly. Before its disappearance from the United Kingdom, in fifteen months, the average of deaths was one in $3\frac{1}{4}$ of those attacked; and the total number of deaths in and near London was declared to be 5,275. No return was obtained of the number in the kingdom. When it is remembered how many deaths happened in the noisome places of the towns, and in damp nooks of wretched country villages, and in the pauper haunts of Edinburgh and Glasgow, and among the hungering Irish, it is clear that the disease could hardly work any appreciable effect in the open places, and among the com-

fortable classes of the kingdom. If a person of rank, or substance, or in healthy middle age, was attacked here and there, it was spoken of as a remarkable circumstance; and the cholera soon came to be regarded as a visitation on the vicious and the poor. Happily the preparations which depended on the apprehensions or the benevolence of the rich were made before that change in the aspect of the new plague — the cleansing and white-washing, the gifts of clothing and food—and the impression was made on all thoughtful minds that improved knowledge and care on the subject of health were the cause of our comparative impunity under the visitation of this plague, and that a still improved knowledge and care were the requisites to a complete impunity hereafter. Though our progress from that day to this has been slower than it ought to have been, the awakening of society in England to the duty of care of the public health must date from the visitation of the cholera in 1831–1832.[i]

Parliament was prorogued by commission on the 16th of October. The registration of the new constituency under the Reform Bill was then rapidly proceeded with, and other necessary preparations were made for a new general election, which was rendered indispensable by the passing of the bill. On the 8th of December parliament was dissolved; and then began the election, the writs being made returnable on the 29th of January, 1833. Three parties took the field: the ministerialists, or Earl Grey whigs; the tories, who now assumed the appellation of conservatives; the radicals, who were already dissatisfied, and were proclaiming that the Reform Bill did not go far enough, and must go farther, and that they would have universal suffrage and vote by ballot, or wage an eternal war against all governments. Generally, in England and Scotland, the elections were favourable to the ministerialists. Not so in Ireland, for there popular agitation was against them, and Daniel O'Connell had accused them, and continued to accuse them, of being guilty of injustice and insult towards the Irish.

THE FIRST REFORMED PARLIAMENT MEETS (1833 A.D.)

The first meeting of the reformed parliament was of itself an important era in our history. This great national representation had undergone not a partial, but a complete change. The first important struggle, in the seventeenth century, had been to reduce the royal authority below the level of parliament; the second, which had just succeeded, was to elevate the authority of the commons above that of the lords, and constitute the house of the former the real governing power of the empire. King and peers were now to form but a subsidiary part of the constitution, and that, too, only by the consent of the people at large, who recognised such checks as necessary against their own abuses of power, and it was now to be seen whether they would cordially unite with the national representatives, and be content with such measure of dictation as the great change had assigned to them.

The alterations which had been made in the popular representation were such as the reform appeared to necessitate. Of these, the greatest was in the county constituencies of England. Formerly they had been 52, which returned 94 members; but now, by the division of counties, these constituencies were increased to 82, which returned 159 members. As all boroughs having less than a population of 2,000 were to be disfranchised, 56 of these, which had returned 111 members, were no longer represented. Such boroughs as had a population of less than 4,000 and had sent two representatives, were now only to return one, and

under this category 30 seats were made vacant. As the number of members that composed the house of commons was not to be diminished, these 143 constituencies were transferred to the towns and districts that had increased in population and importance. In like manner, while no change was made upon Ireland, Scotland retained her former number of representatives, but with changes adapted to the increase of the population in new localities, and its diminution in the old. The mode of election was also simplified in town and country, both as to the time occupied, and the registration of voters, as also the qualifications for a vote, inhabitants of towns being entitled to the franchise who paid ten pounds of yearly rental, and of the counties, copy-holders and lease-holders to the value of forty shillings. In this way it was attempted to combine the privileges of the old agricultural and the new mercantile England; to reconcile the moneyed with the hereditary aristocracy; and so to extend the right of election as to make the house of commons what it claimed to be — the representation of the bulk of the people, as well as of its worth and intelligence.

THE COERCION BILL; THE TITHES

A coercion bill for the suppression of disturbances in Ireland was introduced into the house of lords by Earl Grey, and was there carried without opposition. The necessity of such a bill was shown by the fact that the aggregate of crimes during the preceding year amounted to upwards of nine thousand, connected with the disturbed state of the country, and that the list was on the increase. But long and loud and fierce was the opposition it met with in the commons from O'Connell and his well-jointed tail. Some of these Irish members did not hesitate to say in private that the Coercion Bill was absolutely and immediately necessary. One of the chief of them said in the hearing of several members of the house, "We, as Irish patriots and members, must oppose the bill to the utmost; but if you do not pass it, by heavens, there will be no security for property or for life in Ireland!" Words to this effect being subsequently repeated, created a hurricane which will not soon be forgotten. Mr. Matthew Davenport Hill, one of the members for Hull, who had first disclosed this precious specimen of Irish sincerity, received a batch of challenges, being challenged by nearly one half of the members of the O'Connell tail; and only Lord Althorp stood forward like a man of honour, like an English gentleman, to the rescue of Mr. Hill in the house of commons. At last, on the 29th of March, the bill, being slighty altered in the commons, was read a third time and passed. Its effect was materially to decrease the number of outrageous offences that were prevalent throughout the country. Mr. Stanley now resigned the uneasy office of secretary for Ireland, and was succeeded by Sir John Cam Hobhouse. Mr. Stanley became secretary for the colonies, that place being vacated by Viscount Goderich, who was made lord privy-seal and advanced in the peerage by the title of Earl of Ripon.

For a long time there had been no collecting tithes in Ireland without a riot — in many cases they could not be collected at all. A resolution was now passed for exchequer bills not exceeding £1,000,000 to be issued for advancing, under certain conditions, arrears of tithes due for 1831 and 1832, subject to a deduction of 25 per cent., and the value of tithes for 1833, subject to a deduction of 15 per cent., to any person entitled to such arrears or tithes, and desirous of receiving such advances. The amount advanced was to be included in the tithe composition, so as to be repaid in the course of five years by

half-yearly instalments. Many people now said that England, besides paying its own tithe, would have to pay the Irish tithe also. Two commissions were issued, one for inquiring into the corporations of Ireland, and the other for investigating the condition of its labouring classes.

THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY

An important question during this season was the abolition of negro slavery in the West Indies. It was a subject which the first reform parliament could not consistently avoid, and its final settlement had been confidently anticipated both by the friends and the enemies of the new state of things. It was also found that the half measures already passed were unsatisfactory both to the slave and the slaveholder; for while the former had enjoyed such a portion of liberty as made him anxious to possess the whole, the latter could no longer compel the amount of service which was necessary for the full cultivation of his farms and plantations. The negroes found that they had rights secured for them by the state, and that their slavery had in many cases been exchanged into voluntary service, while the planters endeavoured to evade these restrictions, even at the double risk of provoking the wrath of the home government, and open rebellion among their own black dependents. It was certain also that these negroes were now so elevated in spirit, intelligence, and self-reliance, that they could not be reduced to their former serfage; that they were fitted for the enjoyment of that full freedom of which the previous instalments had been a promise and preparative; and that if it was not freely and peacefully accorded to them, they would soon be in a condition to extort it by force and violence. Such were the considerations, irrespective of those of humanity and duty, which had prepared the public mind of Britain for the full measure of negro emancipation. All being in readiness, Mr. Stanley, now secretary for the colonies, explained the ministerial scheme for the purpose in a committee of the whole house of commons, on the 14th of May.

On the 30th of August the Emancipation Act was passed in the lords. As yet it was not found possible, and it was perhaps not advisable, to let loose in an instant the whole negro population of the West Indies from their bondage into the enjoyment of full-grown liberty; and on this account, as well as from the resistance of the slaveholders themselves, the system of gradualism had still to be recognised in this great abolition. But the abolition itself was to be soon, and certain, and complete, while little more than the mere name of slavery was to be for a short time retained. On the 1st of August, 1834, the young children of the slaves were to be free. Of those who were still slaves, their servitude was to be changed into an apprenticeship that was to last, in the case of field slaves for seven, and of house slaves for five years, during which they were to be considered as free labourers in every respect, except in the right of changing their masters. In this way, negro slavery was speedily to expire throughout the whole British dominions. But while humanity liberated the bondman, justice was equally ready to compensate the master; and here a sacrifice was made which may well serve as an example to future ages, when some great national error is to be revoked and its injuries atoned for. It was at first proposed that the planters should be compensated for their loss of slave labour by a loan of £15,000,000 sterling; but when it was represented that this sum was inadequate, and that it could not well be repaid, the loan was converted into a gift, and the £15,000,000 into £20,000,000. Such munificence on the part of an impoverished nation, by whom it was as cheerfully and readily granted as if it had been the expenditure of a great national

triumph, will serve as a brand for the foreheads of all future slaveholders to the end of time. If anything could cloud the joy of such an event, it was the circumstance that only thirty-one days before the Emancipation Act had passed, Wilberforce, its author and champion, had died. He had struggled through many a year, amidst despondency and despair, and finally amidst the more wasting inflictions of hope deferred, in behalf of a beloved measure on which his whole energies had been concentrated; and now, when the crowning effort was to be made, he was stretched upon a death-bed, without the hope of witnessing the result. But he was cheered with the assurance that the beloved project of his life was safe, and that in a few days the bill would be passed. It was a happy foretaste of that "Well done" for which his whole life had been a preparation; and joy as well as peace illuminated the good man's departure.[c]

THE NEW POOR LAW (1834 A.D.)

The great measure of the session of parliament for 1834 was the passing of the act for "the Amendment and better Administration of the Laws relating to the Poor in England and Wales." That session was opened on the 4th of February, and concluded on the 15th of August. The speaker, in his address to the king on the day of prorogation, said that the Poor Law Amendment Bill had almost from the commencement to the close of the session occupied the unwearied attention of the commons. It was impossible, he continued, for them to approach a subject of such infinite delicacy and such immense importance "without much of apprehension, and, he might say, much of alarm." It was several years before the apprehension and alarm passed away; before the hope of the speaker could be generally entertained, "that its benefits will be as lasting as they will be grateful to all ranks and classes of society." The bill was brought in by Lord Althorp on the 17th of April.

It was absolutely necessary, he said, that there should be a discretionary power vested in some quarter to carry into effect recommendations calculated to introduce sound principles and the fruits of salutary experience into the administration of the poor laws. It was his intention therefore to propose that his majesty should be authorised to appoint a central board of commissioners, invested with extraordinary power to enable it to accomplish the object proposed. The bill introduced by Lord Althorp was founded upon the recommendations of the commissioners of inquiry. It had remained a month under the consideration of the cabinet, two of the commissioners, Mr. Sturges Bourne and Mr. Senior, occasionally attending to afford explanations. The proposition of this great measure was very favourably received by the house of commons. The second reading was carried by a large majority: ayes, 299; noes, 20.

Upon the third reading of the bill the ayes were 157, the noes 50. The duration of the measure was then limited to five years.

Between the passing of the bill by the commons on the 2nd of July and its proposed second reading by the lords, Lord Grey had retired from the government, and Lord Melbourne had become the head of the administration. It was not till the 21st that Lord Brougham moved the second reading. "My lords," he said, "I should have been unworthy of the task that has been committed to my hands, if by any deference to clamour I could have been made to swerve from the faithful discharge of this duty. The subject is infinitely too important, the interests which it involves are far too mighty, and the duty correlative to the importance of those interests which the government I

belong to has to discharge is of too lofty, too sacred a nature, to make it possible for any one who aspires to the name of a statesman, or who has taken upon himself to counsel his sovereign upon the arduous concerns of his realm, to let the dictates of clamour find any access to his breast, and make him sacrifice his principles to a covetousness of popular applause." Never were the qualities of the great orator more remarkably displayed than in this speech. Historical research, accurate reasoning, a complete mastery of facts, majestic rhetoric—all were brought to bear upon a subject which the mere utilitarian would have clothed with the repulsive precision of statistical detail. The measure was opposed by Lord Wynford; it was supported by the duke of Wellington. The house divided upon the motion for the second reading: contents, 76; non-contents, 13. During the progress of the bill through both houses, many of the clauses were strenuously resisted in committee. The amendments that were carried were however comparatively of little importance, and it finally received the royal assent on the 14th of August.

The task which his majesty had first imposed upon Lord Melbourne was one of insurmountable difficulty. It was to effect "an union in the service of the state of all those who stand at the head of the respective parties in the country." The king, in desiring Lord Melbourne "to enter into communication with the leading individuals of parties," specially mentioned the duke of Wellington, Sir Robert Peel, and Mr. Stanley. In an audience upon the 9th Viscount Melbourne had laid before his majesty some of those general objections which pressed forcibly upon his mind to unions and coalitions of opposing parties. He wrote to the king on the 10th that he considered the successful termination of such an attempt utterly hopeless. He had no personal dislikes or objections; on the contrary, for all the individuals in question he entertained great respect. In consequence of the communication to Sir Robert Peel, on the 13th of July, he wrote to the king that such a union as that proposed could not, in the present state of parties and the present position of public affairs, hold out the prospect of an efficient and vigorous administration. The king admitted on the 14th that the opinions which had been stated by Sir Robert Peel and by others, of the impracticability of his proposal, had appeared to him to be conclusive. The king had evidently imagined that if he could effect such a union of parties, the question of the Irish church, upon which he had expressed himself very strongly, might be set at rest.

FIRE DESTROYS THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT (1834 A.D.)

Parliament was prorogued on the 15th of August. On the 16th of October the houses of parliament were destroyed by fire. It was between six and seven o'clock on that evening that flames were seen bursting forth from the roof of the house of lords, in that part of the building opposite to Henry VII's chapel, and in the corner next Westminster Hall. By nine o'clock all the apartments of that portion of the parliament buildings, including the Painted Chamber and the library, were in flames, and the whole interior was in a few hours destroyed. The fire extended to the house of commons, first destroying the large offices of the house, and next seizing upon the chapel of St. Stephen. When all the interior fittings were destroyed, this building, which had been famous as the seat of English legislation from the time of Edward VI, was a mere shell. It had stood in its strength and beauty like a rock amidst the sea of fire, and had arrested the force which had till then gone on conquering and overthrowing. The speaker's official residence was also partially de-

stroyed There was one time when the destruction of Westminster Hall seemed almost inevitable. To those who mixed amongst the crowd in Palace Yard, and knew that the antiquities of a nation are amongst its best possessions, it was truly gratifying to witness the intense anxiety of all classes of people to preserve this building, associated with so many grand historical scenes. "Save the hall!" "Save the hall!" was the universal cry.

THE MELBOURNE MINISTRY DISMISSED (1834 A.D.)

On the 14th of November William IV, without a word of preparation, intimated to Lord Melbourne that his ministry was at an end.

The sensation produced in London by the reported dismissal of the ministry was a natural consequence of the suddenness of the act, as it presented itself to the body of the people—of its really unconstitutional character, as it appeared to thoughtful and well-informed men. On the morning of Saturday, the 15th of November—the day when the duke of Wellington was writing his confidential letter to Sir Robert Peel—the *Times* had this startling announcement, given in the words of a communication which had been received at an early hour that morning: "The king has taken the opportunity of Lord Spencer's death to turn out the ministry, and there is every reason to believe that the duke of Wellington has been sent for. The queen has done it all." The act of the king was wholly without precedent. He might have become converted to the politics of the opposition. He might have been alarmed at the possible scandal of the quarrel between the chancellor and Lord Durham. But there was no disunion in the cabinet. The ministry had retained the confidence of parliament up to the last day of the session. They had pressed no opinions upon his majesty which could be disagreeable to him. The government of Lord Melbourne had more elements of conservatism than were agreeable to many reformers, and therefore appeared unlikely to excite the fears of the king and of his court. The sovereign has a constitutional right to dismiss his ministers, but it must be on grounds more capable of justification to parliament than the simple exercise of his personal will. The suddenness of the resolve rendered an arrangement necessary which could not be justified by any precedent, except on one occasion of critical emergency in the last days of Queen Anne. The duke of Wellington, from the 15th of November to the 9th of December, was first lord of the treasury and the sole secretary of state, having only one colleague, Lord Lyndhurst, who held the great seal, at the same time that he sat as chief baron of the court of exchequer. This temporary government was called a dictatorship. "The great military commander" was told [in a speech by Lord Durham] that he "will find it to have been much easier to take Badajoz and Ciudad Rodrigo than to retake the liberties and independence of the people."

And so, as to the inevitable necessity of a dissolution, thought Sir Robert Peel. In spite of his doubts of the policy of breaking up the government of Lord Melbourne, he had become convinced that he had no alternative but to undertake the office of prime minister instantly on his arrival. He at once waited upon the king, and accepted the office of first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer. With the king's permission he applied to Lord Stanley and to Sir James Graham, earnestly entreating them to give him the benefit of their co-operation as colleagues in the cabinet. They both declined. Lord Stanley manfully said: "The sudden conversion of long political opposition into the most intimate alliance—no general coincidence of principle, except upon one point, being proved to exist between us—would

shock public opinion, would be ruinous to my own character, and injurious to the government which you seek to form." When Sir Robert arrived he found one important question practically decided—the dissolution of the existing parliament. He does not appear to have been sanguine that the indications of a very great increase of the conservative strength in the new house of commons would be sufficient to insure the stability of his government. He looked beyond the immediate present. "It would certainly be sufficient to constitute a very powerful conservative body, controlling a future government leaning upon radical support." He tried to make a government as strong as he could with conservative materials. The re-establishment, he says, of the duke of Wellington's government in 1830 would have saved him much trouble, but would have diminished the little hope he ever entertained of being able to make a successful struggle. So, amidst the reproaches of those who regarded the minister as doing them positive wrong by not reinstating them in their former offices, he constructed a ministry of which the duke's name was a tower of strength, and of which Lord Lyndhurst as chancellor gave the assurance that it would have the support of one man of great talents. The high qualities of statesmanship which distinguished Lord Aberdeen were not yet sufficiently recognised. It was not a popular ministry, but it could not be held to comprise any of that band of violent anti-reformers who would have imperilled everything by resisting the declared opinion of the prime minister that he considered the Reform Bill as a final and irrevocable measure.

THE FIRST PEEL MINISTRY (1835 A.D.)

The anticipations of Sir Robert Peel that the conservative party would be strengthened by a general election were, to a considerable extent, realised. So, also, was his apprehension that the increase of strength would not be sufficient to give stability to the new government. Before the parliament met it was calculated that the anti-ministerialists had a majority of 133, but that 82 votes were doubtful.[1] Looking at the extraordinary efforts that had been made on both sides at this general election, and at the violence of party feeling which had been necessarily called forth, it appears almost surprising that, from the opening of parliament on the 9th of February, the ministry should not have been driven from their position before the 7th of April. Temporary accommodation had been provided for the business of the two houses on the site of those destroyed by the fire on the 16th of October. On the 9th of February, when the house of commons proceeded to the election of a speaker, a larger number of members were assembled than ever had been known before to have been congregated at one time. Six hundred and twenty-two members divided on the question whether Sir Charles Manners Sutton should be re-elected, or the Right Honourable James Abercromby be chosen to fill the chair. The votes for Abercromby were 316; for Sutton, 306.

On the 24th of February the king opened the business of the session. The two last paragraphs of the king's speech expressed his majesty's reliance on the caution and circumspection which would be exercised in altering laws which affected extensive and complicated interests, and were interwoven with ancient usages; and that, in supplying that which was defective, or renovating that which was impaired, the common object would be to strengthen the foundations of those institutions in church and state which are the inheri-

[1 Another estimate gives: conservatives, 273; liberals (anti-ministerialists), 380.]

tance and birthright of the people. In the house of lords Viscount Melbourne moved an amendment upon the two paragraphs, to the effect that their lordships hoped his majesty's councils would be directed in the spirit of well-considered and effective reform, and lamenting the dissolution of the late parliament, as having interrupted and endangered the vigorous prosecution of measures to which the wishes of the people were directed. This amendment was negatived without a division. In the house of commons Lord Morpeth proposed a similar amendment, which, after three nights' debate, was carried by a majority of seven, the numbers being 309 against 302. However the eloquence of Sir Robert Peel might fail to carry the complete approbation of the house of commons, it unquestionably produced a powerful effect upon the country, inducing a very general desire that a fair chance should be given to the administration for carrying forward their professions into satisfactory results. "It is my first duty," said Sir Robert Peel, "to maintain the post which has been confided to me; to stand by the trust which I did not seek, but which I could not decline. Receive, at least, the measures which I propose; amend them if they are defective; extend them if they fall short of your expectations. I offer you reduced estimates, improvements in civil jurisprudence, reform of ecclesiastical law, the settlement of the tithe question in Ireland, the commutation of tithe in England, the removal of any real abuse in the church, the redress of those grievances of which the dissenters have any just ground to complain. I offer you these specific measures, and I offer also to advance, soberly and cautiously it is true, in the path of progressive improvement. I offer also the best chance that these things can be effected in willing concert with the other authorities of the state—thus restoring harmony, insuring the maintenance, but not excluding the reform, where reform is really requisite, of ancient institutions."

On the 30th of March Lord John Russell, after a debate of four nights, carried a resolution by a majority of thirty-three, that "the house do resolve itself into a committee of the whole house to consider the temporalities of the Church of Ireland." On the 3rd of April Lord John proposed a resolution in that committee "that any surplus of the revenues of the Church of Ireland not required for the spiritual care of its members, should be applied to the general education of all classes of the people without religious distinction." After a debate of two nights the resolution was carried by a majority of twenty-five. On the 7th of April the report of the committee was brought up. Lord John Russell proposed a resolution, "that it is the opinion of this house that no measure upon the subject of tithes in Ireland can lead to a satisfactory and final adjustment which does not embody the principle contained in the foregoing resolution," namely, in the resolution agreed to on the previous night. Upon the division there appeared—ayes, 285; noes, 258; majority, 27.

The division of the 7th was fatal to the existence of the ministry. Sir Robert Peel's sagacity had distinctly seen that if the government were beaten upon the motion about to be made by Lord John Russell for the alienation from ecclesiastical purposes of any surplus revenues of the Irish church, there would be no other course but for the government to resign. On the 25th of March he addressed "a cabinet memorandum" to his colleagues, in which he said: "Nothing can, in my opinion, justify an administration in persevering against a majority, but a rational and well-grounded hope of acquiring additional support, and converting a minority into a majority. I see no ground for entertaining that hope." On the 8th of April the duke of Wellington, in the house of lords, said that in consequence of the resolution

of the house of commons, the ministry had tendered their resignations to the king. Sir Robert Peel made a similar explanation to the house of commons.

LORD MELBOURNE FORMS A NEW MINISTRY (1835 A.D.)

On the 18th of April Viscount Melbourne, in moving the adjournment of the house of lords, stated that the king had been pleased to appoint him first lord commissioner of the treasury, and that he and his friends who had taken office had received from his majesty the seals of their respective departments. The other house would adjourn to the 12th of May, as some time must necessarily elapse before ministers in that house, waiting their re-election, could proceed to business. On the 12th of May the houses accordingly met. The exclusion of Lord Brougham from the ministry, by putting the great seal in commission, was necessarily the subject of popular wonder. This exclusion was not to be explained at the time; it has never been satisfactorily explained at any subsequent period. The ultra-liberals exulted that those principles which the chancellor had proclaimed at the Grey banquet had now no expression in the cabinet; the friends of education and of law reform lamented that the energy with which these great objects had been pursued was now to be confined to the independent exertions of a peer building his hope of success upon his own powers alone. It was a painful situation for one of such restless activity. To deliver elaborate judgments in the court of chancery, to be ready for every meeting of the cabinet, duly to be in his place on the woolsack at three o'clock, rarely abstaining from taking a part in debate; after the adjournment of the house to sit up half the night writing out his judgments; occasionally to dash off an article in the *Edinburgh Review;* discoursing, writing, haranguing, on every subject of politics, or science, or literature, or theology, and then suddenly to have all the duties of official life cut away from him, to sink into the state which he of all others dreaded and despised, that of a "dowager chancellor"—this, indeed, was a mortification not very easy to be borne, and we can scarcely be surprised if it were sometimes impatiently submitted to.

Nevertheless, there was a great career of usefulness before Henry Brougham. It would be a long career; and thus we look back upon the unofficial labours of this remarkable man, to whom repose was an impossibility; and, measuring him with the most untiring of recorded workers, deem it marvellous that he accomplished so much, and with few exceptions accomplished it so well. He very soon proclaimed to the world that his comparative leisure would not be a season of relaxation. On the 21st of May he submitted to the house of lords a series of resolutions on the subject of education. His speech was a most elaborate review of whatever had been done, and a practical exposition of what he thought remained to be done. In these resolutions will be found the germ of many of the principles which have become established axioms in the education of the people. The main feature of his plan was the establishment of a board of education, empowered to examine into the state of endowed charities, and to compel a due application of their funds. These resolutions collectively affirmed that although the number of schools where some of the elementary branches of education are taught had greatly increased, there was still a deficiency of such schools, especially in the metropolis and other great towns; they maintained that the education given at the greater number of the schools established for the poorer classes of the people is of a kind by no means sufficient for their instruction, being for the most part confined to

reading, writing, and a little arithmetic; they called upon parliament to provide effectual means of instruction, doing nothing, however, to relax the efforts of private benevolence; they set forth that for the purpose of improving the kind of education given at schools for the people at large it was necessary to establish proper seminaries for training teachers. The resolutions of Lord Brougham were favourably received by the prime minister. The bishop of Gloucester and the archbishop of Canterbury expressed their general concurrence in the eloquent and instructive speech of the noble and learned lord, but they contended that in order to make education real and useful it must be founded on the basis of religion. Lord Brougham said that he was not unaware of the difficulties which surrounded this question on the subject of religion, but that he thought he should, at a future time, be enabled to lay before them a plan by which the objections which had been urged would be obviated. We have reason to believe that, at this time, an office analogous to that of minister of public instruction might have been within the reach of Lord Brougham. It may be doubted whether even his energy could have surmounted the difficulties presented in the religious aspect of the question.

REFORM OF MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS (1835 A.D.)

On the 5th of June the great measure of the session was proposed by Lord John Russell. He asked on behalf of his majesty's government leave to bring in a bill to provide for the regulation of municipal corporations in England and Wales. The measure proposed by the government was founded upon the report of a commission appointed by the crown, which, during a year and a half of laborious and minute investigation, had inquired into the condition of more than two hundred corporations. Lord John Russell quoted the conclusion of this report, as calling for a safe, efficient, and wholesome measure of corporation reform: "We feel it to be our duty to represent to your majesty that the existing municipal corporations of England and Wales neither possess nor deserve the confidence or respect of your majesty's subjects, and that a thorough reform must be effected before they can become, what we humbly submit to your majesty they ought to be, useful and efficient instruments of local government."

The great object of the bill proposed by Lord John Russell was to open a free course to the beneficial operation of those subordinate bodies in the government of the country which were provided in our ancient institutions as an essential counterpoise to the central authority. It has been truly said that the diffusion of political duties and political powers over every part of the body politic is like the circulation of the blood throughout the natural body. In the case of municipal corporations that healthful circulation was essentially impeded by chronic diseases which required no timid practice effectually to subdue. The object of the Municipal Reform Bill was to place the government of the towns really in the hands of the citizens themselves; to make them the guardians of their own property and pecuniary interests; to give to them the right of making a selection of qualified persons from whom the magistrates were to be chosen; in a word, to put an end to power without responsibility.

We may judge of the opposition which the Bill of Corporation Reform was likely to encounter from the mode in which it was regarded by Lord Eldon: Its interference with vested rights shocked his sense of equity even more than the sweeping clauses of the Reform Act. To regard, he said, ancient charters as so many bits of decayed parchment was, in his eyes, "a crowning

iniquity."[1] At this distance of time it is scarcely necessary to trace the course of the Municipal Reform bill through both houses of parliament. The measure was in the house of commons from the 5th of June to the 20th of July; the great battles were fought in committee after the bill had been read a second time on the 15th of June. The chief struggle was for the preservation of the existing rights, privileges, and property of freemen. Upon the third reading there was an instructive exposition by Sir Richard Vyvyan, the member for Bristol, of the great principle upon which the bill was to be shown by the strictest of all logical proof to be utterly subversive of the constitution: It was the vice of the present bill that at the expense of one principle it went to set up another. It was an attempt to set up generally the republican principle of representation upon the ruin of the principle of vested right. It was against that principle of the bill that he mainly protested, although he considered it vicious and dangerous in many other respects. And, let him ask, would the hereditary aristocracy support the principle of a bill which was against all hereditary right? Would the peers now declare that an old charter of incorporation was worth less than a patent of nobility on which the ink is scarcely dry? The peers had now to fight their own battle. The first step that they took in this instance would be irrevocable. They would have to decide, when this bill was sent up to them, whether their lordships were to be maintained on the doctrine of temporary expediency, or to preserve their privileges upon the principle of vested right. The third reading of the bill was passed without a division.

The endeavour in the house of lords to impair the efficiency of the measure for municipal reform was sufficiently prosperous to produce the danger of such a conflict between the upper and the lower houses as had scarcely before occurred since the time of the Long Parliament. When the amendments of the peers were sent back to the house of commons—in a debate in which Lord John Russell expressed a sober indignation at the license which had permitted counsel at the bar of the peers to insult the other branch of the legislature, and Sir Robert Peel did not defend the language of the rash advocate, but maintained that it was extremely difficult to place any restriction on what counsel might please to express—Mr. Roebuck maintained that every act of the lords proved that they contemned and hated the people, and that they were determined to show this contempt and hatred by insulting the people's representatives. The quarrel between the two houses was growing very serious. Lord John Russell and Sir Robert Peel, much to their honour, took the part of moderators in this great dispute. Sir Robert Peel, especially, whilst he contended that they should uphold the perfect independence of the house of lords, expressed his willingness to make some concessions which would have the effect of reconciling the differences between the two houses. There were free conferences between a committee of the house of commons and managers on the part of the house of lords. After the last conference on the 7th of September, three days before the prorogation of parliament, Lord John Russell recommended that for the sake of peace, and as the bill, though deprived of much of its original excellence, was still an effective reform of municipal institutions, the house should agree to it as it then stood, reserving the right of introducing whatever improvements the working of it might hereafter show to be necessary. The Bill for Municipal Reform received the royal assent on the 9th of September.

Lord Eldon, in this perilous crisis of a contest between the peers and the

[1] The great abilities of Lord Lyndhurst were exerted in a striking manner in his leadership of the opposition to this bill in the house of lords.]

commons, lamented that his infirmities prevented him from going down to the house of lords—not to conciliate, not to reconcile the differences between the two houses—but to grapple with the proceedings altogether, and persuade the lords utterly to reject the bill. Sitting "pale as a marble statue," and seeing terrible changes gradually darkening over all he had loved and venerated in corporate institutions, we may venture to inquire if the outward glories of municipal power thus departing were as dear to his troubled soul as their ancient charters. What wonderful manifestations of grandeur were presented to the admiring eyes of the people by the majority of corporations as they existed in 1835! What processions were there on every possible occasion, of red gowns and blue, with mace-bearer and beadle! To walk in toged state to church, or to proclaim an election writ, or to open a gingerbread fair; to be adorned with golden chains as mayor and aldermen sitting on high in their tribunals at quarter sessions; to look venerable, clothed in scarlet and fur, at solemn supper in open hall like the Tudor and Stuart kings, on fair-nights, holding the pie-powder court, where the "dustifoot" might go for justice—these were indeed gorgeous displays. Magnificent pageants on the mayor's day existed in a few provincial cities and boroughs: Norwich had its "whifflers" and its "dragon." All the ancient and modern glories were to depart; even the mayor's feast was to be an inexpensive banquet, not defrayed out of the corporate funds. The mansion houses were to be let for warehouses. Well might the good ex-chancellor weep, having only one poor consolation, that the city of London was to be spared; that its lord mayor would still have the glorious privilege of interrupting for one day in the year the real business of three millions of people, to assert by his men-in-armour, and his pasteboard Gog and Magog, his pretended rule over a community of which only one thirtieth would be subject to his jurisdiction.

THE SESSION OF 1836

The disposition which had been manifested in the session of 1835 by the majority of the house of lords, threatening something beyond a passing difference with the majority of the house of commons, became stronger and more confirmed in the session of 1836. The compromise upon the English Municipal Reform Bill had averted, in some degree, the apprehension of a perilous conflict between the two branches of the legislature. The question of corporation reform in Ireland was to be disposed of in the session of 1836, with an absolute indifference to the opinions of the commons. In 1835, on the reading of that bill a third time in the lower house at so late a period of the session as the 13th of August, Mr. Sinclair, a Scotch member, anticipating the probable course that would be taken by the lords when in the next session it should be sent to the upper house, said that it must pass through the ordeal of an assembly in which the laws of truth and justice would not be set at nought, in which vested rights would not be invaded, in which no bill would pass for the destruction of the Protestant establishment in Ireland, by transferring the influence from property, which in a preponderating ratio was in the hands of Protestants, to Roman Catholics, who in point of numbers would in most cases obtain the pre-eminence. It is easy to judge from this declaration how sustained and bitter would be the controversy upon the subject of Irish corporations in the session of 1836, in which a new bill was brought in and passed by the house of commons on the 28th of March.

During the short administration of Sir Robert Peel he submitted to a committee of the house of commons the details of a measure for facilitating the

settlement of the vexatious tithe question in England and Wales. He proposed to establish a commission to superintend the voluntary commutation of tithe in parishes, and to remove the impediments in the way of an easy accomplishment of such voluntary principle. The committee agreed to the proposed resolution for a payment in money in substitution for tithe, to be charged upon the tithable land in each parish, such payment to be subject to variation at stated periods according to the prices of corn. On the 9th of February, in the session of 1836, Lord John Russell introduced the government plan, which was founded upon the same principle as that of Sir Robert Peel, of a money payment instead of a payment in kind, but differing from it as establishing something more effective than a mere voluntary commutation. By the measure of Lord John Russell a voluntary commutation was in the first instance to be promoted; but in case of no such agreement a compulsory commutation was to be effected by commissioners. The object of the Tithe Commutation Act which was finally passed was to assimilate tithes as much as possible to a rent-charge upon the land. That charge was to be determined by taking the averages of the corn returns during seven preceding years; and a fixed quantity of corn having been previously determined as a proper portion for the tithe owner, the amount of money payment was to be settled by a septennial average of the price of corn. The opposition to this measure assumed no party character. The clergy did not feel their interests to be invaded. The landowner and farmer had for years complained that no institution was more adverse to cultivation and improvement than tithes, as Dr. Paley had long before declared. The clergy were disposed to believe that the plan of the same sagacious political philosopher to convert tithes into corn rents would secure the tithe-holder a complete and perpetual equivalent for his interest.

Another measure of the session of 1836, which amply refuted the opinion that legislators in either house could only look at great social questions through the mists of party, was the passing of the bill for allowing counsel to prisoners. The final debate upon the bill in the house of lords was remarkable for a most honourable declaration of Lord Lyndhurst, that his former opposition to the measure had been converted into a hearty approval of it. In an interesting volume by Mr. Matthew Davenport Hill we have a succinct and very complete history of the course of public opinion on the question of counsel to prisoners. He shows that even Judge Jeffreys had told a jury that he thought it a hard case that a man should have counsel to defend himself for a twopenny trespass, but that he should be denied counsel where life, estate, honour, and all were concerned. It was not until 1824 that any attempt was made in parliament to remove this disability under which prisoners laboured. In that year Mr. George Lamb, the brother of Lord Melbourne, brought the subject before the house of commons. He was supported by Sir James Mackintosh, Doctor Lushington, and Mr. Denman. Mr. Canning was favourable to the change, but the speech of Mr. Attorney-General Copley had converted him into an opponent of the measure. Sydney Smith in 1826 drew a picture of the cruel oppression involved in the disability of the prisoner's counsel to address a jury: "It is a most affecting moment in a court of justice when the evidence has all been heard, and the judge asks the prisoner what he has to say in his defence. The prisoner, who has (by great exertions, perhaps, of his friends) saved up money enough to procure counsel, says to the judge that he leaves his defence to his counsel. We have often blushed for English humanity to hear the reply: 'Your counsel cannot speak for you; you must speak for yourself.' And this is the reply given to a poor girl of

eighteen—to a foreigner—to a deaf man—to a stammerer—to the sick—to the feeble—to the old—to the most abject and ignorant of human beings!" In 1834 the Prisoners' Counsel Bill was introduced into the house of commons by Mr. Ewart. The debate was on the second reading, when Mr. Hill, the member for Hull, seconded Mr. Ewart's motion. The measure was passed by the house of commons without a division, but was rejected by the lords. It was brought forward again by Mr. Ewart in 1835—when it dropped on account of the late period of the session—and in 1836. In the latter year it was carried by a majority of forty-four. It was then introduced to the house of lords by Lord Lyndhurst. It was on that occasion that he made his honest recantation of his former opinion. He had come to a conviction that the evils and inconveniences of allowing counsel to prisoners had been greatly exaggerated, and ought not to be put for a moment in competition with that which the obvious justice of the case so clearly demanded. Twice did the house of lords debate this question, but the measure passed without a division. Lord Abinger, formerly Mr. Scarlett, might have great doubts as to the policy of the bill, and be afraid of their lordships becoming too much in love with theory; but no expression of doubt, no plea for delay could stand up against the united opinions of such men as Lord Denman, Lord Cottenham, then chancellor, and Lord Lyndhurst. It is a remnant, said Lord Lyndhurst, of a barbarous practice. The continuance of it is against the great current of authority. It is contrary to the practice of all civilised nations. An alteration was essential to the due investigation of truth.

Vital Statistics: the Newspaper Stamp

One of the most important measures towards a more complete system of national statistics was brought forward by Lord John Russell in the session of 1836. On the 12th of February he introduced the Bill for the General Registration of Births, Deaths, and Marriages. At the same time he brought forward a bill for amending the law regulating the marriages of dissenters, which regulation was connected with the establishment of a general civil registration. With regard to the second bill it was shrewdly anticipated by Sir Robert Peel that, when no point of honour was concerned, many of the dissenters, particularly the female portion of them, would prefer being married in church. There were no intolerant prejudices opposed in the legislature to the passing of the bill which permitted marriages to be solemnised in the presence of the district registrar. To the other bill no stickler for antiquity could prefer the parochial registry established by Secretary Cromwell exactly three hundred years before this measure was to come into operation, to one general system which under responsible officers should supersede the variable entries of sixteen thousand parishes, so often lost or mutilated, and so difficult to be referred to even when properly preserved. The important office of superintendent registrar was created by this statute. The Poor-law unions were divided into districts for which registrars were appointed, with a superintendent registrar in each union. The regulations by which a complete registration of births and deaths is accomplished are now familiar to every father and mother, and every occupier of a house in which any birth or death may happen, who are bound to furnish information of the fact to the registrar. Mr. Porter[1] says, "The establishing of a department for the systematic registration of births, marriages, and deaths, in England and Wales, has been of great use in the examination of questions depending upon various contingencies connected with human life." Certified copies of

the entries of births and deaths are sent quarterly by the registrar to the superintendent registrar, and by him to the registrar-general. It is from this source that we derive the knowledge of many most interesting facts connected with the progress of the population—facts which the scientific knowledge and the literary skill of the heads of the registrar-general's department have redeemed from the ordinary dulness of statistics to constitute some of the most attractive reading of the public journals. The registrar-general's annual report enables the legislature to form a tolerably accurate estimate of the increment of the population in the decennial intervals of a census.

In this session there were two most important changes proposed by the government with reference to journalism and the general commerce of literature. On the 20th of June the chancellor of the exchequer moved "that the duty payable upon every sheet whereon a newspaper is printed shall in future be one penny." The newspaper stamp for many years had been fourpence. Amongst the opponents of this measure one county member complained that already the mails were so heavily laden on a Saturday night with newspapers that it was hardly safe to travel by them. The chancellor of the exchequer had anticipated that the penny stamp would produce quite as much as the fourpenny stamp. "If he is right," said Sir Charles Knightley, "then the quantity of newspapers must be more than trebled, and if so, there must be a tax raised for their conveyance." The proposition of the chancellor of the exchequer was carried by a majority of only thirty-three, and with some alterations finally passed the house of lords. The other measure was a reduction of the duty on paper. Lord Francis Egerton, himself a man of letters, in presenting a petition before the government proposition was introduced, claimed for this subject the best attention of the house on account of the effect which the state of the law produced on literature, especially upon cheap literature. By the act to repeal the existing duties on paper, which received the royal assent on the 13th of August, the varying duties according to the class or denomination were merged in one uniform duty upon all paper of three halfpence per pound. The relief to the publishers of cheap works was as timely as it was important. We may instance that it came to save the *Penny Cyclopædia* from extinction in the fourth year of its struggle against heavy loss, under the opposing conditions of paying at the highest rate for literary labour, and selling at as low a rate as that of works in which the quality of the authorship was a secondary consideration.

On the 31st of January, 1837, parliament was opened by commissioners. The most important passage in the royal speech had reference to the state of the province of Lower Canada. It is unnecessary here to enter upon the history of those discontents which ended in insurrection. Grievances were removed, and revolts were put down, at no distant period; from which time the course of events may be regarded as a whole. Few of the proceedings of parliament during a session which circumstances had rendered unusually short acquired a legislative completion. Lord John Russell proposed the government plan for introducing Poor laws into Ireland. The dissolution of parliament interrupted the progress of the bill. The chancellor of the exchequer proposed a measure for the abolition of church rates, which was strenuously opposed, and finally was abandoned by the government. Lord John Russell introduced a series of bills for the further amendment of the criminal law. These also were to stand over till another session. Only twenty-one public acts, none of which effected any important changes, received the royal assent of King William IV.

THE DEATH OF WILLIAM IV (1837 A.D.)

On the 9th of June a bulletin issued from Windsor castle informing a loyal and really affectionate people that the king was ill. It announced that he had suffered for some time from an affection of the chest, which had confined him to his apartment, had produced considerable weakness, but had not interrupted his usual attention to business. There was less apprehension of a serious result from it being generally known that his majesty, previous to his accession to the throne, had been subject to violent attacks of what is called the hay-fever. This malady had returned. From the 12th of June bulletins were regularly issued till the 19th. The irritation of the lungs had then greatly increased, and respiration had become exceedingly painful. By the king's express desire the archbishops of Canterbury and York prepared a prayer for his restoration to health, which, on the 16th, was ordered by the privy council to be used immediately before the litany. On Sunday, the 18th of June, the symptoms assumed a more alarming character, and it was announced in the bulletin of the 19th that his majesty on that day had received the sacrament at the hands of the archbishop of Canterbury. On Tuesday, the 20th of June, the last of these official documents was issued. His majesty had expired that morning at twelve minutes past two o'clock.

The lapse of time has enabled us to appreciate the justice of those parliamentary eulogies on the character of William IV which immediately followed his death. In the house of lords Viscount Melbourne dwelt upon his zeal and assiduity in the discharge of the public business; upon his fairness and sense of justice—"most fair, most candid, most impartial, most willing to hear, to weigh, and to consider what was urged even in opposition to his most favourite opinions." The duke of Wellington bore distinct testimony to the total absence of vindictive feelings in the late king. The opposition of the duke when prime minister to the views of the lord high admiral had compelled him to resign that great office which he was most anxious to retain; and yet on his accession he employed the duke in his service, and manifested towards him the greatest kindness. Earl Grey described him as truly "a Patriot King"—one whose most anxious desire was to decide what was best for the country over which he ruled. Lord Brougham entirely agreed in what had been said of the amiable disposition, the inflexible love of justice, and the rare candour by which the character of William IV was distinguished. In the house of commons Lord John Russell panegyrised the conduct of the late king towards his ministers as marked by sincerity and kindness. He was in the habit of stating his opinions frankly, fairly, and fully; never seeking any indirect means of accomplishing an object, but in a straightforward and manly way confined himself to an open, simple, and plain attempt to impress the minds of others with the opinion which he might at the moment entertain. If his constitutional advisers differed from him, and still continued to be his servants, he left them wholly responsible for carrying into effect the course of policy which they recommended. His devotion during his last illness to the public business was the same as it had been through his whole reign. During a period of great suffering whatever required immediate attention received immediate notice. On the last day of his life he signed one of those papers in which he exercised the royal prerogative of mercy. Sir Robert Peel bore the same testimony to the king's utter forgetfulness of all amusement, and even of all private considerations, that could for a moment interfere with the most efficient discharge of his public duties.[1]

THE KING'S LIFE IN RETROSPECT

William Henry, the third son of George III, was born in August, 1765, and was therefore in his seventy-second year at the time of his death. He was destined for the sea, and became a midshipman at the age of fourteen. It is amusing to read, at this distance of time, of the distresses of the admiralty at the insubordination to rules shown by Prince William, when he had risen high enough in the service to have a ship of his own to play his pranks with. When he was two or three and twenty, he twice left a foreign station without leave, thus setting an example which might ruin the discipline of the navy, if left unpunished. But how adequately to punish a prince of the blood was the perplexity of the admiralty. They ordered him to remain in harbour at Plymouth for as long a time as he had absented himself from his proper post, and then to return to his foreign station. This was not enough; but it was thought to be all that could be done in such a case; and the prince was withdrawn from the active exercise of his profession—from that time ascending through the gradations of naval rank as a mere matter of form. For twenty years he continued thus to rise in naval rank, besides being made duke of Clarence, with an allowance from parliament of £12,000 a year.

During those twenty years, when he should have been active in his profession, he was living idly on shore, endeavouring after that enjoyment of domestic life for which he was eminently fitted, and from which our princes are so cruelly debarred by the operation of the Royal Marriage Act. The duke of Clarence was the virtual husband of Mrs. Jordan, the most bewitching of actresses, and the queen of his heart during the best part of his life. They had ten children—five sons and five daughters. It is averred by those who understand the matter well that the conduct of the duke of Clarence in his unfortunate position was as good as the circumstances permitted—that he was as faithful and generous to Mrs. Jordan as some parties declared him to be otherwise. When men place themselves in such a position, they are bound to bear all its consequences without complaint; and it is understood that the duke of Clarence endured much complaint and undeserved imputation with a patience and silence which were truly respectable. His children, the Fitzclarence family, were received in society with a freedom very unusual in England under such circumstances, and certainly, the strict English people appeared to be pleased rather than offended that the affectionate-hearted prince, to whom no real liberty of marriage had been left, should be surrounded in his old age by children who repaid his affection by exemplary duty and care. If this was a spectacle unfit—by the very mixture of goodness in it—for the court of England, the harm that there was in it was ascribed to the position of royalty rather than the fault of the prince, while all believed that no reparation to the purity of society could be effectually made by depriving the old man of the comfort of his children's society. Some of the family had occasion to find that forbearance could go even further than this; for they were left unhurt, except by universal censure, after their improper and foolish exertion of domestic influences against the Reform Bill and the Grey administration.

After the death of the princess Charlotte, when many royal marriages took place, in competition for the succession, the duke of Clarence married the eldest daughter of the duke of Saxe Meiningen. No issue from this marriage survived, though two infants were born only to die. For a few months, as we have seen, the duke of Clarence bore the dignity of lord high admiral; and he

had previously performed a few holiday services on the sea by escorting and conveying royal visitors and adventurers across the Channel, and up and down in it. In politics, he had through life shown the same changeableness as in his conduct on the throne. On scarcely any subject was he firm but in his opposition to the abolition of slavery. He had not mind enough to grasp a great principle and hold to it; and, as he had not the obstinacy of his father and elder brothers, he was necessarily infirm of purpose, and as difficult to deal with in state matters as any of his family. What the difficulty amounted to, the history of the reform movement shows. In other respects, there was no comparison between the comfort of intercourse with him and with the two preceding sovereigns. He was too harebrained to be relied on with regard to particular measures and opinions; but his benevolent concern for his people, his confiding courtesy to the ministers who were with him (whatever they might be), and his absence of self-regards, except where his timidity came into play, made him truly respectable and dear, in comparison with his predecessors. When his weakness was made conspicuous by incidents of the time, it seemed a pity that he should have been accidentally made a king: but then again some trait of benignity or patience or native humility would change the aspect of the case, and make it a subject of rejoicing that virtues of that class were seen upon the throne, to convince such of the people as might well doubt it that a king may have a heart, and that some of its overflow might be for them.

The funeral took place at night on the 8th of July, the duke of Sussex being chief mourner. For the last time, the royal crown of Hanover was placed beside the imperial crown on the coffin of a king of England.[i]





CHAPTER IV

THE EARLY YEARS OF QUEEN VICTORIA

[1837–1856 A.D.]

Resplendent with glory, teeming with inhabitants, overflowing with riches, boundless in extent, the British Empire, at the accession of Queen Victoria, seemed the fairest and most powerful dominion upon earth. It had come victorious through the most terrible strife which ever divided mankind, and more than once, in the course of it, singly confronted Europe in arms. It had struck down the greatest conqueror of modern times. It still retained the largest part of the continent of North America, and a new continent in Australia had been recently added, without opposition, to its mighty domains. All the navies of the world had sought in vain to wrest from the hands of its sovereign the sceptre of the ocean; all the industry of man, to rival in competition the produce of its manufactures or the wealth of its merchants. It had given birth to steam navigation, which had bridged the Atlantic, and railways, which had more than halved distance. It had subdued realms which the Macedonian phalanx could not reach, and attained a dominion beyond what the Roman legions had conquered. An hundred and twenty millions of men, at the period of its highest prosperity, obeyed the sceptre of Alexander; as many in after-times were blessed by the rule of the Antonines; but an hundred and fifty millions peopled the realms of Queen Victoria; and the sun never set on her dominions, for before "his declining rays had ceased to illuminate the ramparts of Quebec, his ascending beams flamed on the minarets of Calcutta."—ALISON.*b*

THE death of William IV, on the 20th of June, 1837, placed on the throne of England a young princess, who was destined to reign for a longer period than any of her predecessors. The new queen, the only daughter of the duke of Kent, the fourth son of George III, had just attained her majority Educated in comparative seclusion, her character and her person were unfamiliar to her future subjects, who were a little weary of the extravagances and eccentricities of her immediate predecessors. Her accession gave them a new interest in the house of Hanover. And their loyalty, which would in any

case have been excited by the accession of a young and inexperienced girl to the throne of the greatest empire in the world, was stimulated by her conduct and appearance. She displayed from the first a dignity and good sense which won the affection of the multitude who merely saw her in public, and the confidence of the advisers who were admitted into her presence.[c]

Before we take up the political events of the new reign, we may well pause to learn something of the personality of the young sovereign who was to become in later years the most revered of monarchs.[a] She was the only child of Edward, duke of Kent, fourth son of King George III, and was born in Kensington Palace, on the 24th of May, 1819. Her parents had been living at Amorbach, in Franconia, owing to the duke of Kent's straitened circumstances, but they returned to London on purpose that their child should be born in England; and the duke was so anxious for the safety of his wife that he himself drove the carriage over all the land part of the journey from Bavaria. The duchess of Kent was the princess Victoria Mary Louisa of Coburg, who had been married first to Prince Emich Karl of Leiningen, and by him had two children. The birth of the duke of Kent's baby was not considered at the time an event of much importance, for several lives and many possibilities stood between the infant and her chance of succeeding to the throne. George III was still alive—aged, blind, and insane—and two brothers of the prince regent older than the duke of Kent were living also. The first of these, the duke of York, was not likely to have children; but the duke of Clarence had been married on the same day as the duke of Kent to the princess Adelaide of Saxe-Meiningen, and he was to have two daughters, both of whom, however, died during infancy. The question as to what name the duke of Kent's child should bear was not settled without bickerings. The duke of Kent wished her to be christened Elizabeth, after England's greatest queen, but the czar Alexander I had promised to stand sponsor, and his ambassador in London, Prince Lieven, made great efforts to get the child named Alexandrina. On the other hand, the prince regent desired that his niece should be called Georgiana. In the end the regent yielded to the czar, but said that as the name of George could stand second to none, that of Georgiana should not be conferred at all. The baptism was performed in a drawing-room of Kensington Palace on 24th June by Dr. Manners-Sutton, archbishop of Canterbury, who used the gold font which figures among the regalia in the Tower. The prince regent, who was present, named the child Alexandrina; then, being respectfully requested by the duke of Kent to give a second name, he said, rather abruptly, "Let her be called Victoria, after her mother, but this name must come after the other," upon which the duke of York, as proxy for the emperor of Russia, made a low bow.

Six weeks after her christening the princess was vaccinated. This was the first occasion on which a member of the royal family underwent the operation, and it helped greatly to diminish the prejudice against Jenner's discovery among ignorant people. In January, 1820, the duke of Kent died, six days before his brother, the prince regent, succeeded to the throne as George IV. The widowed duchess of Kent was no longer in her first youth. She was a woman of thirty-four, handsome, homely, a German at heart, and with little liking for English ways. But she was a woman of experience and shrewd; and, fortunately, she had in her brother, Prince Leopold of Coburg, afterwards king of the Belgians, a safe and affectionate adviser. This prince had been the husband of the princess Charlotte of Wales, daughter of the regent and direct heir to the British crown, who died in 1817 with her new-born child, and this double bereavement had destroyed both his domestic happiness and

his political expectations. In his sorrow he had never had the courage to look upon the face of his infant niece before her father's death, but from that day he took the child under his guardianship, lavishing as much devotion on her as if she had been his own daughter. The prince lived at Claremont, and this became the duchess of Kent's occasional home; but she was much addicted to travelling, and spent several months every year in visits to watering-places. It was said at court that she liked the demonstrative homage of crowds; but she had good reason to fear lest her child should be taken away from her to be educated according to the views of George IV. Between the king and his sister-in-law there was little love. The spirited duchess had never concealed her dislike for his majesty's character, or her contempt for his associates of both sexes, and she had also managed to make an enemy of the ill-natured duke of Cumberland, whom the king feared for his cutting tongue. The duke sought to embitter his brother's mind against the duchess of Kent, and when the death of the duke of Clarence's two children, in 1820 and 1821, had made it pretty certain that Princess Victoria would become queen, the duchess felt that the king might possibly obtain the support of his ministers if he insisted that the future sovereign should be brought up under masters and mistresses designated by himself.

In 1830 George IV died, and William IV having ascended the throne, the princess Victoria became his heir. A Regency bill was introduced into parliament by Lord Lyndhurst, chancellor in the duke of Wellington's administration, and it was judged that the princess ought now to be told of her proper place in the order of succession. One day the baroness Lehzen put a genealogical table into her pupil's English history. Sir Theodore Martin,[1] in his *Life of the Prince Consort*, tells a pretty tale of the surprise the princess entertained when she saw how much nearer the throne she stood than she had ever supposed. Such accounts are for the most part apocryphal, yet the present narrative may very probably represent the general tenor of an actual conversation. The princess is alleged to have shown great surprise, modified, however, by a native dignity that prevented her from any outburst of enthusiasm. She seems to have been impressed with the responsibilities that would attach to the position of sovereign rather than with its splendours. As the legend has passed into history, she made the simple but effective declaration "I will be good," going on to say that she now understood why she had been urged to study so many things, including Latin, in which various of her aunts had not been tutored. It was pointed out to her that though she stood so near the throne, there was still a possibility that she might never reach it, since her aunt Adelaide was still young and might bear a child who would succeed its father on the throne; to which the princess is said to have made the pretty response: "And if it were so, I should not be disappointed, for I know by the love Aunt Adelaide bears me how fond she is of children."[a]

Queen Adelaide was a very good woman. When the second of her children died she had written to the duchess of Kent, "My children are dead, but your child lives, and she is mine, too." Kind old William IV also cherished affectionate feelings towards his niece; unfortunately he took offence at the duchess of Kent for declining to let her child come and live at his court for several months in each year, and through the whole of his reign there was strife between the two; and Prince Leopold, who, after refusing the crown of Greece, had been induced to open a new career for himself as king of the Belgians, was no longer in England to act as peacemaker.

In May, 1837, the duchess received an address from the city of London,

congratulating her on the majority of her daughter, and in her reply she hinted that she had been friendless when she arrived in England, and had since that time met with kindness only from the nation, not from the royal family. Exasperated at this, the king vowed he would hold no more terms with the duchess. The amount of the princess' allowance was under discussion at the time, and the duchess desired to be appointed trustee for her daughter; but the king declared that the princess should have £10,000 a year for her own sole use uncontrolled, and he wrote her a private letter to this effect in fatherly terms. The marquis of Conyngham, lord chamberlain, bore the missive to Kensington, and the duchess of Kent held out her hand to receive it. "The king's commands are that I should deliver the letter to the princess Victoria," said Lord Conyngham as coldly as possible, and he did this. The princess had never before had an unopened letter put into her hands. Before breaking the seal she turned with an affectionate gesture towards her mother, as if to beg her permission; and eventually, by the duchess' advice, a grateful answer was written, thanking the king for his intended kindness. But the allowance was never settled, since four weeks later William IV died. The thoughts of his last hours dwelt often on his niece, and he repeatedly said that he was sure she would be "a good woman and a good queen. It will touch every sailor's heart to have a girl queen to fight for. They'll be tattooing her face on their arms, and I'll be bound they'll all think she was christened after Nelson's ship." He wanted much to see his niece at his bedside, and at twelve o'clock on Monday, the 19th, an express was sent to Kensington, commanding the princess Victoria's immediate attendance. The duchess of Kent chose to ignore this order, though she subsequently explained that the commands had not been brought to her in the king's name, and that she had not understood that his majesty was at the point of death. It had been her intention to go to Windsor on the following day, but William IV died in the night.

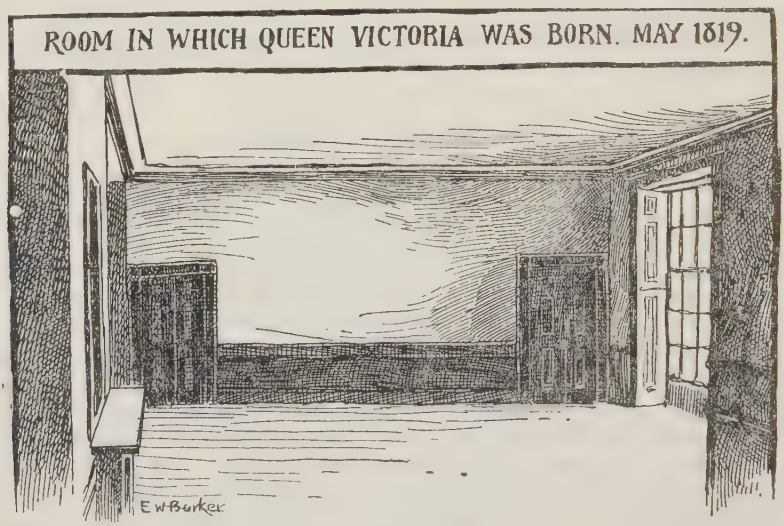
THE QUEEN'S ACCESSION

The king died at about 2 A.M., and half an hour afterwards Dr. Howley, archbishop of Canterbury, and the marquis of Conyngham, started in a landau with four horses for Kensington, which they reached at five o'clock. The sun broke from behind clouds and shed a glory over the old red brick palace as they drove up to it, and the archbishop noted this as a good omen. Lord Conyngham observed that the proclamation would take place on the morrow, the first day of summer and the longest day of the year, which was of happy augury, too. For a long time, however, the two dignitaries who came to hail the girl-queen could not rouse the porter at the gate. Their servants rang, knocked, and thumped; and when at last admittance was gained, the primate and the marquis were shown into a lower room and there left to wait. Presently a maid appeared and said that the princess Victoria was "in a sweet sleep and could not be disturbed." Dr. Howley, who was nothing if not pompous, and who, being attired in his rochet, was vexed that this garment had not obtained for him more respectful treatment, answered with some warmth that he had come on state business, to which everything, even sleep, must give place. The princess was accordingly roused, and quickly came downstairs in a dressing-gown, her fair hair flowing loose over her shoulders. The duchess of Kent accompanied her, likewise *en deshabille*, and in a few minutes the ever-vigilant Baroness Lehzen entered upon the scene with a bottle of *sal volatile*, and the words "Your majesty" gushing from her lips.

The young queen shed tears on hearing the archbishop's very solemn announcement, and for a few moments she stood weeping in silence, with her face resting on her mother's shoulder. "I felt no exultation, but something like fear," she wrote a few days later to her uncle Leopold.

She was then in her nineteenth year, of pleasing countenance without being pretty, and of dignified deportment without constraint in her movements. She had blue eyes and a rosy complexion; she smiled readily, and had a gentle, wistful glance, which always seemed to solicit the approbation of those to whom she spoke, and turned quickly to astonishment or sadness if she met no genial response. Her dancing mistress, Mlle. Bourdin, had taught her to walk, bow, and curtsey in the French fashion—that is, with gracious inclinations of the head and cheerful looks (which were contrary to the etiquette of German courts, where everything used to be done with rigid gravity), but the happy vivacity of the princess's disposition prevented any of her gestures from appearing artificial. She was always natural and waived etiquette whenever it interfered with a free display of her impulses towards anybody whom she loved or honoured. Her demeanour throughout the trying day when she succeeded to the throne excited general admiration.

The privy council assembled at Kensington at eleven o'clock; and the usual oaths were administered to the queen by Lord Chancellor Cottenham, after which all present did homage. There was a touching incident when the queen's uncles, the dukes of Cumberland and Sussex, two old men, came forward to perform their obeisance. The queen blushed to the brow, and descending from her throne, kissed them both, without allowing them to kneel. By the death of William IV the duke of Cumberland had become



king of Hanover, and immediately after the ceremony he made haste to reach his kingdom. Within a fortnight of his arrival there he had revoked the constitution of the country, and wrote to his friend, the duke of Buckingham, boasting that he had "cut the wings of democracy." Had Queen Victoria died without issue, this prince, who was arrogant, ill-tempered, and rash, would have become king of Great Britain; and, as nothing but mischief could have resulted from this, the young queen's life became very precious in the

sight of her people. She, of course, retained the late king's ministers in their offices, and it was under Lord Melbourne's direction that the privy council drew up their declaration to the kingdom. This document described the queen as Alexandrina Victoria, and all the peers who subscribed the roll in the house of lords on 20th June swore allegiance to her under those names. It was not till the following day that the sovereign's style was altered to Victoria simply, and this necessitated the issuing of a new declaration and a re-signing of the peers' roll.

The public proclamation of the queen took place on the 21st at St. James' Palace with great pomp, and it proved a severe ordeal for the nerves of a delicate girl still under her mother's care. Crowds lined the whole route from Kensington, which then stood quite in the suburbs; and from Hyde Park Corner, where the masses became more dense, the young queen, in her open carriage, was greeted with cheers so loud and hearty that by the time she reached St. James' she was trembling with emotion. She appeared at a window in the courtyard of the palace, dressed in deep mourning, with a white tippet, white cuffs, and a border of white lace under her small black bonnet; and everybody noticed how pale she was. Sir Ralph Bigland, garter king, made his proclamation, according to the quaint old forms in presence of the lord mayor of London and sheriffs, the great officers of state, and a cohort of heralds; and when his concluding words were followed by a blare of trumpets and the acclamations of a loyal crowd thronging all the approaches to the palace, the queen's fortitude for a moment forsook her. It was in allusion to this that Elizabeth Barrett Browning wrote her pretty lines about the child-queen who "wept to wear a crown." [d]

The funeral of William IV had taken place at Windsor on the 9th of July. On the 17th the queen went in state to parliament. The chronicles of the time are eloquent in their descriptions of the enthusiasm with which her majesty was received, and of the extraordinary concourse of ladies of rank in the house of lords to do honour to the rare occasion of the presence there of the third female sovereign who had thus met the lords and commons assembled in parliament. In the speech from the throne her majesty stated that amongst the useful measures which parliament had brought to maturity she regarded with peculiar interest the amendment of the criminal code and the reduction of the number of capital punishments. She hailed this mitigation of the severity of the law as an auspicious commencement of her reign. "It will be my care," she said, "to strengthen our institutions, civil and ecclesiastical, by discreet improvement wherever improvement is required, and to do all in my power to compose and allay animosity and discord." These words were the key-note of that harmony which, during the progress of a quarter of a century, superseded in a great degree the harsh discords which had too long distinguished the contests of parties and of principles. The parliament was prorogued, and was dissolved the same evening.

The ministry which Queen Victoria found at her accession was one whose general character was in harmony with the opinions in which she had been educated. Viscount Melbourne, the first lord of the treasury, was at her hand to guide and assist her in the discharge of the technical business of her great office. The daily duties of the sovereign are of no light nature. Many of the complicated details of the various departments of the state must pass under the eye of the constitutional monarch for approval, and a vast number of documents can only receive their validity from the signature of the sovereign. During the elections, which were over early in August, the party contests assumed a tone not entirely constitutional; for the adherents of the ministry

alleged to their constituents that in supporting them they were exhibiting their loyalty to the queen, whilst the adverse party maintained that her majesty had only passively adopted that administration of her uncle which she found established. But amidst these fluctuating demonstrations of political management there was one feeling predominant, which was certainly favourable to the duration of the ministry—that of a deep and growing attachment to the person of the young sovereign.[e]

If the kindliness and open heart of William IV had been refreshing after the temper and manners of his predecessors, the youthfulness and gaiety of the new sovereign were now really exhilarating after the spectacle of so many years of a feeble old man in the royal carriage. At first the queen was in high spirits, liking to see and be seen, driving in the parks when they were most thronged, dining at Guildhall, and saying, as she went down to open the parliament, "Let my people see me." There were smiles on her face, and she met nothing but smiles and acclamations. On the 9th of November, when she went to dine at Guildhall, London did not look like itself, with its gravelled streets, and avenues of green boughs and flags; and the old hall itself, usually so dingy and dirty, seemed to have grown young for the occasion—brilliant as it was with decorations, with crimson cloth and silk, with flags and banners, and armour glittering among the innumerable lights. Under the magnificent canopy, in the gorgeous chair of state, was seen no portly elderly gentleman, fatigued almost before the festivities had begun; but the slight figure of the young girl, all health and spirits, who half rose and bowed round to her relations—her mother, her uncles, aunts, and cousins—when the health of the royal family was proposed. There were reviews in the parks, where all London seemed to have poured out to see the queen, who, as was always said, "looked remarkably well," and enjoyed the greetings of her subjects. Then (on June 28th) there was the coronation—that bright day when there was not standing-room left for another spectator anywhere within view of any part of the pageant, and yet no accident of the smallest consequence happened from morning till night: an early morning and a late night; for the first rays of the midsummer sun that slanted down through the high windows of Westminster Abbey shone upon the jewels of whole rows of peeresses, and upon scarlet uniforms scattered among court dresses, and church vestments, and splendid female array, and the illuminations of that night were not out when the next sun rose. It was a day of great fatigue and excitement; but all present in the Abbey defied fatigue, for all hoped that this might be the last coronation they might ever have the opportunity of seeing.[f]

To be sure the splendours which had attended the coronation of George IV were to some extent dispensed with. There was no solemn procession of the estates of the realm. There was no banquet in Westminster Hall, with its accompanying feudal services. But there was a gorgeous cavalcade which more than realised the pomp of ancient times, when the king came "from the Tower of London to his palace at Westminster through the midst of the city, mounted on a horse, handsomely habited, and bare-headed, in the sight of all the people." Charles II was the last king who thus went to his coronation in procession from the Tower. Queen Victoria went from Buckingham Palace through the line of streets from Hyde Park Corner, where the houses were not hung with tapestry, as of old, but where galleries and scaffolding were raised throughout the line, and the windows were filled with ladies whose enthusiasm was as hearty as that to which Elizabeth bowed. Never were the streets more crowded. Never were the cheers of an enormous multitude—swelled, it is said, by two hundred thousand persons from the country—more deafening

than when the queen passed along; the last of a cavalcade in which, next to herself, the persons most greeted by the popular voice were the duke of Wellington and his old opponent Marshal Soult, who came as a special ambassador on this occasion. The day was remarkable, not only for the entire absence of accidents, but for the wonderful forbearance of that class who are most usually active on public occasions; there being only seven persons brought to the police stations for picking pockets. The day was observed throughout the kingdom as a general holiday; with public dinners, feasts to the poor, and brilliant illuminations.



QUEEN VICTORIA
(1819–1901)

Parliament was prorogued by the queen in person on the 16th of August. The chief measures which had occupied the discussions in both houses were the settlement of the civil list and the state of Canada. Other measures, which provoked less conflict, were not less important. In his review of the measures of the session the speaker emphatically dwelt upon the provision made for the destitute in Ireland. He said that no measure like the introduction of a poor law into a country circumstanced as Ireland is with respect to the number and condition of its population, could be proposed without incurring heavy responsibility; but that looking at what had been done on this subject by former parliaments with respect to England, they had thought that the time was come when they might legislate for Ireland with safety and with a reasonable prospect of success. The Irish Poor-law statute was in great degree founded upon three comprehensive reports of Mr. Nicholls. The speaker expressed a hope that the execution of that most im-

portant law would be watched over and guided by the same prudent and impartial spirit which governed the deliberations which led to its enactment. It was felt by every one conversant with the subject that no better prospect could be afforded of the probable realisation of this hope than the immediate determination of the government that Mr. Nicholls should proceed to Ireland for the purpose of carrying the new law into operation, which he had, in great part, planned, basing it upon the most searching inquiry and the most careful consideration. Amongst the other important measures of the session were a mitigation of the law of imprisonment for debt; the abridgment of the power of holding benefices in plurality; and the abolition of composition for tithes in Ireland, substituting rent-charges payable by those who had a perpetual interest in the land. In his address to her majesty the speaker adverted to "the improving opinions and increasing knowledge of the educated classes of the community." He probably considered that the time was distant when there would be "improving opinions and increasing knowledge" amongst the bulk of the population who could scarcely be recognised as "educated classes." [e]

In the months which immediately followed the queen's accession news reached England of disturbances or even insurrection in Canada. The rising was easily put down; but the condition of the colony was so grave that the ministry decided to suspend the constitution of Lower Canada for three years, and to send out Lord Durham with almost dictatorial powers. Lord Durham's conduct was, unfortunately, marked by indiscretions which led to his resignation; but before leaving the colony he drew up a report on its condition and on its future, which practically became a text-book for his successors, and has influenced the government of British colonies ever since. Nor was Canada the only great colony which was seething with discontent. In Jamaica the planters, who had sullenly accepted the abolition of slavery, were irritated by the passage of an act of parliament intended to remedy some grave abuses in the management of the prisons of the island. The colonial house of assembly denounced this act as a violation of its rights, and determined to desist from its legislative functions. The governor dissolved the assembly, but the new house, elected in its place, reaffirmed the decision of its predecessor; and the British ministry, in face of the crisis, asked parliament in 1839 for authority to suspend the constitution of the island for five years. The bill introduced for this purpose placed the whig ministry in a position of some embarrassment. The advocates of popular government, they were inviting parliament, for a second time, to suspend representative institutions in an important colony. Supported by only small and dwindling majorities, they saw that it was hopeless to carry the measure, and they decided on placing their resignations in the queen's hands. [e]

THE BEDCHAMBER QUESTION

On the 7th of May Lord John Russell announced the resignation of ministers upon the ground of not having such support and such confidence in the house of commons as would enable them efficiently to carry on the public business. Upon the resignation of her servants the queen had consulted the duke of Wellington, who recommended that Sir Robert Peel should be sent for. The attempt to form a new administration failed, and Lord Melbourne and his colleagues returned to power in a week. On the 13th Sir Robert Peel, having received her majesty's permission to explain the circumstances under which he had relinquished the attempt to form an administration, made that

explanation in the house of commons. The queen's most ingenuous truthfulness was conspicuous in these negotiations. Her majesty at once asked Sir Robert Peel whether he was willing to undertake the duty of forming an administration, at the same time telling him that it was with great regret that she parted with the administration which had just resigned. The next day Sir Robert submitted to her majesty the names of those he proposed to associate with him. No objection was raised as to the persons who were to compose the ministry or to the principles on which it was to be conducted. But a difficulty suggested itself to the minds of Sir Robert and his friends. He again waited upon the queen to state to her majesty the necessity of making some change in the appointment of ladies to fill the great offices of her household.

Her majesty consulted her ministers, and on the 10th wrote the following note: "The queen, having considered the proposal made to her yesterday by Sir Robert Peel, to remove the ladies of her bedchamber, cannot consent to adopt a course which she conceives to be contrary to usage, and which is repugnant to her feelings." Sir Robert, it seems, took an especial objection that the wife of Lord Normanby, lord lieutenant of Ireland, and the sister of Lord Morpeth, the chief secretary, were in the closest attendance upon the queen. He and his party had wholly disapproved the policy of conciliation which was advocated by the Irish administration, and they thus objected to the continued position about the royal person of the marchioness of Normanby and the duchess of Sutherland. Upon the abstract constitutional question it is now generally felt that Sir Robert Peel was right. Immediately after he had declared his inability to form an administration unless the ladies of the bedchamber were removed, the ministry recorded their opinion in a cabinet minute that they held it "reasonable that the great offices of the court, and situations in the household held by members of parliament, should be included in the political arrangements made in a change of the administration; but they are not of opinion that a similar principle should be applied or extended to the offices held by ladies in her majesty's household." The cabinet had precedents to support their view. Lady Sunderland and Lady Rialton had remained in the bedchamber of Queen Anne for a year and a half after the dismissal of their husbands from office, and it was the uniform practice that the ladies of the household of every queen consort should be retained on changes of administration, notwithstanding their relationship to men engaged in political life.

The discussions in and out of parliament which arose upon this question were protracted and violent. The people generally were inclined to think that an attempt had been made to treat the queen with harshness by removing from her presence ladies who had become her personal friends—ladies exemplary in their private lives, and whose accomplishments shed a grace over the court of a female sovereign. Meetings were held in various parts of the country to express approbation of her majesty's conduct. These were no doubt to some extent meetings influenced by political considerations; but the sentiments there expressed were consonant with the general opinion that the queen was worthy of the most respectful sympathy with her actions and feelings. It is painful to relate that from this period was manifested, on the part of some who, disdaining the name of conservatives, clung to the extremest tory opinions, a virulence that did not even exempt from their personal attacks the conduct and character of the sovereign. To those of the present day who have not traced the course of politics in the early part of the queen's reign it would seem impossible to believe that a member of parliament,

at a public dinner at Canterbury, should have designated the sovereign who at a later day secured to an unparalleled extent the love and veneration of her subjects, as one who thought that if the monarchy lasted her time it was enough; that this party firebrand should have been cheered when he talked of the abdication of James II as a precedent not to be forgotten. It would seem impossible to imagine that the colonel and officers of a regiment should have brought themselves under the censure of the commander-in-chief for having sat at a conservative dinner, at Ashton-under-Lyne, to listen to "expressions most insulting and disrespectful towards the queen."[e] But the ladies of the bedchamber were unpopular, and the public took alarm at the notion that the queen had fallen into the hands of an intriguing coterie. Lord Melbourne, who was accused of wishing to rule on the strength of court favour, resumed office with diminished prestige.

There can be no doubt that the queen was badly advised in this emergency. Sir Robert Peel could not be expected to govern while the queen kept about her person ladies who were related to his political opponents. One of the bedchamber ladies was wife of Lord Normanby, the colonial secretary, another was sister to Lord Morpeth, the chief secretary for Ireland, and the warm friendship which the queen proclaimed for these ladies was not a reassuring thing, constitutionally speaking. The tories thus felt aggrieved; and the chartists also were so prompt to make political capital out of the affair that large numbers were added to their ranks. On 14th June Mr. Attwood, M.P. for Birmingham, presented to the house of commons a chartist petition alleged to have been signed by 1,280,000 people. It was a cylinder of parchment of about the diameter of a coach-wheel, and was literally rolled up the floor of the house. On the day after this curious document had furnished both amusement and uneasiness to the commons, a woman, describing herself as Sophia Elizabeth Guelph Sims, made application at the Mansion house for advice and assistance to prove herself the lawful child of George IV and Mrs. Fitzherbert; and this incident, trumpery as it was, added fuel to the disloyal flame then raging.

The year 1839 was one of the most trying through which the queen passed. Going in state to Ascot she was hissed by some ladies as her carriage drove on to the course, and two peeresses, one of them a tory duchess, were openly accused of this unseemly act. Meanwhile some monster chartist demonstrations were being organised, and they commenced on 4th July with riots at Birmingham, which lasted ten days, and had to be put down by armed force. They were followed by others at Newcastle, Manchester, Bolton, Chester, and Macclesfield.

THE QUEEN'S MARRIAGE

These troublous events had the effect of hastening the queen's marriage. There prevailed a feeling that the court was too much under the control of women, and ministers were anxious to be relieved of the delicate responsibility of guiding the young queen in domestic matters. Their position towards the duchess of Kent was one of daily embarrassment. The duchess had no officially recognised power, but so long as her daughter remained unmarried her will in the royal household was paramount, and there were occasions—as in the bedchamber affair—when domestic matters trenched to a dangerous extent on politics. Lord Melbourne, who had publicly borne the odium of the "bedchamber plot," was in reality very loath to be rated as a court favourite, and his paternal attachment to the queen had made him view with con-



THE MARRIAGE OF QUEEN VICTORIA, IN THE CHAPEL ROYAL, ST. JAMES'S PALACE

(From the painting by Sir George Hayter, owned by H. M., the King of England)

cern the occurrences which had caused her name to be too freely bandied about. Accordingly, when he had ascertained that the queen's dispositions towards her cousin, Prince Albert, were unchanged, he advised King Leopold that the prince should come to England and press his suit. The prince arrived with his brother on a visit to Windsor on 10th October, 1839; but he had no idea that a speedy marriage was to result from this journey. A few weeks previously the queen had written to her uncle, and said emphatically that she could entertain no project of matrimony for at least four years, and this having been reported to Prince Albert, he was under the impression that the queen meant to break off their engagement, and that he had been summoned in order that a communication to this effect might be made to him in the most considerate manner possible. In the course of three days, however, he made such good use of his opportunities that he carried his lady's heart by storm.

He had much improved since his last visit in 1836. He was no longer boyish, but tall and handsome, with a look of high intelligence in his clear, blue eyes and expansive forehead. On the evening of his arrival the queen wrote, with significant emotion, to King Leopold: "Albert's beauty is most striking, and he is most amiable and unaffected—in short, very fascinating." After this it is not surprising that on the 14th her majesty should have informed Lord Melbourne that she had made up her mind. "I am very glad of it," answered the premier, with fatherly enthusiasm; "the news will be very well received, for I hear that there is great anxiety now that this thing should be; and you will be much more comfortable, for a woman cannot stand alone, whatever her position may be." It was not till the following day that Prince Albert himself was apprised of the queen's intentions. The proposal had to come from her, and maiden modesty being in conflict with royal etiquette, there was a natural timidity in her manner of approaching the moment which was to settle her life's course. The prince had been hunting in the morning, and when he returned at noon he was summoned to the queen's sitting-room, where he found her alone. She began by talking on different subjects to gain time. M. Daguerre's invention for taking pictures by sunlight—not yet called "photography"—was then a new thing, and some daguerreotypes which had been exhibited to the queen that morning lay on the table. Having shown these, she spoke of the great tournament which



PRINCE ALBERT
(1819–1861)

had lately been held at Eglinton Castle, and of Lady Seymour, the "queen of beauty"; then suddenly, after a pause, she said in German, with tears in her eyes, "Could you forsake your country for me?" The prince's answer was to take her in his arms, and all ended so happily, that, once more writing to her uncle an hour or two later, the queen could say: "I love him more than I can tell, and I shall do everything in my power to render this sacrifice (for such in my opinion it is) as small as I can. I think—and Albert approves —that we ought to be married very soon after parliament meets, at the beginning of February."

The marriage was solemnised on 10th February, 1840, in the Chapel Royal, St. James'. The queen was dressed entirely in articles of British manufacture. Her dress was of Spitalfields silk; her veil of Honiton lace; her ribbons came from Coventry; even her gloves had been made in London of English kid—a novel thing in days when the French had a monopoly in the finer kinds of gloves.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS

From the time of her marriage the queen began to take a really active part in the affairs of state. Previously, her ministers had tried to spare her all disagreeable and fatiguing business. Death warrants were not submitted for her signature, and though she spent an hour or two every morning writing her name on public documents, these were seldom read to her, nor did she ask to be informed of their contents. Lord Melbourne saw her every day, whether she was in London or at Windsor, and he used to explain all current business in a benevolent, chatty manner, which offered a pleasant contrast to the style of his two principal colleagues, Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston. Lord John was never a lady's man. His natural kindliness was concealed under a somewhat sour air; the tone of his voice was piping and dictatorial. He was always in earnest about trifles. Lord Palmerston was a *persifleur*. Handsome, affable, well dressed, and cool, there was a point of irony in his tone as if he felt he were playing a comedy in talking to the queen about serious things which a girl of her age could not be expected to understand, and in asking her for an approval which she could not refuse. Lord Melbourne always guarded himself against the presumption of seeming to expect approval as a matter of course. The words, "Your majesty," sounded on his lips much like "My dear," but when the queen had given assent to his proposals he showed the same kind of pleasure as a fond guardian who is glad to find his ward in harmony with him. Lord Melbourne failed as a party leader, but not as a queen's minister, and it may be questioned whether a statesman of firmer mould would have succeeded so well as he did in making rough places smooth for Prince Albert. Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston were jealous of the prince's interference—and of King Leopold's and Baron Stockmar's exercised through him—in state affairs; but Lord Melbourne took the common-sense view that a husband will control his wife whether people wish it or not. He did not object to the prince being present when he opened his despatch-box before the queen; and, knowing what soreness existed in her majesty's mind against the tories, he strove to mollify the prince's feelings towards a party who might soon come to office. In this he behaved admirably, and he displayed wisdom, though the royal pair hardly appreciated it at the time, in desiring that the queen should retain the baroness Lehzen as her private secretary.

The duchess of Kent, after her daughter's marriage, retired to Ingestre House, Belgrave square, and the queen gave the baroness some hints that

[1840 A.D.]

she might retire, too, on a pension, resigning her secretaryship to Prince Albert. Lord Melbourne thought, however, that the office of private secretary held by a prince would seem to the public too much like a secretaryship of state, and would in any case bring the queen's consort into relations neither dignified nor agreeable with all sorts of people. A great part of a secretary's business consists in writing refusals to importunate requests. To confer on Prince Albert every honour that the crown could bestow, and to let him make his way gradually into public favour by his own tact, was the advice which Lord Melbourne gave; and the prince acted on it so well, avoiding every appearance of intrusion, and treating men of all parties and degrees with urbanity, that within five months of his marriage he obtained a signal mark of the public confidence. In expectation of the queen becoming a mother a bill was passed through parliament providing for the appointment of Prince Albert as sole regent in case the queen, after giving birth to a child, died before her son or daughter came of age.[d]

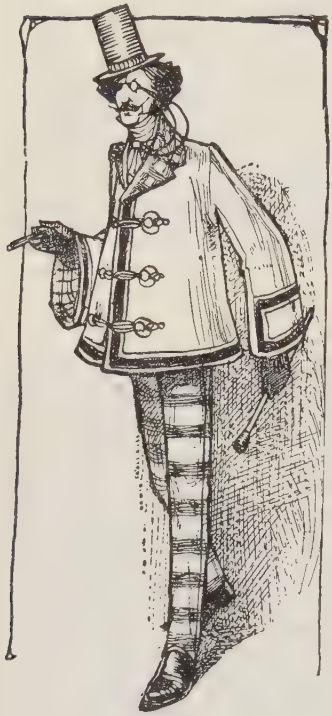
THE PENNY POST (1840 A.D.)

A few weeks before the time of the queen's marriage the people of the United Kingdom had arisen one morning (the 10th of January, 1840) in the possession of a new power—the power of sending by the post a letter not weighing more than half an ounce upon the prepayment of one penny, and this without any regard to the distance which the letter had to travel. To the sagacity and the perseverance of one man, the author of this system, the high praise is due, not so much that he triumphed over the petty jealousies and selfish fears of the post-office authorities, but that he established his own convictions against the doubts of some of the ablest and most conscientious leaders of public opinion. The government adopted his views reluctantly, strengthened in their hesitation by such a clear-headed supporter of the government as Sydney Smith. Temperate opposers of the government, such as the duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel, saw great danger and little good in the project. Mr. Rowland Hill in 1837 published his plan of a cheap and uniform postage. A committee of the house of commons was appointed in 1837, which continued its inquiries throughout the session of 1838, and arrived at the conviction that "the mode recommended of charging and collecting postage, in a pamphlet published by Mr. Rowland Hill," was feasible, and deserving of a trial under legislative sanction.[1] The committee examined a great number of mercantile and other authorities, the questions and answers contained in their report amounting to nearly twelve thousand. There were necessarily strong differences of opinion amongst the witnesses, many even of the most favourable to a reduction to a uniform rate considering that a penny postage was too low. Lord Ashburton, although an advocate of post-office reform, held that the reduction to a penny would wholly destroy the revenue. Lord Lowther, the postmaster-general, thought twopence the smallest rate that would cover the expenses. Colonel Maberly, the secretary to the post-office, considered Mr. Hill's plan a most preposterous one and maintained that if the rates were to be reduced to a penny, the revenue would not recover itself for forty or fifty years. The committee, after a long struggle between its members, negatived both a penny and a three-halfpenny rate as inadequate, and finally recommended the adoption of a twopenny rate.

Public opinion, however, had been brought so strongly to bear in favour of a penny rate, that the chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Spring Rice, on July

[1 The rapid extension of railroads made improvement in the postal service the more urgent.]

5th, 1839, proposed a resolution, "that it is expedient to reduce the postage on letters to one uniform rate of a penny postage, according to a certain amount of weight to be determined—that the parliamentary privilege of franking should be abolished, and that official franking be strictly limited—the house pledging itself to make good any deficiency that may occur in the revenue from such reduction of the postage." A bill was accordingly passed to this effect in the house of commons, its operation being limited in its duration to one year, and the treasury retaining the power of fixing the rates at first, although the ultimate reduction was to be to one penny. This experimental measure reduced all rates above fourpence to that sum, leaving those below fourpence unaltered. With this complication of charge the experiment could not have a fair trial, and accordingly on January 10th, 1840, the uniform half-ounce rate became by order of the treasury one penny. The final accomplishment of this great reform presented a signal example of the force of public opinion when brought to bear upon a subject unconnected with party feelings, and the demonstration of whose necessity had been established not by passionate appeals for public support and sympathy, but by patient investigation and conclusive reasoning. This was the high merit of the man who conceived the scheme of post-office reform; and the manifest earnestness of his character, and the invincibility of his logic, mainly conduced to establish those convictions in the public mind which eventually settled all doubts. Lord Melbourne, in moving the second reading of the bill, assigned as a conclusive answer to the question, how he could venture to tamper with so large a sum as that derivable from the post-office revenue, that "there was such a general demand from all classes of the community for a measure of this nature, that it was a very difficult matter to withstand it." In 1840 the number of letters sent through the post had more than doubled, and the legislature had little hesitation in making the act of 1839 permanent, instead of its duration being limited to the year which would expire in October. A stamped envelope, printed upon a peculiar paper, and bearing an elaborate design, was originally chosen as the mode of rendering prepayment convenient to the sender of a letter. A simpler plan soon superseded this attempt to enlist the fine arts in a plain business operation. The plan of prepaying letters by affixing a stamp bearing the head of the ruler of the country came into use in May, 1840.



COSTUME OF A DANDY
(1840)

FISCAL POLICY

In 1840 the ministry was not much more successful than it had proved in 1839. After years of conflict it succeeded indeed in placing on the statute book a measure dealing with Irish municipalities. But its success was purchased

by concessions to the lords, which deprived the measure of much of its original merit. The closing years of the whig administration were largely occupied with the financial difficulties of the country. The first three years of the queen's reign were memorable for a constantly deficient revenue. The deficit amounted to £1,400,000 in 1837; to £400,000 in 1838, and to £1,457,000 in 1839. Mr. Baring, the chancellor of the exchequer, endeavoured to terminate this deficiency by a general increase of taxation, but this device proved a disastrous failure. The deficit rose to £1,842,000 in 1840. It was obvious that the old expedient of increasing taxation had failed, and that some new method had to be substituted for it. This new method Mr. Baring endeavoured to discover in altering the differential duties on timber and sugar, and substituting a fixed duty of 8*s.* per qr. for the sliding duties hitherto payable on wheat. By these alterations he expected to secure a large increase of revenue, and at the same time to maintain a sufficient degree of protection for colonial produce. The conservatives, who believed in protection, at once attacked the proposed alteration of the sugar duties. They were reinforced by many liberals, who cared very little for protection, but a great deal about the abolition of slavery, and consequently objected to reducing the duties on foreign or slave-grown sugar. This combination of interests proved too strong for Mr. Baring and his proposal was rejected. As ministers, however, did not resign on their defeat, Sir Robert Peel followed up his victory by moving a vote of want of confidence, and this motion was carried in an exceptionally full house by 312 votes to 311.

Before abandoning the struggle, the whigs decided on appealing from the house of commons to the country. The general election which ensued largely increased the strength of the conservative party. On the meeting of the new parliament in August, 1841, votes of want of confidence in the government were proposed and carried in both houses; the whigs were compelled to resign office, and the queen again charged Sir Robert Peel with the task of forming a government. If the queen had remained unmarried, it is possible that the friction which had arisen in 1839 might have recurred in 1841. Now, however, she was no longer dependent on the whig ladies, to whose presence in her court she had attached so much importance in 1839. By the management of the prince—who later in the reign was known as the prince consort—the great ladies of the household voluntarily tendered their resignations; and every obstacle to the formation of the new government was in this way removed.

Thus the whigs retired from the offices which, except for a brief interval in 1834–35, they had held for eleven years. During the earlier years of their administration they had succeeded in carrying many memorable reforms: during the later years their weakness in the house of commons had prevented their passing any considerable measures. But, if they had failed in this respect, Lord Melbourne had rendered conspicuous service to the queen. Enjoying her full confidence, consulted by her on every occasion, he had always used his influence for the public good; and perhaps those who look back now with so much satisfaction at the queen's conduct during a reign of unexampled length, imperfectly appreciate the debt which in this respect is owed to her first prime minister. The closing years of the whig government were marked by external complications. A controversy on the boundary of Canada and the United States was provoking increasing bitterness on both sides of the Atlantic. The intervention of Lord Palmerston in Syria, which resulted in a great military success at Acre, was embittering the relations between France and England, while the unfortunate expedition to Afghan-

istan, which the whigs had approved, was already producing embarrassment, and was about to result in disaster. Serious, however, as were the complications which surrounded British policy in Europe, in the East, and in America, the country, in August, 1841, paid more attention to what a great writer called the "condition of England" question. There had never been a period in British history when distress and crime had been so general. There had hardly ever been a period when food had been so dear, when wages had been so low, when poverty had been so widespread, and the condition of the lower orders so depraved and so hopeless, as in the early years of the queen's reign. The condition of the people had prompted the formation of two great associations. The chartists derived their name from the charter which set out their demands. The rejection of a monster petition which they presented to parliament in 1839 led to a formidable riot in Birmingham, and to a projected march from South Wales on London, in which twenty persons were shot dead at Newport. Another organisation, in one sense even more formidable than the chartist, was agitating at the same time for the repeal of the Corn Laws, and was known as the Anti-Corn-Law League. It had already secured the services of two men, Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright, who, one by clear reasoning, the other by fervid eloquence, were destined to make a profound impression on all classes of the people.

SIR ROBERT PEEL'S MINISTRY

The new government had, therefore, to deal with a position of almost unexampled difficulty. The people were apparently sinking into deeper poverty and misery year after year. As an outward and visible sign of the inward distress, the state was no longer able to pay its way. It was estimated that the deficit, which had amounted to £1,842,000 in 1840, would reach £2,334,000 in 1841. It is the signal merit of Sir Robert Peel that he terminated this era of private distress and public deficits. He accomplished this task partly by economical administration—for no minister ever valued economy more—and partly by a reform of the financial system, effected in three great budgets. In the budget of 1842 Sir Robert Peel terminated the deficit by reviving the income tax. The proceeds of the tax, which was fixed at 7*d.* in the £, and was granted in the first instance for three years, were more than sufficient to secure this object. Sir Robert used the surplus to reform the whole customs tariff. The duties on raw materials, he proposed, should never exceed 5 per cent., the duties on partly manufactured articles 12 per cent., and the duties on manufactured articles 20 per cent., of their value. At the same time he reduced the duties on stage-coaches, on foreign and colonial coffee, on foreign and colonial timber, and repealed the export duties on British manufactures.

Other financial measures of great importance were accomplished in Sir Robert Peel's ministry. In 1844 some £250,000,000 of the national debt still bore an interest of 3½ per cent. The improvement in the credit of the country enabled the government to reduce the interest on the stock to 3¼ per cent. for the succeeding ten years, and to 3 per cent. afterwards. This conversion, which effected an immediate saving of £625,000, and an ultimate saving of £1,250,000 a year, was by far the most important measure which had hitherto been applied to the debt; and no operation on the same scale was attempted for more than forty years. In the same year the necessity of renewing the charter of the Bank of England afforded Sir Robert Peel an opportunity of reforming the currency. He separated the issue department

from the banking department of the bank, and decided that in future it should only be at liberty to issue notes against (1) the debt of £14,000,000 due it from the government, and (2) any bullion actually in its coffers. Few measures of the past century have been the subject of more controversy than this famous act, and at one time its repeated suspension in periods of financial crises seemed to suggest the necessity of its amendment. But opinion on the whole has vindicated its wisdom, and it has survived all the attacks which have been made upon it.

The administration of Sir Robert Peel is also remarkable for its Irish policy. The Irish, under O'Connell, had constantly supported the whig ministry of Lord Melbourne. But their alliance, or understanding, with the whigs had not procured them all the results which they had expected from it. The two great whig measures, dealing with the church and the municipalities, had only been passed after years of controversy, and in a shape which deprived them of many expected advantages. Hence arose a notion in Ireland that nothing was to be expected from a British parliament, and hence began a movement for the repeal of the union which had been accomplished in 1801. This agitation, which smouldered during the reign of the whig ministry, was rapidly revived when Sir Robert Peel entered upon office. The Irish contributed large sums, which were known as repeal rent, to the cause, and they held monster meetings in various parts of Ireland to stimulate the demand for repeal. The ministry met this campaign by coercive legislation regulating the use of arms, by quartering large bodies of troops in Ireland, and by prohibiting a great meeting at Clontarf, the scene of Brian Boru's victory, in the immediate neighbourhood of Dublin. They further decided in 1843 to place O'Connell and some of the leading agitators on their trial for conspiracy and sedition. O'Connell was tried before a jury chosen from a defective panel, was convicted on an indictment which contained many counts, and the court passed sentence without distinguishing between these counts. These irregularities induced the house of lords to reverse the judgment, and its reversal did much to prevent mischief. O'Connell's illness, which resulted in his death in 1847, tended also to establish peace. Sir Robert Peel wisely endeavoured to stifle agitation by making considerable concessions to Irish sentiment. He increased the grant which was made to the Roman Catholic college at Maynooth; he established three colleges in the north, south, and west of Ireland for the undenominational education of the middle classes; he appointed a commission—the Devon commission, as it was called, from the name of the nobleman who presided over it—to investigate the conditions on which Irish land was held; and, after the report of the commission, he introduced, though he failed to carry, a measure for remedying some of the grievances of the Irish tenants.[c]

The Anti-Corn-Law Agitation

During the whole of 1844 and 1845 the efforts of the Anti-Corn-Law League to keep alive agitation in the country on the subject of the import duties on grain were incessant, and attended with the most important effects. It is true, a great part of the facts to which they had formerly so triumphantly referred, in support of their argument, had now slipped from their grasp. It was now evident that the high prices of grain from 1838 to 1842 had been owing to a succession of bad harvests, and that there was no reason to suppose that in ordinary seasons the nation could not, within its own bounds, supply itself with food. The harvest in this year was not particularly good, and the

importation of wheat was only 313,000 quarters, and yet its price was only 45*s.* the quarter. But though deprived of the powerful argument for a free importation of grain arising from high prices, the Anti-Corn-Law League found a full compensation for its loss in the general prosperity of the nation, and the embarrassments in which, from low prices, the agricultural interest was involved. Their lecturers and itinerant orators, many of whom were men of great ability, skilfully turned this state of things to their own advantage. They represented the general welfare of the nation, and the high wages of labour, as the result of the application of the principles of free trade to all other interests; the depressed condition of the agriculturists, to the retention of protection on their own. The farmers were everywhere told that the low prices were owing to the Corn Laws, and could only be obviated by their removal. So far was the movement carried that Mr. Cobden, towards the close of the session, himself moved for a committee to inquire into the causes of agricultural distress, which was only defeated by a majority of 92 in a house of 334. It was distinctly proved by the conservative members from every part of England, that the distress among the farmers from low prices was not light and partial, but general and severe—a state of things which the more reflecting among them ascribed to Sir Robert Peel's new sliding-scale affording no adequate protection to rural industry.

So general had distress now become among the agricultural interests that Mr. Cobden said in his opening speech on this debate, that one half of the farmers in England were in a state of insolvency, and the other half paying their rents out of their capital—assertions which were not contradicted from either side of the house. A few nights after his motion had been disposed of, Mr. Miles, a protectionist, moved that the surplus of the revenue should be applied to the relief of the agricultural interest, now, beyond all question, the most suffering in the community. The motion was negatived by a majority of 213 to 78; but in the course of the debate some observations fell from both sides which showed not obscurely the changes which were approaching. Towards the close of the session nothing else was debated in the house of commons but the Corn Laws; and the declining majority for protection showed that the waverers were beginning to seek their own advantage in anticipating what they saw was to become ere long the measures of government. The session closed on the 9th August with a queen's speech, in which her majesty declared the "cordial assent" she had given "to the bills presented for remitting the duties on many articles of import."

In truth, the state of the country, induced by the previous policy of government, and the long adoption of the cheapening system, had rendered the extension of the principles of free trade to the commerce of grain a matter of necessity. Prices of all the articles of commerce and production having been reduced fully 50 per cent. by the monetary system, and at least 15 per cent. more by the reduced tariff, it had become impossible to maintain a system of heavy duties on the import of grain. When the prices of all articles of produce—that is, the remuneration of every species of industry—had been lowered above 60 per cent. by the measures of the legislature, it became indispensable to lower, in some degree at least, the cost of the food on which the working classes were to subsist. The protectionists were quite right in imputing the repeal of the Corn Laws to Sir Robert Peel, but they erred in their opinion as to the time and the measure which induced the necessity that led to that repeal. It was in 1819 that the policy was inaugurated, which could not fail in the end to remove all restrictions on the import of grain; it was by unanimous votes of the house of commons, including the whole pro-

tectionists themselves, upholding the monetary system, that free trade was in reality established as the policy of the country. When Sir Robert Peel introduced his tariff in 1842, so materially lowering the import duties, he only yielded to the necessity which he had introduced and parliament had so unanimously approved. In proposing to the legislature the entire repeal of the Corn Laws, he did not adopt a new policy; he only gave way to the necessary consequences of their own acts.

Finally, in 1845, Sir Robert Peel having received the reports from Ireland, which were extremely alarming, brought before the cabinet the question, What was to be done to avert the threatened calamity? His own idea was to throw the ports at once open by an order in council, trusting to parliament for a bill of indemnity. But his colleagues were divided on the necessity of such an extreme measure, and after several cabinet councils had been held in the beginning of November, it was agreed to appoint a commission to inquire into and suggest measures to avert extreme distress in Ireland, and the cabinet met on the 25th to consider the reports received. It was found, however, that the former division remained: a minority of the cabinet, at the head of which was Lord Stanley, deemed the circumstances not yet such as to justify any permanent deviation from the protective policy of government. Sir Robert Peel thought otherwise: he was so strongly impressed with the dangers of the approaching crisis that he deemed it indispensable to make not only a temporary but a permanent change of policy. As the cabinet was divided on this subject, however, and Lord John Russell, by his letter from Edinburgh, had declared for total repeal of the import duties, and put himself at the head of the free-trade party, he felt the impossibility at such a crisis of carrying on the government in the face of such a coalition, and he accordingly tendered his resignation and that of his colleagues to her majesty, which was accepted.

The queen immediately sent for Lord John Russell, and he received the royal command on the 8th of December, and reached Osborne House, in the Isle of Wight, on the 11th. His answer to her majesty, when requested to undertake the formation of a ministry, was, that as the party to which he belonged was in a minority in the house of commons, it would be vain for him to attempt a task which would expose her majesty, ere long, to the inconvenience arising from a second change of servants. He recommended the queen, accordingly, to send for Lord Stanley, to endeavour to form a protective ministry; but that nobleman, upon being applied to, declared his absolute inability to do so. "I informed her majesty," says Peel,[h] "that, considering that Lord Stanley, and such of my colleagues as had differed from me, had positively declined to undertake the formation of a government, and that Lord John Russell having had the concurrence and support of all his political friends, with a single exception, had abandoned the attempt to form one, I should feel it my duty, if required by her majesty, to resume office." Upon this the queen renewed her application to Lord John, and showed him a paper which Sir Robert Peel had left with her when he resigned office, in which he declared his intention, "in his private capacity, to give every support to the new minister whom her majesty might select to effect a settlement of the question of the Corn Laws." This entirely altered the case, as it assured the whig cabinet of the support of at least one, and that the most powerful, of the great tory party. Lord John accordingly returned to town, to consult his friends on the possibility of forming a cabinet, and at first there was every prospect of success. But ere long a difficulty, which proved insurmountable, presented itself. Earl Grey, upon being applied to, refused to join the new

cabinet if Lord Palmerston formed part of it—so strongly was he impressed with the hazard attending the foreign policy to which the latter noble lord was attached. Lord Palmerston, however, from his ability, and vast diplomatic information and connections, was too powerful a man to be dispensed with. The result was, that this attempt to form a cabinet failed, and Peel was informed that nothing remained but for him to resume office. This he accordingly did, and the whole cabinet resumed their places, with the exception of Lord Stanley, who retired. He was succeeded by Mr. Gladstone as colonial secretary; and the duke of Buccleuch, who at this crisis joined the free-trade party in the cabinet, was made president of the council in room of Lord Wharncliffe, who had died on the 19th. The cabinet was now entirely composed of free-traders.

Free Trade (1846 A.D.)

This sudden resignation, and still more sudden reconstruction of Sir Robert Peel's cabinet, left no doubt as to some great change in the Corn Laws being in contemplation; and it was soon whispered that the cabinet was now unanimous, and that the "Iron Duke" himself had reluctantly given in. Before parliament met, on the 19th of January, it was generally understood that the cause of protection was lost, and the question was set at rest, so far as the cabinet was concerned, by the paragraph in the queen's speech on the subject, delivered by her majesty in person.

"I have to lament," said her majesty, "that, in consequence of a failure of the potato crop in several parts of the United Kingdom, there will be a deficient supply of an article of food which forms the chief subsistence of great numbers of my people. The disease by which the plant has been affected has prevailed to the utmost extent in Ireland. I have adopted all such measures as were in my power for the purpose of alleviating the sufferings which may be caused by this calamity, and I confidently rely on your co-operation in devising such other means for effecting the same benevolent purpose as may require the sanction of the legislature. I have had great satisfaction in giving my assent to the measures which you have presented to me from time to time, calculated to extend commerce, and to stimulate domestic skill and industry, by the repeal of prohibitory and the relaxation of protective duties. The prosperous state of the revenue, the increased demand for labour, and the general improvement which has taken place in the internal condition of the country, are strong testimonies in favour of the course which you have pursued. I recommend you to take into your earnest consideration, whether the principles on which you have acted may not be yet more extensively applied, and whether it may not be in your power, after a careful review of the existing duties upon many articles the produce or manufacture of other countries, to make such further reductions and remissions as may tend to insure the continuance of the great benefits to which I have adverted, and, by enlarging our commercial intercourse, to strengthen the bonds of amity with foreign powers."

Such were the words by which Sir Robert Peel, in her majesty's name, announced to the world the greatest change ever made in the commercial policy of any nation, namely, the sudden transition from a protective policy, the natural safeguard of a rising, to a free-trade, the invariable demand of an advanced, stage of civilisation. His detailed plans were brought forward in a luminous speech of four hours' duration, the object of which was to represent the change in the Corn Laws, great as it was, as not an insulated measure,

but part of a great system of policy by which all classes were to be ultimately benefited.

The public excitement was extreme.[b] Peel was instantly and furiously denounced as a traitor by those with whom he had been in close political union all his life; though men of ordinary discernment must have perceived whither he had been tending, and that the stress of events rendered the step inevitable. John Wilson Croker solemnly warned him that he was breaking up the old interests, and forcing on exactly such a catastrophe as did the Noailles and the Montmorencies in France, in 1789.

Disraeli, in particular, attacked Peel with a ferocity and malignity unparalleled since the days of Walpole. It is shocking to read in the *Parliamentary Debates* the vituperation, the calumnies, the insults, and the gross personal epithets hurled at him night after night by Disraeli, whose conduct is aggravated by the fact which afterwards came to light, that Peel, who was too high-minded to reveal it, had in his possession at the time a written request from his adversary for an office. Disraeli's whole career, though marking him out as a strategist of consummate genius, and a controversial gladiator of unrivalled skill and unscrupulousness, both in attack and in defence, was that of a political adventurer; from the time when he posed as an ultra-radical candidate for Wycombe, in 1832, speedily followed by his recantation four years later in the diatribes known as the *Runnymede Letters* in *The Times*, down to his death in 1881 in the odour of tory sanctity. He was always regarded as the necessary, but feared and mistrusted leader of the party, which he boasted of having educated up to the abandonment of its principles for the sake of office. What he falsely charged upon Peel, was done repeatedly by himself, in an aggravated form. The action of the tories in detaching themselves from Peel placed them in antagonism to the people and to the spirit of the time, and was a main cause of their exclusion from office for nearly a generation.

The government proposal was carried June 25th, 1846, after many nights of heated and acrimonious debate. The league instantly dissolved its formidable organisation. The tory thirst for revenge upon Peel was not long delayed. Under the titular leadership of Lord George Bentinck, who suddenly abjured the race-course and the betting-ring for the purpose, but under the actual inspiration of Disraeli, they joined forces with the whigs and with Daniel O'Connell's followers, and defeated the great minister on the second reading of a bill for the better protection of life in Ireland. Not that they objected to the measure; for they supported it at the outset and they adopted it subsequently; but they were determined to hound him from office, for an opposite reason to that which decreed the exile of Coriolanus from Rome. He foresaw the result, and did not shrink from his course. In his closing speech, one of the most magnanimous, as well as one of the most powerful and effective, ever heard within the walls of parliament, he bore testimony to the disinterestedness, the energy, and the simple yet unadorned eloquence of Richard Cobden, and declared that his name would ever be associated with the success of the measure. In the same speech he uttered the pathetic words about his own name being remembered with good-will in lowly homes when the inmates recruited their strength "with abundant and untaxed food, the sweeter because no longer leavened by a sense of injustice." Posterity has done honour to his memory, and to his patriotic endeavours "to scatter plenty o'er a smiling land."

There is no doubt that Peel's efforts were followed by a remarkable development of British trade. In the twenty-seven years from 1815 to 1842 the

export trade of Great Britain diminished from £49,600,000 to £47,280,000; while in the twenty-seven years which succeeded 1842 it increased from £47,280,000 to nearly £190,000,000. These figures are a simple and enduring monument to the minister's memory. It is fair to add that the whole increase was not due to free trade. It was partly attributable to the remarkable development of communications which marked this period.

LORD RUSSELL'S MINISTRY

On Sir Robert Peel's resignation the queen again sent for Lord John Russell. The difficulties which had prevented his forming a ministry in the previous year were satisfactorily arranged, and Lord Palmerston accepted the seals of the foreign office, while Lord Grey was sent to the colonial office. The history of the succeeding years was destined, however, to prove that Lord Grey had had solid reasons for objecting to Lord Palmerston's return to his old post; for, whatever judgment may ultimately be formed on Lord Palmerston's foreign policy, there can be little doubt that it did not tend to the maintenance of peace. The first occasion on which danger was threatened arose immediately after the installation of the new ministry on the question of the Spanish marriages. The queen of Spain, Isabella, was a little girl still in her teens; the heir to the throne was her younger sister, the infanta Fernanda. Diplomacy had long been occupied with the marriages of these children; and Lord Aberdeen had virtually accepted the principle, which the French government had laid down, that a husband for the queen should be found among the descendants of Philip V, and that her sister's marriage to the duc de Montpensier—a son of Louis Philippe—should not be celebrated till the queen was married and had issue. While agreeing to this compromise, Lord Aberdeen declared that he regarded the Spanish marriages as a Spanish and not as a European question, and that, if it proved impossible to find a suitable consort for the queen among the descendants of Philip V, Spain must be free to choose a prince for her throne elsewhere. The available descendants of Philip V were the two sons of Don Francis, the younger brother of Don Carlos, and of these the French government was in favour of the elder, while the British government preferred the younger brother. Lord Palmerston strongly objected to the prince whom the French government supported; and, almost immediately after acceding to office, he wrote a despatch in which he enumerated the various candidates for the queen of Spain's hand, including Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, a near relation of the prince consort, among the number. Louis Philippe regarded this despatch as a departure from the principle on which he had agreed with Lord Aberdeen, and at once hurried on the simultaneous marriages of the queen with the French candidate, and of her sister with the duc de Montpensier. His action broke up the *entente cordiale* which had been established between M. Guizot and Lord Aberdeen.

The second occasion on which Lord Palmerston's vigorous diplomacy excited alarm arose out of the revolution which broke out almost universally in Europe in 1848. A rising in Hungary was suppressed by Austria with Russian assistance, and, after its suppression many leading Hungarians took refuge in Turkish territory. Austria and Russia addressed demands to the Porte for their surrender. Lord Palmerston determined to support the Porte in its refusal to give up these exiles, and actually sent the British fleet to the Dardanelles with this object. His success raised the credit of Great Britain and his own reputation. The presence of the British fleet, however, at the

Dardanelles suggested to him the possibility of settling another long-standing controversy. For years British subjects settled in Greece had raised complaints against the Greek government. In particular, Don Pacifico, a Jew, but a native of Gibraltar, complained that at a riot in which his house had been attacked, he had lost jewels, furniture, and papers which he alleged to be worth more than £30,000. As Lord Palmerston was unable by correspondence to induce the Greek government to settle claims of this character, he determined to enforce them; and by his orders a large number of Greek vessels were seized and detained by the British fleet. The French government tendered its good offices to compose the dispute, and an arrangement was actually arrived at between Lord Palmerston and the French minister in London. Unfortunately, before its terms reached Greece the British minister at Athens had ordered the resumption of hostilities, and had compelled the Greek government to submit to more humiliating conditions. News of this settlement excited the strongest feelings both in Paris and London. In Paris, Prince Louis Napoleon, who had acceded to the presidency of the French republic, decided on recalling his representative from the British court. In London the lords passed a vote of censure on Lord Palmerston's proceedings; and the commons only sustained the minister by adopting a resolution approving in general terms the principles on which the foreign policy of the country had been conducted.

In pursuing the vigorous policy which characterised his tenure of the foreign office, Lord Palmerston frequently omitted to consult his colleagues in the cabinet, the prime minister, or the queen. In the course of 1849 her majesty formally complained to Lord John Russell that important despatches were sent off without her knowledge; and an arrangement was made under which Lord Palmerston undertook to submit every despatch to the queen through the prime minister. In 1850, after the Don Pacifico debate, the queen repeated these commands in a much stronger memorandum. But Lord Palmerston, though all confidence between himself and the court was destroyed, continued in office. In the autumn of 1851 the *coup d'état* in Paris led to another dispute. The cabinet decided to do nothing that could wear the appearance of interference in the internal affairs of France; but Lord Palmerston, in conversation with the French minister in London, took upon himself to approve the bold and decisive step taken by the president. The ministry naturally refused to tolerate this conduct, and Lord Palmerston was summarily removed from his office.

Irish Famine; Rebellion of 1848

The removal of Lord Palmerston led almost directly to the fall of the whig government. Before relating, however, the exact occurrences which produced its defeat, it is necessary to retrace our steps and describe the policy which it had pursued in internal matters during the six years in which it had been in power. Throughout that period the Irish famine had been its chief anxiety and difficulty. Sir Robert Peel had attempted to deal with it (1) by purchasing large quantities of Indian corn, which he had retailed at low prices in Ireland, and (2) by enabling the grand juries to employ the people on public works, which were to be paid out of moneys advanced by the state, one-half being ultimately repayable by the locality. These measures were not entirely successful. It was found, in practice, that the sale of Indian corn at low prices by the government checked the efforts of private individuals to supply food; and that the offer of comparatively easy

work to the poor at the cost of the public prevented their seeking harder private work either in Ireland or in Great Britain. The new government, with this experience before it, decided on trusting to private enterprise to supply the necessary food, and on throwing the whole cost of the works, which the locality might undertake, on local funds. If the famine had been less severe, this policy might possibly have succeeded. Universal want, however, paralysed every one. The people, destitute of other means of livelihood, crowded to the relief works. In the beginning of 1847 nearly seven hundred and fifty thousand persons—or nearly one person out of every ten in Ireland—were so employed. With such vast multitudes to relieve, it proved impracticable to exact the labour which was required as a test of destitution. The roads, which it was decided to make, were blocked by the labourers employed upon them, and by the stones, which the labourers were supposed to crush for their repair. In the presence of this difficulty the government decided, early in 1847, gradually to discontinue the relief works, and to substitute for them relief committees charged with the task of feeding the people. At one time no less than three million persons—more than one-third of the entire population of Ireland—were supported by these committees. At the same time it decided on adopting two measures of a more permanent character. The Poor Law of 1838 had made no provision for the relief of the poor outside the workhouse, and outdoor relief was sanctioned by an act of 1847. Irish landlords complained that their properties, ruined by the famine, and encumbered by the extravagances of their predecessors, could not bear the cost of this new Poor Law, and the ministry introduced and carried a measure enabling the embarrassed owners of life estates to sell their property and discharge their liabilities. It is the constant misfortune of Ireland that the measures intended for her relief aggravate her distress. The Encumbered Estates Act, though it substituted a solvent for an insolvent proprietary, placed the Irish tenants at the mercy of landlords of whom they had no previous knowledge, who were frequently absentees, who bought the land as a matter of business, and who dealt with it on business principles, by raising the rent. The new Poor Law, by throwing the maintenance of the poor on the soil, encouraged landlords to extricate themselves from their responsibilities by evicting their tenants.



Famine, mortality, and emigration left their mark on Ireland. In four years, from 1845 to 1849, its population decreased from 8,295,000 to 7,256,000, or by more than a million persons; and the decline which took place at that time went on to the end of the century. The population of Ireland in 1901

had decreased to 4,457,000 souls. This fact is the more remarkable, because Ireland is almost the only portion of the British Empire, or indeed of the civilised world, where such a circumstance has occurred. We must go to countries like the Asiatic provinces of Turkey, devastated by Ottoman rule, to find such a diminution in the numbers of the people as was seen in Ireland during the last half of the nineteenth century. It was probably inevitable that the distress of Ireland should have been followed by a renewal of Irish outrages. A terrible series of agrarian crimes was committed in the autumn of 1847; and the ministry felt compelled, in consequence, to strengthen its hands by a new measure of coercion, and by suspending the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland. The latter measure at once brought to a crisis the so-called rebellion of 1848, for his share in which Mr. Smith O'Brien, an Irish member of parliament, was convicted of high treason. The government, however, did not venture to carry out the grim sentence which the law still applied to traitors, and introduced an act enabling it to commute the death penalty to transportation. The "insurrection" had from the first proved abortive. With Mr. Smith O'Brien's transportation it practically terminated.

Commercial Crisis; Chartism

In the mean while the difficulties which the government was experiencing from the Irish famine had been aggravated by a grave commercial crisis in England. In the autumn of 1847 a series of failures in the great commercial centres created a panic in the city of London, which forced consols down to 78, and induced the government to take upon itself the responsibility of suspending the Bank Charter Act. That step, enabling the directors of the Bank of England to issue notes unsecured by bullion, had the effect of gradually restoring confidence. But a grave commercial crisis of this character is often attended with other than financial consequences. The stringency of the money market increases the distress of the industrial classes by diminishing the demand for work; and when labour suffers, political agitation flourishes. Early in 1848, moreover, revolutions on the Continent produced a natural craving for changes at home. Louis Philippe was driven out of Paris, the emperor of Austria was driven out of Vienna, the Austrian soldiery had to withdraw from Milan, and even in Berlin the crown had to make terms with the people.

While thrones were falling or tottering in every country in Europe, it was inevitable that excitement and agitation should prevail in Great Britain. The chartists reviving the machinery which they had endeavoured to employ in 1839, decided on preparing a monster petition to parliament, which was to be escorted to Westminster by a monster procession. Their preparations excited general alarm, and on the invitation of the government no less than 170,000 special constables were sworn in to protect life and property against a rabble. By the judicious arrangements, however, which were made by the duke of Wellington, the peace of the metropolis was secured. The chartists were induced to abandon the procession which had caused so much alarm, and the monster petition was carried in a cab to the house of commons. There it was mercilessly picked to pieces by a select committee. It was found that, instead of containing nearly 6,000,000 signatures, as its originators had boasted, less than 2,000,000 names were attached to it. Some of the names, moreover, were obviously fictitious or even absurd. The exposure of these facts turned the whole thing into ridicule, and gave parliament an excuse for postponing measures of organic reform which might otherwise have been brought forward.

Navigation Acts; Ten Hours Bill

If the ministry thus abstained from pressing forward a large scheme of political reform, it succeeded in carrying two measures of the highest commercial and social importance. In 1849 it supplemented the free-trade policy, which Sir Robert Peel had developed, by the repeal of the Navigation Acts. Briefly stated, these acts, which had been originated during the protectorate of Cromwell, and continued after the restoration, reserved the whole coasting trade of the country for British vessels and British seamen, and much of the foreign trade for British vessels, commanded and chiefly manned by British subjects. The acts, therefore, were in the strictest sense protective, but they were also designed to increase the strength of Great Britain at sea, by maintaining large numbers of British seamen. They had been defended by Adam Smith on the ground that defence was "of much more importance than opulence," and by the same reasoning they had been described by John Stuart Mill as "though economically disadvantageous, politically expedient." The acts, however, threw a grave burden on British trade and British shipowners. Their provisions by restricting competition naturally tended to raise freights; and by restricting employment made it difficult for shipowners to man their vessels. Accordingly the government wisely determined on their repeal; and one of the last and greatest battles between free trade and protection was fought over the question. The second reading of the government bill was carried in the house of lords by a majority of only ten; it would not have been carried at all if the government had not secured a much larger number of proxies than their opponents could obtain.

If the repeal of the Navigation Acts constituted a measure of the highest commercial importance, the passage of the Ten Hours Bill in 1847 marked the first great advance in factory legislation. Something, indeed, had already been done to remedy the evils arising from the employment of women and very young children in factories and mines. In 1833 Lord Ashley, better known as Lord Shaftesbury, had carried the first important factory act. In 1842 he had succeeded, with the help of the striking report of a royal commission, in inducing parliament to prohibit the employment of women and of boys under ten years of age in mines. And in 1843 Sir James Graham, who was home secretary in Sir Robert Peel's administration, had been compelled by the pressure of public opinion to introduce a measure providing for the education of children employed in factories, and for limiting the hours of work of children and young persons. The educational clauses of this bill were obviously framed in the interests of the Church of England, and raised a heated controversy which led to the abandonment of the measure; and in the following year Sir James Graham introduced a new bill dealing with the labour question alone. Briefly stated, his proposal was that no child under nine years of age should be employed in a factory, and that no young person under eighteen should be employed for more than twelve hours a day. This measure gave rise to the famous controversy on the ten-hours clause, which commenced in 1844 and was protracted till 1847. Lord Ashley and the factory reformers contended, on the one hand, that ten hours were long enough for any person to work; their opponents maintained, on the contrary, that the adoption of the clause would injure the working-classes by lowering the rate of wages, and ruin the manufacturers by exposing them to foreign competition. In 1847 the reform was at last adopted. It is a remarkable fact that it was carried against the views of the leading statesmen on both sides of the house. It was the triumph of common sense over official arguments.

Death of Peel; the Oxford Movement

During the first four years of Lord John Russell's government his administration had never enjoyed any very large measure of popular support, but it had been partly sustained by the advocacy of Sir Robert Peel. The differences which estranged Sir Robert from his old supporters were far greater than those which separated him from the whigs, and the latter were therefore constantly able to rely on his assistance. In the summer of 1850, however, a lamentable accident—a fall from his horse—deprived the country of the services of its great statesman. His death naturally affected the position of parties. The small remnant of able men, indeed, who had been associated with him in his famous administrations still maintained an attitude of neutrality. But the bulk of the conservative party rallied under the lead of Lord Stanley (afterwards Derby) in the house of lords, and gradually submitted to, rather than accepted, the lead of Mr. Disraeli in the house of commons.

In the autumn which succeeded Sir Robert Peel's death, an event which had not been foreseen agitated the country and produced a crisis. During the years which had succeeded the Reform Bill a great religious movement had influenced politics both in England and Scotland. In England a body of eminent men at Oxford—of whom Mr., afterwards Cardinal, Newman was the chief, but who numbered among their leaders Mr. Hurrell Froude, the brother of the historian, and Mr. Keble, the author of the *Christian Year*—endeavoured to prove that the doctrines of the Church of England were identical with those of the primitive Catholic church, and that every Catholic doctrine might be held by those who were within its pale. This view was explained in a remarkable series of tracts, which gave their authors the name of Tractarians. The most famous of these, and the last of the series, *Tract XC*, was published three years after the queen's accession to the throne. In Scotland, the Presbyterian church—mainly under the guidance of Dr. Chalmers, one of the most eloquent preachers of the century—was simultaneously engaged in a contest with the state on the subject of ecclesiastical patronage. Both movements had this in common, that they indicated a revival of religious energy, and aimed at vindicating the authority of the church and resisting the interference of the state in church matters. The Scottish movement led to the disruption of the Church of Scotland and the formation of the Free Church in 1843. The Tractarian movement was ultimately terminated by the secession of Newman and many of his associates from the Church of England, and their admission to the Church of Rome. These secessions raised a feeling of alarm throughout England. The people, thoroughly Protestant, were excited by the proofs—which they thought were afforded—that the real object of the Tractarians was to reconcile England with Rome; and practices which are now regarded as venial or even praiseworthy—such as the wearing of the surplice in the pulpit, and the institution of the weekly offertory—were denounced because they were instituted by the Tractarians, and were regarded as insidious devices to lead the country Romewards.

The sympathies of the whigs, and especially of the whig prime minister, Lord John Russell, were with the people; and Lord John displayed his dislike to the Romanising tendencies of the Tractarians by appointing Mr. Hampden —whose views had been formally condemned by the Hebdomadal Board at Oxford—to the bishopric of Hereford. The high-church party endeavoured to oppose the appointment at every stage; but their attempts exposed them to a serious defeat. The courts held that, though the appointment of a

bishop by the crown required confirmation in the archbishop's court, the confirmation was a purely ministerial act which could not be refused. The effort which the high-church party had made to resist Dr. Hampden's appointment had thus resulted in showing conclusively that authority resided in the crown and not in the archbishop.

French Scare

The circumstances which directly led to the defeat of the whigs were, in one sense, a consequence of the revolutionary wave which had swept over Europe in 1848. The fall of Louis Philippe in that year created a panic in Great Britain. Men thought that the unsettled state of France made war probable, and they were alarmed at the defenceless condition of England. Lord Palmerston, speaking in 1845, had declared that "steam had bridged the Channel"; and the duke of Wellington had addressed a letter to Sir John Burgoyne, in which he had demonstrated that the country was not in a position to resist an invading force. The panic was so great that the ministry felt it necessary to make exceptional provisions for allaying it. Lord John Russell decided on asking parliament to sanction increased armaments, and to raise the income tax to 1*s.* in the pound in order to pay for them. The occasion deserves to be recollected as the last on which a prime minister, who was not also chancellor of the exchequer, has himself proposed the budget of the year. But it was still more memorable because the remedy which Lord John proposed at once destroyed the panic which had suggested it. A certain increase of the income tax to a shilling seemed a much more serious calamity than the uncertain prospect of a possible invasion. The estimates were recast, the budget was withdrawn, and the nation was content to dispense with any addition to its military and naval strength. Events in France, in the mean while, moved with railway speed. Louis Napoleon became president of the French Republic: in 1851 he became emperor of the French. The new emperor, indeed, took pains to reassure a troubled Continent that "the empire was peace." The people insisted on believing—and, as the event proved, rightly—that the empire was war. Notwithstanding the success of the great exhibition of 1851, which was supposed to inaugurate a new reign of peace, the panic, which had been temporarily allayed in 1848, revived at the close of 1851, and the government endeavoured to allay it by reconstituting the militia. There were two possible expedients. An act of 1757 had placed a militia, composed of men selected in each parish by ballot, under the direct authority of the crown, liable to be called out for active service, and to be placed under military law. But the act had been supplemented by a series of statutes passed between 1808 and 1812, which had provided a local militia, raised, like the regular militia, by ballot, but, unlike the latter, only liable for service for the suppression of riots, or in the event of imminent invasion. Lord John Russell's government, forced to do something by the state of public opinion, but anxious—from the experience of 1848—to make that something moderate, decided on reviving the local militia. Lord Palmerston at once suggested that the regular and not the local militia should be revived; and, in a small house of only 265 members, he succeeded in carrying a resolution to that effect. He had, in this way, what he called his "tit for tat" with Lord John; and the queen, accepting her minister's resignation, sent for Lord Derby—for Lord Stanley had now succeeded to the title—and charged him with the task of forming a ministry.

LORD DERBY'S MINISTRY (1852 A.D.)

The government which Lord Derby succeeded in forming was composed almost exclusively of the men who had rebelled against Sir Robert Peel in 1845. It was led in the house of commons by the brilliant but somewhat unscrupulous statesman who had headed the revolt. With the exception of Lord Derby and one other man, its members had no experience of high office; and it had no chance of commanding a majority of the house of commons in the existing parliament. It owed its position to the divisions of its opponents. Profiting by their experience, it succeeded in framing and passing a measure reconstituting the regular militia, which obtained general approval. It is perhaps worth observing that it maintained the machinery of a ballot, but reserved it only in case experience should prove that it was necessary. Voluntary enlistment under the new militia bill was to be the rule: compulsory service was only to be resorted to if voluntary enlistment should fail. This success, to a certain extent, strengthened the position of the new ministry. It was obvious, however, that its stability would ultimately be determined by its financial policy. Composed of the men who had resisted the free trade measures of the previous decade, its fate depended on its attitude towards free trade. In forming his administration Lord Derby had found it necessary to declare that, though he was still in favour of a tax on corn, he should take no steps in this direction till the country had received an opportunity of expressing its opinion. His leader in the house of commons went much further, and declared that the time had gone by for recurring to protection. The view which Mr. Disraeli thus propounded in defiance of his previous opinions was confirmed by the electors on the dissolution of parliament. Though the new government obtained some increased strength from the result of the polls, the country, it was evident, had no intention of abandoning the policy of free trade, which by this time, it was clear, had conferred substantial benefits on all classes.

When the new parliament met in the autumn of 1852 it was at once plain that the issue would be determined on the rival merits of the old and the new financial systems. Mr. Disraeli courted the decision by at once bringing forward the budget, which custom, and perhaps convenience, would have justified him in postponing till the following spring. His proposal—in which he avowedly threw over his friends on the ground that "he had greater subjects to consider than the triumph of obsolete opinions"—was, in effect, an attempt to conciliate his old supporters by a policy of doles, and to find the means for doing so by the increased taxation of the middle classes. He offered to relieve the shipping interest by transferring some of the cost of lighting the coasts to the consolidated fund; the West India interest by sanctioning the refining of sugar in bond; and the landed classes by reducing the malt tax by one half, and by repealing the old war duty on hops. He suggested that the cost of these measures should be defrayed by extending the income tax to Ireland, to industrial incomes of £100 and to permanent incomes of £50 a year, as well as by doubling the house tax, and extending it to all £10 householders. The weight, therefore, of these measures was either purposely or unintentionally thrown mainly on persons living in houses worth from £10 to £20 a year, or on persons in receipt of incomes from £50 to £150 a year. This defect in the budget was exposed in a great speech by Gladstone, which did much to insure the defeat of the scheme and the fall of the ministry.

THE ABERDEEN MINISTRY

On the resignation of Lord Derby, the queen, anxious to terminate a period of weak governments, decided on endeavouring to combine in one cabinet the chiefs of the whig party and the followers of Sir Robert Peel. With this view she sent both for Lord Aberdeen, who had held the foreign office under Sir Robert, and for Lord Lansdowne, who was the Nestor of the whigs; and with Lord Lansdowne's concurrence charged Lord Aberdeen with the task of forming a government. In the new ministry Lord Aberdeen became first lord of the treasury, Gladstone chancellor of the exchequer, Lord John Russell foreign minister—though he was almost immediately replaced in the foreign office by Lord Clarendon, and assumed himself the presidency of the council. Lord Palmerston went to the home office. One other appointment must also be mentioned. The secretary of state for the colonies was also at that time secretary of state for war. No one in 1852, however, regarded that office as of material importance, and it was intrusted by Lord Aberdeen to an amiable and conscientious nobleman, the duke of Newcastle.

The first session of the Aberdeen administration will be chiefly recollected for the remarkable budget which Gladstone brought forward. It constituted a worthy supplement to the measures of 1842, 1845, and 1846. Gladstone swept away the duty on one great necessary of life—soap; he repealed the duties on 123 other articles; he reduced the duties on 133 others, among them on tea; and he found means for paying for these reforms and for the gradual reduction and ultimate abolition of the income tax, which had become very unpopular, by (1) extending the tax to incomes of £100 a year; (2) an increase of the spirit duties; and (3) applying the death duties to real property, and to property passing by settlement. There can be little doubt that this great proposal was one of the most striking which had ever been brought forward in the house of commons; there can also, unhappily, be no doubt that its promises and intentions were frustrated by events which proved too strong for its author. For Gladstone, in framing his budget, had contemplated a continuance of peace, and the country was, unhappily, already drifting into war.

The Holy Places

For some years an obscure quarrel had been conducted at Constantinople about the custody of the Holy Places at Jerusalem. France, relying on a treaty concluded in the first half of the eighteenth century, claimed the guardianship of these places for the Latin church. But the rights which the Latin church had thus obtained had practically fallen into disuse, while the Greek branch of the Christian church had occupied and repaired the shrines which the Latins had neglected. In the years which preceded 1853, however, France had shown more activity in asserting her claims; and the new emperor of the French, anxious to conciliate the church which had supported his elevation to the throne, had a keen interest in upholding them. If, for reasons of policy, the emperor had grounds for his action, he had personal motives for thwarting the czar of Russia; for the latter potentate had been foolish enough, in recognising the second empire, to address its sovereign as "*Mon Cher Ami*," instead of, in the customary language of sovereigns, as "*Monsieur Mon Frère.*" Thus at the close of 1852, and in the beginning of 1853, Russia and France were both addressing opposite and irreconcilable demands to

the Porte, and France was already talking of sending her fleet to the Dardanelles, while Russia was placing a *corps d'armée* on active service and despatching Prince Menshikov on a special mission to Constantinople. So far the quarrel which had occurred at the Porte was obviously one in which Great Britain had no concern. The Aberdeen ministry, however, thought it desirable that it should be represented in the crisis by a strong man at Constantinople; and it selected Lord Stratford de Redcliffe for the post, which he had filled in former years with marked ability. Lord Stratford soon discovered that Prince Menshikov was the bearer of larger demands, and that he was requiring the Porte to agree to a treaty acknowledging the right of Russia to protect the Greek church throughout the Turkish dominions. By Lord Stratford's advice the Porte—while making the requisite concession respecting the Holy Places—refused to grant the new demand; and Prince Menshikov thereupon withdrew from Constantinople.

The rejection of Prince Menshikov's ultimatum was followed by momentous consequences. Russia—or rather her czar—resolved on the occupation of the principalities; the British ministry—though the quarrel did not directly concern Great Britain—sent a fleet to the Dardanelles and placed it under Lord Stratford's orders. Diplomacy, however, made a fresh attempt to terminate the dispute, and in July, 1853, a note was agreed upon by the four neutral powers, France, Great Britain, Austria, and Prussia, which it was decided to present to Constantinople and St. Petersburg. This note, the adoption of which would have insured peace, was accepted at St. Petersburg; at Constantinople it was, unfortunately, rejected, mainly on Lord Stratford's advice, and in opposition to his instructions from home. Instead, however, of insisting on the adoption of the note to which it had agreed, Lord Aberdeen's ministry recommended the czar to accept some amendments to it suggested by Lord Stratford, which it was disposed to regard as unimportant. It then discovered, however, that the czar attached a different meaning to the original note than it had itself applied to it, and in conjunction with France it thereupon ceased to recommend the Vienna note—as it was called—for acceptance. This decision separated the two western powers from Austria and Prussia, who were disposed to think that Russia had done all that could have been required of her in accepting the note which the four powers had agreed upon.

The Crimean War

In October the Porte, encouraged by the presence of the British fleet in the Bosphorus, took the bold step of summoning the Russians to evacuate the principalities. Following up this demand the Turkish troops attacked the Russian army, and inflicted on it one or two sharp defeats. The Russians retaliated by loosing their squadron from Sebastopol, and on the 30th of November it attacked and destroyed the Turkish fleet at Sinope. The massacre of Sinope—as it was rather inaccurately called in Great Britain, for it is difficult to deny that it was a legitimate act of a belligerent power—created an almost irresistible demand for war among the British people. Yielding to popular opinion, the British ministry assented to a suggestion of the French emperor that the fleets of the allied powers should enter the Black Sea and "invite" every Russian vessel to return to Sebastopol. The decision was taken at an unfortunate hour. Diplomatists, pursuing their labours at Vienna, had succeeded in drawing up a fresh note which they thought might prove acceptable both at St. Petersburg and at Constantinople. Presented almost

at the moment at which the czar learned that the French and British fleets had entered the Black Sea, the Russian government, instead of considering it, withdrew its ministers from London and Paris; the French and British ambassadors were thereupon withdrawn from St. Petersburg. An ultimatum was soon afterwards addressed to Russia requiring her to evacuate the principalities, and war began. In deciding on war the British government relied on the capacity of its fleet, which was intrusted to the command of Sir Charles Napier, to strike a great blow in the Baltic. The fleet was despatched with extraordinary rejoicings, and amidst loud and confident expressions of its certain triumph. As a matter of fact, it did very little. In the south of Europe, however, the Turkish armies on the Danube, strengthened by the advice of British officers, were more successful. The Russians were forced to retire, and the principalities were evacuated.

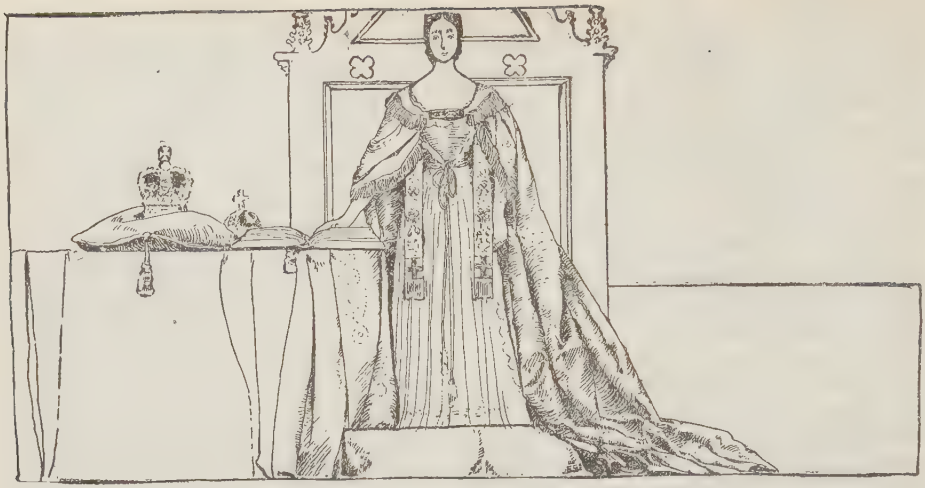
A prudent administration might possibly have succeeded in stopping the war at this point. But the temper of the country was by this time excited, and it was loudly demanding something more than a preliminary success. It was resolved to invade the Crimea and attack the great arsenal, Sebastopol, whence the Russian fleet had sailed to Sinope, and in September, 1854, the allied armies landed in the Crimea. On the 20th the Russian army, strongly posted on the banks of the Alma, was completely defeated, and it is almost certain that, if the victory had been at once followed up, Sebastopol would have fallen. The commanders of the allied armies, however, hesitated to throw themselves against the forts erected to the north of the town, and decided on the hazardous task of marching round Sebastopol and attacking it from the south. The movement was successfully carried out, but the allies again hesitated to attempt an immediate assault. The Russians, who were advised by Colonel Todleben, the only military man who attained a great reputation in the war, thus gained time to strengthen their position by earthworks; and the allies found themselves forced, with scanty preparations, to undertake a regular siege against an enemy whose force was numerically superior to their own. In the early days of the siege, indeed, the allied armies were twice in great peril. A formidable attack on the 20th October on the British position at Balaclava led to a series of encounters which displayed the bravery of British troops, but did not enhance the reputation of British commanders. A still more formidable sortie on the 5th of November was with difficulty repulsed at Inkerman. And the Russians soon afterwards found, in the climate of the country, a powerful ally. The allied armies, imperfectly organised, and badly equipped for such a campaign, suffered severely from the hardships of a Crimean winter. The whole expedition seemed likely to melt away from want and disease.

PALMERSTON'S MINISTRY

The terrible condition of the army, vividly described in the letters which the war correspondents of the newspapers sent home, aroused strong feelings of indignation in Great Britain. When parliament met, Mr. Roebuck gave notice that he would move for a committee of inquiry. Lord John Russell—who had already vainly urged in the cabinet that the duke of Newcastle should be superseded, and the conduct of the war intrusted to a stronger minister—resigned office. His resignation was followed by the defeat of the government, and Lord Aberdeen, thus driven from power, was succeeded by Lord Palmerston. In selecting him for the post, the queen undoubtedly placed her seal on the wish of the country to carry out the war to the bitter

end. But it so happened that the formation of a new ministry was accompanied by a fresh effort to make terms of peace. Before the change of administration a conference had been decided on, and Lord Palmerston intrusted its management to Lord John Russell. While the latter was on his way to Vienna an event occurred which seemed at first to facilitate his task. The czar, worn out with disappointment, suddenly died, and was succeeded by his son Alexander. Unfortunately the conference failed, and the war went on for another year. In September, 1855, the allied troops succeeded in obtaining possession of the southern side of Sebastopol, and the emperor of the French, satisfied with this partial success, or alarmed at the expense of the war, decided on withdrawing from the struggle. The attitude of Napoleon made the conclusion of peace only a question of time. In the beginning of 1856 a congress to discuss the terms was assembled at Paris; in February hostilities were suspended, and in April a treaty was concluded. The peace set back the boundaries of Russia from the Danube to the Pruth; it secured the free navigation of the first of these rivers; it opened the Black Sea to the commercial navies of the world, closing it to vessels of war and forbidding the establishment of arsenals upon its shores. The last condition, to which Great Britain attached most importance, endured for about fourteen years. Peace without this provision could undoubtedly have been secured at Vienna, and the prolongation of the war from 1855 to 1856 only resulted in securing this arrangement for a little more than one decade.[c]





CHAPTER V

HALF A CENTURY OF PROGRESS

[1856–1904 A.D.]

The Crimean War left other legacies behind it. The British government had for some time regarded with anxiety the gradual encroachments of Russia in central Asia. Russian diplomacy was exerting an increasing influence in Persia, and the latter had always coveted the city of Herat, which was popularly regarded as the gate of India. In 1856 the Persian government, believing that England had her hands fully occupied in the Crimea, seized Herat, and, in consequence, a fresh war—in which a British army under Sir James Outram rapidly secured a victory—broke out. The campaign, entered upon when parliament was not in session, was unpopular in the country. A grave constitutional question, which was ultimately settled by legislation, was raised as to the right of the government to undertake military operations beyond the boundaries of India without the consent of parliament. But the incidents of the Persian War were soon forgotten in the presence of a still graver crisis; for in the following year, 1857, the country suddenly found itself involved in war with China, and face to face with one of the greatest dangers which it has ever encountered—the mutiny of the Sepoy army in India. The Chinese War arose from the seizure by the Chinese authorities of a small vessel, the *Arrow*, commanded by a British subject, and at one time holding a licence (which, however, had expired at the time of the seizure) from the British superintendent at Hong-Kong, and the detention of her crew on the charge of piracy. Sir John Bowring, who represented Great Britain in China, failing to secure the reparation and apology which he demanded, directed the British admiral to bombard Canton. Lord Palmerston's cabinet decided to approve and support Sir John Bowring's vigorous action. Mr.

Cobden, however, brought forward a motion in the house of commons condemning these high-handed proceedings. He succeeded in securing the co-operation of his own friends, of Lord John Russell, and of other independent liberals, as well as of the conservative party, and in inflicting a signal defeat on the government. Lord Palmerston at once appealed from the house to the country. The constituencies, imperfectly acquainted with the technical issues involved in the dispute, rallied to the minister, who was upholding British interests. Lord Palmerston obtained a decisive victory, and returned to power apparently in irresistible strength. Lord Elgin had already been sent to China with a considerable force to support the demand for redress. On his way thither he learned that the British in India were reduced to the last extremities by the mutiny of the native army in Bengal, and, on the application of Lord Canning, the governor-general, he decided on diverting the troops, intended to bring the Chinese to reason, to the more pressing duty of saving India for the British crown.

INDIAN MUTINY

During the years which had followed the accession of the queen, the territories and responsibilities of the East India Company had been considerably enlarged by the annexation of Scinde by Lord Ellenborough, the conquest of the Punjab after two desperate military campaigns under Lord Dalhousie, the conquest of Pegu, and the annexation of Oudh. These great additions to the empire had naturally imposed an increased strain on the Indian troops, while the British garrison, instead of being augmented, had been depleted to meet the necessities of the Russian war. Several circumstances, moreover, tended to propagate disaffection in the Indian army. Indian troops operating outside the company's dominions were granted increased allowances, but these were automatically reduced when conquest brought the provinces in which they were serving within the British pale. The Sepoys again had an ineradicable dislike to serve beyond the sea, and the invasion of Pegu necessitated their transport by water to the seat of war. Finally, the invention of a new rifle led to the introduction of a cartridge which, though it was officially denied at the moment, was in fact lubricated with a mixture of cow's fat and lard. The Sepoys thought that their caste would be destroyed if they touched the fat of the sacred cow or unclean pig; they were even persuaded that the British government wished to destroy their caste in order to facilitate their conversion to Christianity. Isolated mutinies in Bengal were succeeded by much more serious events at Cawnpore in Oudh, and at Meerut in the North-west Provinces. From Meerut the mutineers, after some acts of outrage and murder, moved on Delhi, the capital of the old Mogul empire, which became the headquarters of the mutiny. In Oudh the native regiments placed themselves under a Mahratta chief, Nana Sahib, by whose orders the British in Cawnpore, including the women and children, were foully murdered. In the summer of 1857 these events seemed to imperil British rule in India. In the autumn the courage of the troops and the arrival of reinforcements gradually restored the British cause. Delhi, after a memorable siege, was at last taken by a brilliant assault. Lucknow, where a small British garrison was besieged in the Residency, was twice relieved, once temporarily by Sir James Outram and General Havelock, and afterwards permanently by Sir Colin Campbell, who had been sent out from England to take the chief command. Subsequent military operations broke up the remnants of the revolt, and in the beginning of 1858 the authority of the queen was restored throughout India. The

mutiny, however, had impressed its lesson on the British people, and, as the first consequence, it was decided to transfer the government from the old East India Company to the crown. Lord Palmerston's administration was defeated on another issue before it succeeded in carrying the measure which it introduced for the purpose, though Lord Derby's second ministry, which succeeded it, was compelled to frame its proposals on somewhat similar lines. The home government of India was intrusted to a secretary of state, with a council to assist him; and though the numbers of the council have been reduced, the form of government which was then established has endured.

ORSINI

The cause which led to the second fall of Lord Palmerston was in one sense unexpected. Some Italian refugees living in London, of whom Orsini was the chief, formed a design to assassinate the emperor of the French. On the evening of 14th January, 1858, while the emperor, accompanied by the empress, was driving to the opera, these men threw some bombs under his carriage. The brutal attempt happily failed. Neither the emperor nor the empress was injured by the explosion, but the carriage in which they were driving was wrecked, and a large number of persons who happened to be in the street at the time were either killed or wounded. This horrible outrage naturally created indignation in France, and it unfortunately became plain that the conspiracy had been hatched in England and that the bombs had been manufactured in Birmingham. On these facts becoming known, Count Walewski, the chief of the French foreign office, who was united by ties of blood to the emperor, called on the British government to provide against the danger to which France was exposed. "Ought the right of asylum to protect such a state of things?" he asked. "Is hospitality due to assassins? Ought the British legislature to continue to favour their designs and their plans? And can it continue to shelter persons who by these flagrant acts place themselves beyond the pale of common rights?" Lord Clarendon, the head of the British foreign office, told the French ambassador, who read him this despatch, that "no consideration on earth would induce the British parliament to pass a measure for the extradition of political refugees," but he added that it was a question whether the law was as complete and as stringent as it should be, and he stated that the government had already referred the whole subject to the law officers of the crown for their consideration. Having made these remarks, however, he judged it wise to refrain from giving any formal reply to Count Walewski's despatch, and contented himself with privately communicating to the British ambassador in Paris the difficulties of the British government. After receiving the opinion of the law officers the cabinet decided to introduce a bill into parliament increasing in England the punishment for a conspiracy to commit a felony either within or without the United Kingdom. The first reading of this bill was passed by a considerable majority. But, before the bill came on for a second reading, the language which was being used in France created strong resentment in England. The regiments of the French army sent addresses to the emperor congratulating him on his escape and violently denouncing the British people. Some of these addresses, which were published in the *Moniteur*, spoke of London as "an assassins' den," and invited the emperor to give his troops the order to destroy it. Such language did not make it easier to alter the law in the manner desired by the government. The house of commons, reflecting the spirit of the country, blamed Lord Clarendon for neglecting to answer Count

Walewski's despatch, and blamed Lord Palmerston for introducing a bill at French dictation. The feeling was so strong that, when the Conspiracy Bill came on for a second reading, an amendment hostile to the government was carried, and Lord Palmerston at once resigned.

LORD DERBY'S SECOND MINISTRY (1858–1859 A.D.)

For a second time Lord Derby undertook the difficult task of carrying on the work of government without the support of a majority of the house of commons. If the liberal party had been united his attempt would have failed immediately. In 1858, however, the liberal party had no cohesion. The wave of popularity which had carried Lord Palmerston to victory in 1857 had lost its strength. The radicals, who were slowly recovering the influence they had lost during the Crimean War, regarded even a conservative government as preferable to his return to power, while many liberals desired to intrust the fortunes of their party to the guidance of their former chief, Lord John Russell. It was obvious to most men that the dissensions thus visible in the liberal ranks could be more easily healed in the cold shade of the opposition benches than in the warmer sunlight of office. And therefore, though no one had much confidence in Lord Derby, or in the stability of his second administration, every one was disposed to acquiesce in its temporary occupation of office.

Ministries which exist by sufferance are necessarily compelled to adapt their measures to the wishes of those who permit them to continue in power. The second ministry of Lord Derby experienced the truth of this rule. For some years a controversy had been conducted in the legislature in reference to the admission of the Jews to parliament. This dispute had been raised in 1847 into a question of practical moment by the election of Baron Rothschild as representative of the city of London, and its importance had been emphasized in 1851 by the return of another Jew, Alderman Salomons, for another constituency. The liberal party generally in the house of commons was in favour of such a modification of the oaths as would enable the Jews so elected to take their seats. The bulk of the conservative party, on the contrary, and the house of lords, were strenuously opposed to the change. Early in 1858 the house of commons, by an increased majority, passed a bill amending the oaths imposed by law on members of both houses, and directing the omission of the words "on the true faith of a Christian" from the oath of adjuration when it was taken by a Jew. If the conservatives had remained in opposition there can be little doubt that this bill would have shared the fate of its predecessors and have been rejected by the lords. The lord chancellor, indeed, in speaking upon the clause relieving the Jews, expressed a hope that the peers would not hesitate to pronounce that our "Lord is king, be the people never so impatient." But some conservative peers realised the inconvenience of maintaining a conflict between the two houses when the conservatives were in power; and Lord Lucan, who had commanded the cavalry in the Crimea, suggested as a compromise that either house should be authorised by resolution to determine the form of oath to be administered to its members. This solution was reluctantly accepted by Lord Derby, and Baron Rothschild was thus enabled to take the seat from which he had been so long excluded. Eight years afterwards parliament was induced to take a fresh step in advance. It imposed a new oath from which the words which disqualified the Jews were omitted. The door of the house of lords was thus thrown open, and Baron Rothschild, raised to the peerage, was enabled to take his seat in the upper chamber.

Reform Bill (1859 A.D.)

This question was not the only one on which a conservative government, without a majority at its back, was compelled to make concessions. For some years past a growing disposition had been displayed among the more earnest liberals to extend the provisions of the Reform Act of 1832. Lord John Russell's ministry had been defeated in 1851 on a proposal of Mr. Locke King to place £10 householders in counties on the same footing as regards the franchise as £10 householders in towns, and Lord John himself in 1854 had actually introduced a new Reform Bill. After the general election of 1857 the demand for reform increased, and, in accepting office in 1858, Lord Derby thought it necessary to declare that, though he had maintained in opposition that the settlement of 1832, with all its anomalies, afforded adequate representation to all classes, the promises of previous governments and the expectations of the people imposed on him the duty of bringing forward legislation on the subject. The scheme which Lord Derby's government adopted was peculiar. Its chief proposal was the extension of the county franchise to £10 householders. But it also proposed that persons possessing a 40*s.* freehold in a borough should in future have a vote in the borough in which their property was situated, and not in the county. The bill also conferred the franchise on holders of a certain amount of stock, on depositors in savings banks, on graduates of universities, and on other persons qualified by position or education. The defect of the bill was that it did nothing to meet the only real need of reform—the enfranchisement of a certain proportion of the working classes. On the contrary, in this respect it perpetuated the settlement of 1832. The £10 householder was still to furnish the bulk of the electorate, and the ordinary working man could not afford to pay £10 a year for his house. While the larger proposals of the bill were thus open to grave objection, its subsidiary features provoked ridicule. The suggestions that votes should be conferred on graduates and stockholders were laughed at as "fancy franchises." The bill, moreover, was not brought forward with the authority of a united cabinet. Two members of the government—Mr. Spencer Walpole and Mr. Henley—declined to be responsible for its provisions, and placed their resignations in Lord Derby's hands. In Mr. Walpole's judgment the bill was objectionable because it afforded no reasonable basis for a stable settlement. There was nothing in a £10 franchise which was capable of permanent defence, and if it was at once applied to counties as well as boroughs it would sooner or later be certain to be extended. He himself advocated with some force that it would be wiser and more popular to fix the county franchise at £20 and the borough franchise at £6 ratable value; and he contended that such a settlement could be defended on the old principle that taxation and representation should go together, for £20 was the minimum rent at which the house tax commenced, and a ratable value of £6 was the point at which the householder could not compound to pay his rates through his landlord. Weakened by the defection of two of its more important members, the government had little chance of obtaining the acceptance of its scheme. An amendment of Lord John Russell, condemning its main provisions, was adopted in an unusually full house by a substantial majority, and the cabinet had no alternative but to resign or dissolve. It chose the latter course. The general election, which almost immediately took place, increased to some extent the strength of the conservative party. For the first time since their secession from Sir Robert Peel the conservatives commanded more than three hundred votes in the house of commons, but this increased strength was not sufficient

to insure them a majority. When the new parliament assembled, Lord Hartington, the eldest son of the duke of Devonshire, was put forward to propose a direct vote of want of confidence in the administration. It was carried by 323 votes to 310, and the second Derby administration came to an end.

PALMERSTON'S SECOND MINISTRY (1859 A.D.)

It was plain that the house of commons had withdrawn its support from Lord Derby, but it was not clear that any other leading politician would be able to form a government. The jealousies between Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston still existed; the more extreme men, who were identified with the policy of Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright, had little confidence in either of these statesmen; and it was still uncertain whether the able group who had been the friends of Sir Robert Peel would finally gravitate to the conservative or to the liberal camp. The queen, on the advice of Lord Derby, endeavoured to solve the first of these difficulties by sending for Lord Granville, who led the liberal party in the lords, and authorising him to form a government which should combine, as far as possible, all the more prominent liberals. The attempt, however, failed, and the queen thereupon fell back upon Lord Palmerston. Lord John Russell agreed to accept office as foreign minister; Mr. Gladstone consented to take the chancellorship of the exchequer. Mr. Cobden was offered, but declined, the presidency of the board of trade; and the post which he refused was conferred on a prominent free-trader, who had associated himself with Mr. Cobden's fortunes, Mr. Milner Gibson. Thus Lord Palmerston had succeeded in combining in one ministry the various representatives of political progress. He had secured the support of the Peelites, who had left him after the fall of Lord Aberdeen in 1855, and of the free-traders, who had done so much to defeat him in 1857 and 1858. His new administration was accordingly based on a broader bottom, and contained greater elements of strength than his former cabinet. And the country was requiring more stable government. The three first ministries of the queen had endured from the spring of 1835 to the spring of 1852, or for very nearly seventeen years; but the next seven years had seen the formation and dissolution of no less than four cabinets. It was felt that these frequent changes were unfortunate for the country, and every one was glad to welcome the advent of a government which seemed to promise greater permanence. That promise was fulfilled. The administration which Lord Palmerston succeeded in forming in 1859 endured till his death in 1865, and with slight modifications, under its second chief Lord John (afterwards Earl) Russell, till the summer of 1866. It had thus a longer life than any cabinet which had governed England since the first Reform Act. But it owed its lasting character to the benevolence of its opponents rather than to the enthusiasm of its supporters. The conservatives learned to regard the veteran statesman, who had combined all sections of liberals under his banner, as the most powerful champion of conservative principles; a virtual truce of parties was established during his continuance in office; and, for the most part of his ministry, a tacit understanding existed that the minister, on his side, should pursue a conservative policy, and that the conservatives, on theirs, should abstain from any real attempt to oust him from power. Lord John Russell, indeed, was too earnest in his desire for reform to abstain from one serious effort to accomplish it. Early in 1860 he proposed, with the sanction of the cabinet, a measure providing for the extension of the county franchise to £10 householders, of the borough franchise to £6 householders, and for a moderate redistribution of seats.

But the country, being in enjoyment of considerable prosperity, paid only a languid attention to the scheme; its indifference was reflected in the house; the conservatives were encouraged in their opposition by the lack of interest which the new bill excited, and the almost unconcealed dislike of the prime minister to its provisions. The bill, thus steadily opposed, and half-heartedly supported, made only slow progress; and at last it was withdrawn by its author. He did not again attempt during Lord Palmerston's life to reintroduce the subject. Absorbed in the work of the foreign office, which at this time was abnormally active, he refrained from pressing home the arguments for internal reform.

Mr. Gladstone's Budgets

In one important department, however, the ministry departed from the conservative policy it pursued in other matters. Mr. Gladstone signalised his return to the exchequer by introducing a series of budgets which excited keen opposition at the time, but in the result largely added to the prosperity of the country. The first of these great budgets, in 1860, was partly inspired by the necessity of adapting the fiscal system to meet the requirements of a commercial treaty which, mainly through Mr. Cobden's exertions, had been concluded with the emperor of the French. The treaty bound France to reduce her duties on English coal and iron, and on many manufactured articles; while, in return, Great Britain undertook to sweep away the duties on all manufactured goods, and largely to reduce those on French wines. But Mr. Gladstone was not content with these great alterations, which involved a loss of nearly £1,200,000 a year to the exchequer; he voluntarily undertook to sacrifice another million on what he called a supplemental measure of customs reform. He proposed to repeal the duties on paper, by which means he hoped to increase the opportunities of providing cheap literature for the people. The budget of 1860 produced a protracted controversy. The French Treaty excited more criticism than enthusiasm on both sides of the channel. In France the manufacturers complained that they would be unable to stand against the competition of English goods. In England many people thought that Great Britain was wasting her resources and risking her supremacy by giving the French increased facilities for taking her iron, coal, and machinery, and that no adequate advantage could result from the greater consumption of cheap claret. But the criticism which the French Treaty aroused was drowned in the clamour which was created by the proposed repeal of the paper duties. The manufacture of paper was declared to be a struggling industry, which would be destroyed by the withdrawal of protection. The dissemination of cheap literature, and the multiplication of cheap newspapers, could not compensate the nation for the ruin of an important trade. If money could be spared, moreover, for the remission of taxation, the paper duties were much less oppressive than those on some other articles. The tax on tea, for example, which had been raised during the late war to no less than 1*s.* 5*d.* a lb, was much more injurious; and it would be far wiser—so it was contended—to reduce the duty on tea than to abandon the duties on paper.

Paper Duties Repealed

Notwithstanding the opposition which the Paper Duties Bill undoubtedly excited, the proposal was carried in the commons; it was, however, thrown out in the lords, and its rejection led to a crisis which seemed at one time to threaten the good relations between the two houses of parliament. It was

argued that if the lords had the right to reject a measure remitting existing duties, they had in effect the right of imposing taxation, since there was no material difference between the adoption of a new tax and the continuance of an old one which the commons had determined to repeal. Lord Palmerston, however, with some tact postponed the controversy for the time by obtaining the appointment of committees to search for precedents; and, after the report of the committee, he moved a series of resolutions affirming the right of the commons to grant aids and supplies as their exclusive privilege, stating that the occasional rejection of financial measures by the lords had always been regarded with peculiar jealousy, but declaring that the commons had the remedy in their own hands by so framing bills of supply as to secure their acceptance. In accordance with this suggestion the commons in the following year again resolved to repeal the paper duties; but, instead of embodying their decision in a separate bill, they included it in the same measure which dealt with all the financial arrangements of the year, and thus drew on the lords the responsibility of either accepting the proposal, or of paralysing the whole machinery of administration by depriving the crown of the supplies which were required for the public services. The lords were not prepared to risk this result, and they accordingly accepted a reform which they could no longer resist, and the bill became law.

In order to enable him to accomplish these great changes, Mr. Gladstone temporarily raised the income tax, which he found at 9*d.* in the pound, to 10*d.* But the result of his reforms was so marked that he was speedily able to reduce it. The revenue increased by leaps and bounds, and the income tax was gradually reduced till it stood at 4*d.* in the closing years of the administration.

During the same period the duty on tea was reduced from 1*s.* 5*d.* to 6*d.* in the pound; and the national debt was diminished from rather more than £800,000,000 to rather less than £780,000,000, the charge for the debt declining mainly through the falling in of the long annuities, by some £2,600,000 a year. With the possible exception of Sir Robert Peel's term of office, no previous period of British history had been memorable for a series of more remarkable financial reforms. Their success redeemed the character of the administration. The liberals, who complained that their leaders were pursuing a conservative policy, could at least console themselves by the reflection that the chancellor of the exchequer was introducing satisfactory budgets. The language, moreover, which Mr. Gladstone was holding on other subjects encouraged the more advanced liberals to expect that he would ultimately place himself at the head of the party of progress. This expectation was the more remarkable because Mr. Gladstone was the representative in the cabinet of the old conservative party which Sir Robert Peel had led to victory. As lately as 1858 he had reluctantly refused to serve under Lord Derby; he was still a member of the Carlton Club; he sat for the University of Oxford; and on many questions he displayed a constant sympathy with conservative traditions. Yet, on all the chief domestic questions which came before parliament in Lord Palmerston's second administration, Mr. Gladstone almost invariably took a more liberal view than his chief. It was understood, indeed, that the relations between the two men were not always harmonious; that Lord Palmerston disapproved the resolute conduct of Mr. Gladstone, and that Mr. Gladstone deplored the conservative tendencies of Lord Palmerston. It was believed that Mr. Gladstone on more than one occasion desired to escape from a position which he disliked by resigning office, and that the resignation was only averted through a consciousness that the ministry could not afford to lose its most eloquent member.

China War (1859–1860 A.D.)

While on domestic matters other than those affecting finance the liberal ministry was pursuing a conservative policy, its members were actively engaged on, and the attention of the public was keenly directed to, affairs abroad. For the period was one of foreign unrest, and the wars which were then waged have left an enduring mark on the map of the world, and have affected the position of the Anglo-Saxon race for all time. In the far East, the operations which it had been decided to undertake in China were necessarily postponed on account of the diversion of the forces, intended to exact redress at Peking, to the suppression of mutiny in India. It was only late in 1858 that Lord Elgin and Baron Gros, the French plenipotentiary (for France joined England in securing simultaneous redress for grievances of her own), were enabled to obtain suitable reparation. It was arranged that the treaty, which was then provisionally concluded at Tientsin, should be ratified at Peking in the following year; and in June, 1859, Mr. Bruce, Lord Elgin's brother, who had been appointed plenipotentiary, attempted to proceed up the Peiho with the object of securing its ratification. The allied squadron, however, was stopped by the forts at the mouth of the Peiho,[1] which fired on the vessels; a landing party, which was disembarked to storm the forts met with a disastrous check, and the squadron had to retire with an acknowledged loss of three gunboats and 400 men. This reverse necessitated fresh operations, and in 1860 Lord Elgin and Baron Gros were directed to return to China, and, at the head of an adequate force, were instructed to exact an apology for the attack on the allied fleets, the ratification and execution of the Treaty of Tientsin, and the payment of an indemnity for the expenses of the war.

The weakness of the Chinese Empire was not appreciated at that time; the unfortunate incident on the Peiho in the previous summer had created an exaggerated impression of the strength of the Chinese arms, and some natural anxiety was felt for the success of the expedition. But the allied armies met with no serious resistance. The Chinese, indeed, endeavoured to delay their progress by negotiation rather than by force; and they succeeded in treacherously arresting some distinguished persons who had been sent into the Chinese lines to negotiate. But by the middle of October the Chinese army was decisively defeated; Peking was occupied; those British and French prisoners who had not succumbed to the hardships of their confinement were liberated; Lord Elgin determined on teaching the rulers of China a lesson by the destruction of the summer palace;[2] and the Chinese government was compelled to submit to the terms of the allies, and to ratify the Treaty of Tientsin. There is no doubt that these operations helped to open the Chinese markets to British trade; but incidentally, by regulating the emigration of Chinese coolies, they had the unforeseen effect of exposing the industrial markets of the world to the serious competition of cheap "yellow" labour. A distinguished foreign statesman observed that Lord Palmerston had made a mistake. He thought that he had opened China to Europe; instead, he had let out the Chinese. It was perhaps a happier result of the war that it tended to the continuance of the Anglo-French alliance. French and British troops had again co-operated in a joint enterprise, and had shared the dangers and successes of a campaign.

[1 Also known as the Taku forts.]

[2 Much oriental treasure—rare vases, jewels, and curiosities—was carried off as loot by the French.]

Unification of Italy

War was not confined to China. In the beginning of 1859 diplomatists were alarmed at the language addressed by the emperor of the French to the Austrian ambassador at Paris, which seemed to breathe the menace of a rupture. Notwithstanding the exertions which Great Britain made to avert hostilities, the provocation of Count Cavour induced Austria to declare war against Piedmont, and Napoleon thereupon moved to the support of his ally, promising to free Italy from the Alps to the Adriatic. As a matter of fact, the attitude of northern Germany, which was massing troops on the Rhine, and the defenceless condition of France, which was drained of soldiers for the Italian campaign, induced the emperor to halt before he had carried out his purpose, and terms of peace were hastily concerted at Villafranca, and were afterwards confirmed at Zurich, by which Lombardy was given to Piedmont, while Austria was left in possession of Venice and the Quadrilateral, and central Italy was restored to its former rulers. The refusal of the Italians to take back the Austrian grand dukes made the execution of these arrangements impracticable. Napoleon, indeed, used his influence to carry them into effect; but Lord John Russell, who was now in charge of the British foreign office, and who had Lord Palmerston and Mr. Gladstone on his side in the cabinet, gave a vigorous support to the claim of the Italians that their country should be allowed to regulate her own affairs. The French emperor had ultimately to yield to the determination of the inhabitants of central Italy, when it was backed by the arguments of the British foreign office, and Tuscany, Modena, Parma, as well as a portion of the States of the Church, were united to Piedmont. There was no doubt that through the whole of the negotiations the Italians were largely indebted to the labours of Lord John Russell. They recognised that they owed more to the moral support of England than to the armed assistance of France. The French emperor, moreover, took a step which lost him the sympathy of many Italians. Before the war he had arranged with Count Cavour that France should receive, as the price of her aid, the duchy of Savoy and the county of Nice.

After Villafranca, the emperor, frankly recognising that he had only half kept his promise, consented to waive his claim to these provinces. But, when he found himself unable to resist the annexation of central Italy to Piedmont, he reverted to the old arrangement. The formation of a strong Piedmontese kingdom, with the spoliation of the papal dominion, was unpopular in France; and he thought—perhaps naturally—that he must have something to show his people in return for sacrifices which had cost him the lives of 50,000 French soldiers, and concessions which the whole Catholic party in France resented. Count Cavour consented to pay the price which Napoleon thus exacted, and the frontier of France was accordingly extended to the Alps. But it is very doubtful whether Napoleon did not lose more than he gained by this addition to his territory. It certainly cost him the active friendship of Great Britain. The Anglo-French alliance had been already strained by the language of the French colonels in 1858 and the Franco-Austrian War of 1859; it never fully recovered from the shock which it received by the evidence, which the annexation of Savoy and Nice gave, of the ambition of the French emperor. The British people gave way to what Mr. Cobden called the last of the three panics. Lord Palmerston proposed and carried the provision of a large sum of money for the fortification of the coasts; and the volunteer movement, which had its origin in 1859, received a remarkable stimulus in

1860. In this year the course of events in Italy emphasised the differences between the policy of Great Britain and that of France. Garibaldi, with a thousand followers, made his famous descent on the coast of Sicily. After making himself master of that island, he crossed over to the mainland, drove the king of Naples out of his capital, and forced him to take refuge in Gaeta. In France these events were regarded with dismay. The emperor wished to stop Garibaldi's passage across the strait, and stationed his fleet at Gaeta to protect the king of Naples. Lord John Russell, on the contrary, welcomed Garibaldi's success with enthusiasm. He declined to intervene in the affairs of Italy by confining the great liberator to Sicily; he protested against the presence of the French fleet at Gaeta; and when other foreign nations denounced the conduct of Piedmont, he defended it by quoting Vattel and citing the example of William III. When, finally, Italian troops entered the dominions of the pope, France withdrew her ambassador from the court of Turin and England under Lord John Russell's advice at once recognised the new kingdom of Italy.

Schleswig-Holstein Question

In these great events—for the union of Italy was the greatest fact which had been accomplished in Europe since the fall of the first Napoleon—the British ministry had undoubtedly acquired credit. It was everywhere felt that the new kingdom owed much to the moral support which had been steadily and consistently given to it by Great Britain. Soon afterwards, however, in the autumn of 1863, the death of the king of Denmark led to a new revolution in the north of Europe, in which Lord Palmerston's government displayed less resolution and lost much of the prestige which it had acquired by its Italian policy. The duchies of Schleswig and Holstein had been for centuries united to the kingdom of Denmark by the golden link of the crown; in other respects they had been organically kept distinct, while one of them—Holstein—was a member of the German confederation. The succession to the crown of Denmark, however, was different from that in the duchies. In Denmark the crown could descend, as it descends in Great Britain, through females. In the duchies the descent was confined to the male line; and, as Frederick VII, who ascended the Danish throne in 1848, had no direct issue, the next heir to the crown of Denmark under this rule was Prince Christian of Glücksburg, afterwards king; the next heir to the duchies being the duke of Augustenburg. In 1850 an arrangement had been made to prevent the separation of the duchies from the kingdom. As a result of a conference held in London, the duke of Augustenburg was induced to renounce his claim on the receipt of a large sum of money. Most of the great powers of Europe were parties to this plan. But the German confederation was not represented at the conference, and was not therefore committed to its conclusions. During the reign of Frederick VII the Danish government endeavoured to cement the alliance between the duchies and the kingdom, and specially to separate the interests of Schleswig, which was largely Danish in its sympathies, from those of Holstein, which was almost exclusively German. With this object, in the last year of his life, Frederick VII granted Holstein autonomous institutions, and bound Schleswig more closely to the Danish monarchy. The new King Christian IX confirmed this arrangement. The German diet at Frankfort at once protested against it. Following up words with acts it decided on occupying Holstein, and it delegated the duty of carrying out its order to Hanover and Saxony.

While federal execution was taking place, the duke of Augustenburg—regardless of the arrangements to which he had consented—delegated his rights in the duchies to his son, who formally claimed the succession. So far the situation, which was serious enough, had been largely dependent on the action of Germany. In the closing days of 1863 it passed mainly into the control of the two chief German powers. In Prussia Bismarck had lately become prime minister, and was animated by ambitious projects for his country's aggrandisement. Austria, afraid of losing her influence in Germany, followed the lead of Prussia, and the two powers required Denmark to cancel the arrangements which Frederick VII had made, and which Christian IX had confirmed, threatening in case of refusal to follow up the occupation of Holstein by that of Schleswig. As the Danes gave only a provisional assent to the demand, Prussian and Austrian troops entered Schleswig. These events created much excitement in England. The great majority of the British people, who imperfectly understood the merits of the case, were unanimous in their desire to support Denmark by arms. Their wish had been accentuated by the circumstance that the marriage in the previous spring of the prince of Wales to the daughter of the new king of Denmark had given them an almost personal interest in the struggle. Lord Palmerston had publicly expressed the views of the people by declaring that, if Denmark were attacked, her assailants would not have to deal with Denmark alone. The language of the public press and of Englishmen visiting Denmark confirmed the impression which the words of the prime minister had produced; and there is unfortunately no doubt that Denmark was encouraged to resist her powerful opponents by the belief, which she was thus almost authorised in entertaining, that she could reckon in the hour of her danger on the active assistance of the United Kingdom.

If Lord Palmerston had been supported by his cabinet, or if he had been a younger man, he might possibly, in 1864, have made good the words which he had rashly uttered in 1863. But the queen, who, it is fair to add, understood the movement which was tending to German unity much better than most of her advisers, was averse from war. A large section of the cabinet shared the queen's hesitation, and Lord Palmerston—with the weight of nearly eighty summers upon him—was not strong enough to enforce his will against both his sovereign and his colleagues. He made some attempt to ascertain whether the emperor of the French would support him if he went to war. But he found that the emperor had not much fancy for a struggle which would have restored Holstein to Denmark; and that, if he went to war at all, his chief object would be the liberation of Venice and the rectification of his own frontiers. Even Lord Palmerston shrank from entering on a campaign which would have involved all Europe in conflagration, and would have unsettled the boundaries of most continental nations; and the British government endeavoured thenceforward to stop hostilities by referring the question immediately in dispute to a conference in London. The labours of the conference proved abortive. Its members were unable to agree upon any methods of settlement, and the war went on. Denmark, naturally unable to grapple with her powerful antagonist, was forced to yield, and the two duchies, which were the subject of the dispute, were taken from her.

The full consequences of this struggle were not visible at the time. It was impossible to foresee that it was the first step which was to carry Prussia forward, under her ambitious minister, to a position of acknowledged supremacy on the Continent. But the results to Great Britain were plain enough. She had been mighty in words and weak in deeds. It was no doubt open to her to

contend, as perhaps most wise people consider, that the cause of Denmark was not of sufficient importance to justify her in going to war. But it was not open to her to encourage a weak power to resist, and then desert her in the hour of her necessity. Lord Palmerston should not have used the language which he employed in 1863, if he had not decided that his brave words would be followed by brave action. His conduct lowered the prestige of Great Britain at least as much as his Italian policy had raised it. Continental statesmen thenceforward assumed that Great Britain, however much she might protest, would not resort to arms, and the influence of England suffered, as it was bound to suffer, in consequence.

American Civil War

Meanwhile, in this period of warfare, another struggle was being fought out on a still greater scale in North America. The election of Abraham Lincoln to the presidency of the United States emphasised the fact that the majority of the inhabitants of the northern states were opposed to the continuance of slavery; and, in the beginning of 1861, several of the southern states formally seceded from the Union. A steamer sent by the Federal government with reinforcements to Fort Sumter was fired upon, and both parties made preparations for the civil war which was apparently inevitable. On the one side the Confederate States—as the seceding states were called—were animated by a resolution to protect their property. On the other side the "conscience" of the North was excited by a passionate desire to wipe out the blot of slavery. Thus both parties were affected by some of the most powerful considerations which can influence mankind, while the North were further actuated by the natural incentive to preserve the Union, which was threatened with disruption. The progress of the great struggle was watched with painful attention in England. The most important manufacturing interest in England was paralysed by the loss of the raw cotton, which was obtained almost exclusively from the United States, and tens of thousands of workpeople were thrown out of employment. The distress which resulted naturally created a strong feeling in favour of intervention, which might terminate the war and open the Southern ports to British commerce; and the initial successes which the Confederates secured seemed to afford some justification for such a proceeding. In the course of 1862 indeed, when the Confederate armies had secured many victories, Mr. Gladstone, speaking at Newcastle, used the famous expression that President Jefferson Davis had "made a nation"; and Lord Palmerston's language in the house of commons—while opposing a motion for the recognition of the South—induced the impression that his thoughts were tending in the same direction as Mr. Gladstone's. The emperor Napoleon, in July of the same year, confidentially asked the British minister whether the moment had not come for recognising the South; and in the following September Lord Palmerston was himself disposed in concert with France to offer to mediate on the basis of separation. Soon afterwards, however, the growing exhaustion of the South improved the prospects of the Northern States; an increasing number of persons in Great Britain objected to interfere in the interests of slavery; and the combatants were allowed to fight out their quarrel without the interference of Europe.

At the beginning of the war, Lord John Russell (who was made a peer as Earl Russell in 1861) acknowledged the Southern States as belligerents. His decision caused some ill-feeling at Washington; but it was inevitable. For the North had proclaimed a blockade of the Southern ports; and it would

have been both inconvenient and unfair if Lord Russell had decided to recognise the blockade and had refused to acknowledge the belligerent rights of the Southern States. Lord Russell's decision, however, seemed to indicate some latent sympathy for the Southern cause; and the irritation which was felt in the North was increased by the news that the Southern States were accrediting two gentlemen to represent them at Paris and at London. These emissaries, Messrs. Mason and Slidell, succeeded in running the blockade and in reaching Cuba, where they embarked on the *Trent*, a British mail steamer sailing for England. On her passage home the *Trent* was stopped by the Federal steamer *San Jacinto;* she was boarded, and Messrs. Mason and Slidell were arrested. There was no doubt that the captain of the *San Jacinto* had acted irregularly. While he had the right to stop the *Trent*, examine the mails, and, if he found despatches for the enemy among them, carry the vessel into an American port for adjudication, he had no authority to board the vessel and arrest two of her passengers. "The British government," to use its own language, "could not allow such an affront to the national honour to pass without due reparation." They decided on sending what practically amounted to an ultimatum to the Federal government, calling upon it to liberate the prisoners and to make a suitable apology. The presentation of this ultimatum, which was accompanied by the despatch of troops to Canada, was very nearly provoking war with the United States. If, indeed, the ultimatum had been presented in the form in which it was originally framed, war might have ensued. But at the prince consort's suggestion its language was considerably modified, and the responsibility for the outrage was thrown on the officer who committed it, and not on the government of the republic. It ought not to be forgotten that this important modification was the last service rendered to his adopted country by the prince consort before his fatal illness. He died before the answer to the despatch was received; and his death deprived the queen of an adviser who had stood by her side since the earlier days of her reign, and who, by his prudence and conduct, had done much to raise the tone of the court and the influence of the crown. Happily for the future of the world, the government of the United States felt itself able to accept the despatch which had been thus addressed to it, and to give the reparation which was demanded; and the danger of war between the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon race was averted. But, in the following summer, a new event excited fresh animosities, and aroused a controversy which endured for the best part of ten years.

The Confederates, naturally anxious to harass the commerce of their enemies, endeavoured from the commencement of hostilities to purchase armed cruisers from builders of neutral nations. In June, 1862, the American minister in London drew Lord Russell's attention to the fact that a vessel, lately launched at Messrs. Laird's yard at Birkenhead, was obviously intended to be employed as a Confederate cruiser. The solicitor to the commissioners of customs, however, considered that no facts had been revealed to authorise the detention of the vessel, and this opinion was reported in the beginning of July to the American minister, Mr. Adams. He thereupon supplied the government with additional facts, and at the same time furnished them with the opinion of an eminent English lawyer, Mr. Collier (afterwards Lord Monkswell), to the effect that "it would be difficult to make out a stronger case of infringement of the Foreign Enlistment Act, which if not enforced on this occasion is little better than a dead letter." These facts and this opinion were at once sent to the law officers. They reached the queen's advocate on Saturday, the 26th July; but, by an unfortunate mischance, the queen's

advocate had just been wholly incapacitated by a distressing illness; and the papers, in consequence, did not reach the attorney- and solicitor-general till the evening of the following Monday, when they at once advised the government to detain the vessel. Lord Russell thereupon sent orders to Liverpool for her detention. In the mean while the vessel—probably aware of the necessity for haste—had put to sea, and had commenced the career which made her famous as the *Alabama*. Ministers might even then have taken steps to stop the vessel by directing her detention in any British port to which she resorted for supplies. The cabinet, however, shrank from this course. The *Alabama* was allowed to prey on Federal commerce, and undoubtedly inflicted a vast amount of injury on the trade of the United States. In the autumn of 1862 Mr. Adams demanded redress for the injuries which had thus been sustained, and this demand was repeated for many years in stronger and stronger language. At last, in 1871, long after Lord Palmerston's death and Lord Russell's retirement, a joint commission was appointed to examine into the many cases of dispute which had arisen between the United States and Great Britain. The commissioners agreed upon three rules by which they thought neutrals should in future be bound, and recommended that they should be given a retrospective effect. They decided also that the claims which had arisen out of the depredations of the *Alabama* should be referred to arbitration. In the course of 1872 the arbitrators met at Geneva. Their finding was adverse to Great Britain, which was condemned to pay a large sum of money—more than £3,000,000—as compensation. A period of exceptional prosperity, which largely increased the revenue, enabled a chancellor of the exchequer to boast that the country had drunk itself out of the *Alabama* difficulty.

LORD RUSSELL'S SECOND MINISTRY

In October, 1865, Lord Palmerston's rule, which had been characterised by six years of political inaction at home and by constant disturbance abroad, was terminated by his death. The ministry, which had suffered many losses from death during its duration, was temporarily reconstructed under Lord Russell; and the new minister at once decided to put an end to the period of internal stagnation, which had lasted so long, by the introduction of a new Reform bill. Accordingly, in March, 1866, Mr. Gladstone, who now led the house of commons, introduced a measure which proposed to extend the county franchise to £14 and the borough franchise to £7 householders. The bill did not create much enthusiasm among liberals, and it was naturally opposed by the conservatives, who were reinforced by a large section of moderate liberals, nicknamed, in consequence of a phrase in one of Mr. Bright's speeches, Adullamites. After many debates, in which the commons showed little disposition to give the ministry any effective support, an amendment was carried by Lord Dunkellin, the eldest son of Lord Clanricarde, basing the borough franchise on rating instead of rental. The cabinet, recognising from the division that the control of the house had passed out of its hands, resigned office, and the queen was compelled to intrust Lord Derby with the task of forming a new administration.

LORD DERBY'S THIRD MINISTRY

For the third time in his career Lord Derby undertook the formidable task of conducting the government of the country with only a minority of the house of commons to support him. The moment at which he made this third

attempt was one of unusual anxiety. Abroad, the almost simultaneous outbreak of war between Prussia and Austria was destined to affect the whole aspect of continental politics. At home, a terrible murrain had fallen on the cattle, inflicting ruin on the agricultural interest; a grave commercial crisis was creating alarm in the city of London, and, in its consequences, injuring the interests of labour; while the working classes, at last roused from their long indifference, and angry at the rejection of Lord Russell's bill, were assembling in their tens of thousands to demand reform. The cabinet determined to prohibit a meeting which the Reform League decided to hold in Hyde Park on the 23rd of July, and closed the gates of the park on the people. But the mob, converging on the park in thousands, surged round the railings, which a little inquiry might have shown were too weak to resist any real pressure. Either accidentally or intentionally, the railings were overturned in one place, and the people, perceiving their opportunity, at once threw them down round the whole circuit of the park. Few acts in Queen Victoria's reign were attended with greater consequences. For the riot in Hyde Park led almost directly to a new reform act, and to the transfer of power from the middle classes to the masses of the people.

Reform (*1867 A.D.*)

Yet, though the new government found it necessary to introduce a reform bill, a wide difference of opinion existed in the cabinet as to the form which the measure should take. Several of its members were in favour of assimilating the borough franchise to that in force in municipal elections, and practically conferring a vote on every householder who had three years' residence in the constituency. General Peel, however—Sir Robert Peel's brother—who held the seals of the war office, objected to this extension; and the cabinet ultimately decided on evading the difficulty by bringing forward a series of resolutions on which a scheme of reform might ultimately be based. Their success in 1858, in dealing with the government of India in this way, commended the decision to the acceptance of the cabinet. But it was soon apparent that the house of commons required a definite scheme, and that it would not seriously consider a set of abstract resolutions which committed no one to any distinct plan. Hence on the 23rd of February, 1867, the cabinet decided on withdrawing its resolutions and reverting to its original bill. On the following day Lord Cranborne—better known afterwards as Lord Salisbury—discovered that the bill had more democratic tendencies than he had originally supposed, and refused to be a party to it. On Monday, the 25th, the cabinet again met to consider the new difficulty which had thus arisen; and it decided (as was said afterwards by Sir John Pakington) in ten minutes to substitute for the scheme a mild measure extending the borough franchise to houses rated at £6 a year, and conferring the county franchise on £20 householders. The bill, it was soon obvious, would be acceptable to no one; and the government again fell back on its original proposal. Three members of the cabinet, however, Lord Cranborne, Lord Carnarvon, and General Peel, refused to be parties to the measure, and resigned office, the government being necessarily weakened by these defections. In the large scheme which the cabinet had now adopted the borough franchise was conferred on all householders rated to the relief of the poor, who had for two years occupied the houses which gave them the qualification; the county franchise was given to the occupiers of all houses rated at £15 a year or upwards. But it was proposed that these extensions should be accompanied by an educational fran-

chise, and a franchise conferred on persons who had paid twenty shillings in assessed taxes or income tax; the tax-payers who had gained a vote in this way being given a second vote in respect of the property which they occupied. In the course of the discussion on the bill in the house of commons, the securities on which its authors had relied to enable them to stem the tide of democracy were, chiefly through Mr. Gladstone's exertions, swept away. The dual vote was abandoned, direct payment of rates was surrendered, the county franchise was extended to £12 householders, and the redistribution of seats was largely increased. The bill, in the shape in which it had been introduced, had been surrounded with safeguards to property. With their loss it involved a great radical change, which placed the working classes of the country in the position of predominance which the middle classes had occupied since 1832.

DISRAELI PRIME MINISTER

The passage of the bill necessitated a dissolution of parliament; but it had to be postponed to enable parliament to supplement the English Reform Act of 1867 with measures applicable to Scotland and Ireland, and to give time for settling the boundaries of the new constituencies which had been created. This delay gave the conservatives another year of office. But the first place in the cabinet passed in 1868 from Lord Derby to his lieutenant, Mr. Disraeli. The change added interest to political life. Thenceforward, for the next thirteen years, the chief places in the two great parties in the state were filled by the two men, Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Disraeli, who were unquestionably the ablest representatives of their respective followers. But the situation was also remarkable because power thus definitely passed from men who, without exception, had been born in the eighteenth century, and had all held cabinet offices before 1832, to men who had been born in the nineteenth century, and had only risen to cabinet rank in the forties and the fifties. It was also interesting to reflect that Mr. Gladstone had begun life as a conservative, and had only gradually moved to the ranks of the liberal party; while Mr. Disraeli had fought his first election under the auspices of Mr. O'Connell and Mr. Hume, had won his spurs by his attacks on Sir Robert Peel, and had been only reluctantly adopted by the conservatives as their leader in the house of commons.

The Irish Church

The struggle commenced in 1868 on an Irish question. During the previous years considerable attention had been paid to a secret conspiracy in Ireland and among the Irish in America. The Fenians, as they were called, actually attempted insurrection in Ireland, and an invasion of Canada from the United States. At the beginning of 1866 Lord Russell's government thought itself compelled to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland; and in 1867 Lord Derby's government was confronted in the spring by a plot to seize Chester Castle, and in the autumn by an attack on a prison van at Manchester containing Fenian prisoners, and by an atrocious attempt to blow up Clerkenwell Prison. Conservative politicians deduced from these circumstances the necessity of applying firm government to Ireland. Liberal statesmen, on the contrary, desired to extirpate rebellion by remedying the grievances of which Ireland still complained. Chief among these was the fact that the Established Church in Ireland was the church of only a minority of the Irish people. In March, 1868, Mr. Maguire, an Irish Roman Catholic, asked the house of commons to resolve itself into a committee to take into immediate considera-

tion the affairs of Ireland. Mr. Gladstone, in the course of the debate, declared that in his opinion the time had come when the Irish Church, as a political institution, should cease; and he followed up his declaration by a series of resolutions, which were accepted by considerable majorities, pledging the house to its disestablishment. Mr. Disraeli, recognising the full significance of this decision, announced that, as soon as the necessary preparations could be made, the government would appeal from the house to the country. Parliament was dissolved at the end of July, but the general election did not take place till the end of the following November. The future of the Irish Church naturally formed one of the chief subjects which occupied the attention of the electors, but the issue was largely determined by wider considerations. The country, after the long political truce which had been maintained by Lord Palmerston, was again ranged in two hostile camps, animated by opposing views. It was virtually asked to decide in 1868 whether it would put its trust in liberal or conservative, in Mr. Gladstone or Mr. Disraeli. By an overwhelming majority it threw its lot in favour of Mr. Gladstone; and Mr. Disraeli, without even venturing to meet parliament, took the unusual course of at once placing his resignation in the queen's hands.

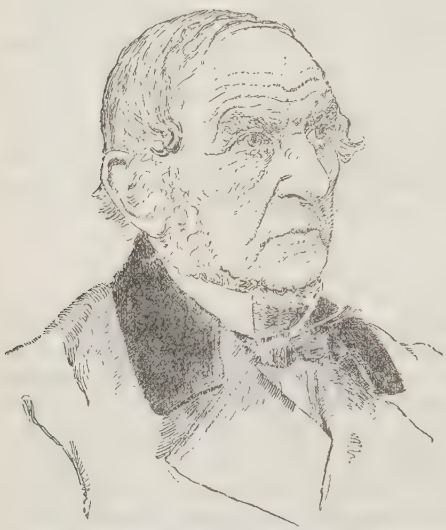
Abyssinian War

The conservative government, which thus fell, will be chiefly recollected for its remarkable concession to democratic principles by the passage of the Reform Act of 1867; but it deserves perhaps a word of praise for its conduct of a distant and unusual war. The emperor of Abyssinia had, for some time, detained some Englishmen prisoners in his country; and the government, unable to obtain redress in other ways, decided on sending an army to release them. The expedition, intrusted to Sir Robert Napier, afterwards Lord Napier of Magdala, was fitted out at great expense, and was rewarded with complete success. The prisoners were released, and the Abyssinian monarch committed suicide. Mr. Disraeli—whose oriental imagination was excited by the triumph—incurred some ridicule by his bombastic declaration that "the standard of St. George was hoisted upon the mountains of Rasselas." But the ministry could at least claim that the war had been waged to rescue Englishmen from captivity, that it had been conducted with skill, and that it had accomplished its results. The events of the Abyssinian War, however, were forgotten in the great political revolution which had swept the conservatives from office and placed Mr. Gladstone in power. His government was destined to endure for more than five years. During that period it experienced the alternate prosperity and decline which nearly forty years before had been the lot of the whigs after the passage of the first Reform Act. During its first two sessions it accomplished greater changes in legislation than had been attempted by any ministry since that of Lord Grey. In its three last sessions it was destined to sink into gradual disrepute; and it was ultimately swept away by a wave of popular reaction as remarkable as that which had borne it into power.

GLADSTONE'S FIRST MINISTRY

It was generally understood that Mr. Gladstone intended to deal with three great Irish grievances—"the three branches of the upas tree"—the religious, agricultural, and educational grievances. The session of 1869 was devoted to the first of these subjects. Mr. Gladstone introduced a bill disconnecting the Irish Church from the state, establishing a synod for its gov-

ernment, and—after leaving it in possession of its churches and its parsonages, and making ample provision for the life-interests of its existing clergy—devoting the bulk of its property to the relief of distress in Ireland. The bill was carried by large majorities through the house of commons; and the feeling of the country was so strong that the lords did not venture on its rejection. They satisfied themselves with engrafting on it a series of amendments which, on the whole, secured rather more liberal terms of compensation for existing interests. Some of these amendments were adopted by Mr. Gladstone; a compromise was effected in respect of the others; and the bill, which had practically occupied the whole session, and had perhaps involved higher constructive skill than any measure passed in the previous half-century, became law. Having dealt with the Irish Church in 1869, Mr. Gladstone turned to the more complicated question of Irish land. So far back as the forties Sir R. Peel had appointed a commission, known from its chairman as the Devon Commission, which had recommended that the Irish tenant, in the event of disturbance, should receive some compensation for certain specified improvements which he had made in his holding. Parliament neglected to give effect to these recommendations; in a country where agriculture was the chief or almost only occupation the tenant remained at his landlord's mercy. In 1870 Mr. Gladstone proposed to give the tenant a pecuniary interest in improvements, suitable to the holding, which he had made either before or after the passing of the act. He proposed also that, in cases of eviction, the smaller tenantry should receive compensation for disturbance. The larger tenantry, who were supposed to be able to look after their own interests, were entirely debarred, and tenants enjoying leases were excluded from claiming compensation except for tillages, buildings, and reclamation of lands. A special court, it was further provided, should be instituted to carry out the provisions of the bill. Large and radical as the measure was, reversing many of the accepted principles of legislation by giving the tenant a *quasi*-partnership with the landlord in his holding, no serious opposition was made to it in either house of parliament. Its details, indeed, were abundantly criticised, but its principles were hardly disputed, and it became law without any substantial alteration of its original provisions. In two sessions two branches of the upas tree had been summarily cut off. But parliament in 1870 was not solely occupied with the wrongs of Irish tenantry.

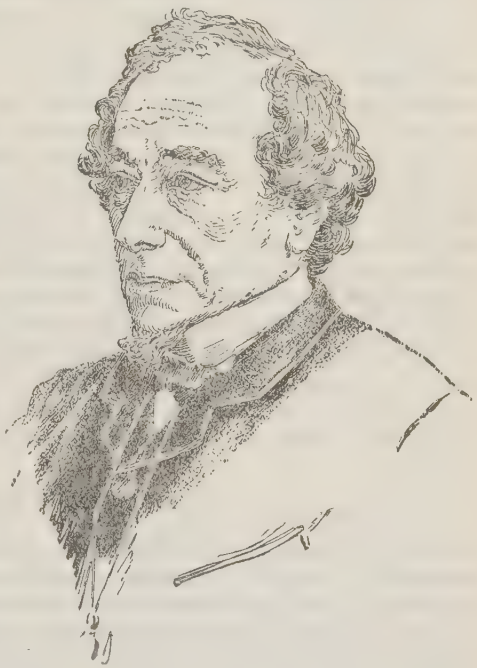


WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE
(1809–1898)

Elementary Education

In the same year Mr. Forster, as vice-president of the council, succeeded in carrying the great measure which for the first time made education compulsory. In devising his scheme, Mr. Forster endeavoured to utilise, as far as

possible, the educational machinery which had been voluntarily provided by various religious organisations. He gave the institutions which had been thus established the full benefit of the assistance which the government was prepared to afford to board schools, on their adopting a conscience clause under which the religious susceptibilities of the parents of children were protected. This provision led to many debates, and produced the first symptoms of disruption in the liberal party. The nonconformists contended that no such aid should be given to any school which was not conducted on undenominational principles. Supported by the bulk of the conservative party, Mr. Forster was enabled to defeat the dissenters. But the victory which he secured was, in one sense, dearly purchased. The first breach in the liberal ranks had been made; and the government, after 1870, never again commanded the same united support which had enabled it to pursue its victorious career in the first two sessions of its existence.



EARL OF BEACONSFIELD
(1804–1881)

Black Sea Neutrality; Army Purchase

Towards the close of the session of 1870 other events, for which the government had no direct responsibility, introduced new difficulties. War unexpectedly broke out between France and Prussia. The French Empire fell; the German armies marched on Paris; and the Russian government, at Count Bismarck's instigation, took advantage of the collapse of France to repudiate the clause in the treaty of 1856 which neutralised the Black Sea. Lord Granville, who had succeeded Lord Clarendon at the foreign office, protested against this proceeding. But it was everywhere felt that his mere protest was not likely to affect the result; and the government at last consented to accept a suggestion made by Count Bismarck, and to take part in a conference to discuss the Russian proposal. Though this device enabled them to say that they had not yielded to the Russian demand, it was obvious that they entered the conference with the foregone conclusion of conceding the Russian claim. The attitude which the government thus chose to adopt was perhaps inevitable in the circumstances, but it confirmed the impression, which the abandonment of the cause of Denmark had produced in 1864, that Great Britain was not prepared to maintain its principles by going to war. The weakness of the British foreign office was emphasised by its consenting, almost at the same moment, to allow the claims of the United States, for the depredations of the *Alabama*, to be settled under a rule only agreed upon in 1871. Most Englishmen now appreciate the wisdom of a concession which has gained for them the friendship of the United States.

But in 1871 the country resented the manner in which Lord Granville had acted.

Whatever credit the government might have derived from its domestic measures, it was discredited, or it was thought to be, by its foreign policy. In these circumstances legislation in 1871 was not marked with the success which had attended the government in previous sessions. The government succeeded in terminating a long controversy by abolishing ecclesiastical tests at universities. But the lords ventured to reject a measure for the introduction of the ballot at elections, and refused to proceed with a bill for the abolition of purchase in the army. The result of these decisions was indeed remarkable. In the one case, the lords in 1872 found it necessary to give way, and to pass the Ballot Bill, which they had rejected in 1871. In the other, Mr. Gladstone decided on abolishing, by the direct authority of the crown, the system which the lords had refused to do away with by legislation. But his high-handed proceeding, though it forced the lords to reconsider their decision, strained the allegiance of many of his supporters, and still further impaired the popularity of his administration. Most men felt that it would have been permissible for him at the commencement of the session to have used the queen's authority to terminate the purchase system; but they considered that, as he had not taken this course, it was not open to him to reverse the decision of the legislature by resorting to the prerogative. Two appointments, one to a judicial office, the other to an ecclesiastical preferment, in which Mr. Gladstone, about the same time, showed more disposition to obey the letter than the spirit of the law, confirmed the impression which the abolition of purchase had made. Great reforming ministers would do well to recollect that the success of even liberal measures may be dearly purchased by the resort to what are regarded as unconstitutional expedients.

Governmental Embarrassments

In the following years the embarrassments of the government were further increased. In 1872 Mr. Bruce, the home secretary, succeeded in passing a measure of licensing reform. But the abstainers condemned the bill as inadequate; the publicans denounced it as oppressive; and the whole strength of the licensed victuallers was thenceforward arrayed against the ministry. In 1873 Mr. Gladstone attempted to complete his great Irish measures by conferring on Ireland the advantage of a university which would be equally acceptable to Protestants and Roman Catholics. But his proposal again failed to satisfy those in whose interests it was proposed. The second reading of the bill was rejected by a small majority, and Mr. Gladstone resigned; but, as Mr. Disraeli could not form a government, he resumed office. The power of the great minister was, however, spent; his ministry was hopelessly discredited. History, in fact, was repeating itself. The ministry was suffering, as Lord Grey's government had suffered nearly forty years before, from the effect of its own successes. It had accomplished more than any of its supporters had expected, but in doing so it had harassed many interests and excited much opposition. Mr. Gladstone endeavoured to meet the storm by a rearrangement of his crew. Mr. Bruce, who had offended the licensed victuallers, was removed from the home office, and made a peer and president of the council. Mr. Lowe, who had incurred unpopularity by his fiscal measures, and especially by an abortive suggestion for the taxation of matches, was transferred from the exchequer to the home office, and Mr. Gladstone himself assumed the duties of chancellor of the exchequer. He thereby

created a difficulty for himself which he had not foreseen. Up to 1867 a minister leaving one office and accepting another vacated his seat; after 1867 a transfer from one post to another did not necessitate a fresh election. But Mr. Gladstone in 1873 had taken a course which had not been contemplated in 1867. He had not been transferred from one office to another. He had accepted a new in addition to his old office. It was, to say the least, uncertain whether his action in this respect had or had not vacated his seat. It would be unfair to suggest that the inconvenient difficulty with which he was thus confronted determined his policy, though he was probably insensibly influenced by it. However this may be, on the eve of the session of 1874 he suddenly decided to dissolve parliament and to appeal to the country. He announced his decision in an address to his constituents, in which, among other financial reforms, he promised to repeal the income tax. The course which Mr. Gladstone took, and the bait which he held out to the electors, were generally condemned. The country, wearied of the ministry and of its measures, almost everywhere supported the conservative candidates. Mr. Disraeli found himself restored to power at the head of an overwhelming majority, and the great minister who, five years before, had achieved so marked a triumph temporarily withdrew from the leadership of the party with whose aid he had accomplished such important results. His ministry had been essentially one of peace, yet its closing days were memorable for one little war in which a great soldier increased a reputation already high. Sir Garnet Wolseley triumphed over the difficulties which the climate of the west coast of Africa imposes on Europeans, and brought a troublesome contest with the Ashantees to a successful conclusion.

DISRAELI'S SECOND MINISTRY

The history of Mr. Disraeli's second administration affords an exact reverse to that of Mr. Gladstone's first cabinet. In legislation the ministry attempted little and accomplished less. They did something to meet the wishes of the publicans, whose discontent had contributed largely to Mr. Gladstone's defeat, by amending some of the provisions of Mr. Bruce's Licensing Bill; they supported and succeeded in passing a measure, brought in by the primate, to restrain some of the irregularities which the ritualists were introducing into public worship; and they were compelled by the violent insistence of Mr. Plimsoll to pass an act to protect the lives of merchant seamen. Mr. Disraeli's government, however, will be chiefly remembered for its foreign policy. Years before he had propounded in *Tancred* the theory that England should aim at eastern empire. Circumstances in his second term of office enabled him to translate his theory into practice. In 1875 the country was suddenly startled at hearing that it had acquired a new position and assumed new responsibilities in Egypt by the purchase of the shares which the khedive of Egypt held in the Suez Canal. In the following spring a new surprise was afforded by the introduction of a measure authorising the queen to assume the title Empress of India.

"Bulgarian Atrocities"

But these significant actions were almost forgotten in the presence of a new crisis; for in 1876 misgovernment in Turkey had produced its natural results, and the European provinces of the Porte were in a state of armed insurrection. In the presence of a grave danger, Count Andrassy, the Aus-

trian minister, drew up a note which was afterwards known by his name, declaring that the Porte had failed to carry into effect the promises of reform which she had made, and that some combined action on the part of Europe was necessary to compel her to do so. The note was accepted by the three continental empires, but Great Britain refused in the first instance to assent to it, and only ultimately consented at the desire of the Porte, whose statesmen seem to have imagined that the nominal co-operation of England would have the effect of restraining the action of other powers. Turkey accepted the note and renewed the promises of reform which she had so often made, and which meant so little. The three northern powers thereupon agreed upon what was known as the Berlin Memorandum, in which they demanded an armistice, and proposed to watch over the completion of the reforms which the Porte had promised. The British government refused to be a party to this memorandum, which in consequence became abortive. The insurrection increased in intensity. The sultan Abdul Aziz, thought unequal to the crisis, was hastily deposed; he was either murdered or led to commit suicide; and insurrection in Bulgaria was stamped out by massacre. The story of the "Bulgarian atrocities" was published in Great Britain in the summer of 1876. Mr. Disraeli characteristically dismissed it as "coffee-house babble," but official investigation proved the substantial accuracy of the reports which had reached England. The people regarded these events with horror. Mr. Gladstone, emerging from his retirement, denounced the conduct of the Turks. In a phrase which became famous he declared that the only remedy for the European provinces of the Porte was to turn out the Ottoman government "bag and baggage."

All England was at once arrayed into two camps. One party was led by Mr. Disraeli, who was supposed to represent the traditional policy of England of maintaining the rule of the Turk at all hazards; the other, inspired by the example of Mr. Gladstone, was resolved at all costs to terminate oppression, but was at the same time distrusted as indirectly assisting the ambitious views by which the Eastern policy of Russia had always been animated. The crisis soon became intense. In June, 1876, Servia and Montenegro declared war against Turkey. In a few months Servia was hopelessly beaten. Through the insistence of Russia an armistice was agreed upon; and Lord Beaconsfield—for Mr. Disraeli had now been raised to the peerage—endeavoured to utilise the breathing space by organising a conference of the great powers at Constantinople, which was attended on behalf of Great Britain by Lord Salisbury. The Constantinople Conference proved abortive, and in the beginning of 1877 Russia declared war. For some time, however, her success was hardly equal to her expectations. The Turks, intrenched at Plevna, delayed the Russian advance; and it was only towards the close of 1877 that Plevna at last fell and Turkish resistance collapsed. With its downfall the war party in England, which was led by the prime minister, increased in violence. From the refrain of a song, sung night after night at a London music hall, its members became known as Jingoes. The government ordered the British fleet to pass the Dardanelles and go up to Constantinople; and though the order was subsequently withdrawn, it asked for and obtained a grant of £6,000,000 for naval and military purposes. When news came that the Russian armies had reached Adrianople, that they had concluded some arrangement with the Turks, and that they were pressing forward towards Constantinople, the fleet was again directed to pass the Dardanelles. Soon afterwards the government decided to call out the reserves and to bring a contingent of Indian troops to the Mediterranean. Lord Derby, who was at

the foreign office, thereupon retired from the ministry, and was succeeded by Lord Salisbury. Lord Derby's resignation was everywhere regarded as a proof that Great Britain was on the verge of war.

Happily war did not occur. At Prince Bismarck's suggestion Russia consented to refer the treaty which she had concluded at San Stefano to a congress of the great powers; and the congress, at which Great Britain was represented by Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury, succeeded in substituting for the Treaty of San Stefano the Treaty of Berlin. The one great advantage derived from it was the tacit acknowledgment by Russia that Europe could alone alter arrangements which Europe had made. In every other sense it is doubtful whether the provisions of the Treaty of Berlin were more favourable than those of the Treaty of San Stefano. On Lord Beaconsfield's return, however, he claimed for Lord Salisbury and himself that they had brought back "peace with honour," and the country accepted with wild delight the phrase, without taking much trouble to analyse its justice.

Afghan Wars

If Lord Beaconsfield had dissolved parliament immediately after his return from Berlin, it is possible that the wave of popularity which had been raised by his success would have borne him forward to a fresh victory in the constituencies. His omission to do so gave the country time to meditate on the consequences of his policy. One result soon became perceptible. Differences with Russia produced their inevitable consequences in fresh complications on the Indian frontier. The Russian government, confronted with a quarrel with Great Britain in eastern Europe, endeavoured to create difficulties in Afghanistan. A Russian envoy was sent to Kabul, where Shere Ali, who had been placed on the throne after the war of 1841, was still reigning; and the British government, alarmed at this new embarrassment, decided on sending a mission to the Afghan capital. The mission was stopped on the frontier by an agent of Shere Ali, who declined to allow it to proceed. The British government refused to put up with an affront of this kind, and their envoy, supported by an army, continued his advance. Afghanistan was again invaded. Kabul and Kandahar were occupied; and Shere Ali was forced to fly, and soon afterwards died. His successor, Yakoob Khan, came to the British camp and signed, in May, 1879, the Treaty of Gandamuk. Under the terms of this treaty the Indian government undertook to pay the new Ameer a subsidy of £60,000 a year; and Yakoob Khan consented to receive a British mission at Kabul, and to cede some territory in the Himalayas which the military advisers of Lord Beaconsfield considered necessary to make the frontier more "scientific." This apparent success was soon followed by disastrous news. The deplorable events of 1841 were re-enacted in 1879. The new envoy reached Kabul, but was soon afterwards murdered. A British army was again sent into Afghanistan, and Kabul was again occupied. Yakoob Khan, who had been made ameer in 1879, was deposed, and Abdurrahman Khan was selected as his successor. The British did not assert their superiority without much fighting and some serious reverses. Their victory was at last assured by the excellent strategy of Sir Donald Stewart and Sir Frederick (afterwards Lord) Roberts. But before the final victory was gained Lord Beaconsfield had fallen. His policy had brought Great Britain to the verge of disaster in Afghanistan; the credit of reasserting the superiority of British arms was deferred till his successors had taken office.

It was not only in Afghanistan that the new imperial policy which Lord Beaconsfield had done so much to encourage was straining the resources of the empire. In South Africa a still more serious difficulty was already commencing. At the time at which Lord Beaconsfield's administration began, British territory in South Africa was practically confined to Cape Colony and Natal. Years before, in 1852, the British government, at that time a little weary of the responsibilities of colonial rule, had recognised the independence of the two Dutch republics, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. Powerful native tribes occupied the territory to the north of Natal and the east of the Transvaal. War broke out between the Transvaal Republic and one of the most powerful of these native chieftains, Secoceni; and the Transvaal was worsted in the struggle. Alarmed at the possible consequences of this defeat, and conscious of their inability to carry on the struggle, a party in the Transvaal openly recommended the annexation of the country to British territory. Sir Theophilus Shepstone, who was sent to inquire into the proposal, mistook the opinion of a party for the verdict of the republic, and declared the Transvaal a part of the British Empire.

Zulu War

His policy entailed far more serious consequences than the mission to Afghanistan. The first was a war with the Zulus, the most powerful and warlike of the native African tribes, who under their ruler, Cetewayo, had organised a formidable army. A dispute had been going on for some time about the possession of a strip of territory which some British arbitrators had awarded to the Zulu king. Sir Bartle Frere, who had won distinction in India, and was sent out by Lord Beaconsfield's government to the Cape, kept back the award; and, though he ultimately communicated it to Cetewayo, thought it desirable to demand the disbandment of the Zulu army. In the war which ensued, the British troops who invaded Zulu territory met with a severe reverse; and, though the disaster was ultimately retrieved by Lord Chelmsford and Sir Garnet Wolseley, the war involved heavy expenditure and brought little credit to the British army, while one unfortunate incident, the death of Prince Napoleon, who had obtained leave to serve with the British troops, and was surprised by the Zulus while reconnoitring, created a deep and unfortunate impression. Imperialism, which had been excited by Lord Beaconsfield's policy in 1878, and by the prospect of a war with a great European power, fell into discredit when it degenerated into a fresh expedition into Afghanistan, and an inglorious war with a savage African tribe. A period of distress at home increased the discontent which Lord Beaconsfield's external policy was exciting; and, when parliament was at last dissolved in 1880, it seemed no longer certain that the country would indorse the policy of the minister who only a short time before had acquired such popularity. Mr. Gladstone, emerging from his retirement, practically placed himself again at the head of the liberal party. In a series of speeches in Midlothian, where he offered himself for election, he denounced the whole policy which Lord Beaconsfield had pursued. His impassioned eloquence did much more than influence his own election. His speeches decided the contest throughout the kingdom. The liberals secured an even more surprising success than that which had rewarded the conservatives six years before. For the first time in the queen's reign a solid liberal majority, independent of all extraneous Irish support, was returned, and Mr. Gladstone resumed in triumph his old position as prime minister.

GLADSTONE'S SECOND MINISTRY; BOER WAR OF 1881

The new minister had been swept into power on a wave of popular favour, but he inherited difficulties from his predecessors in almost every quarter of the world; and his own language had perhaps tended to increase them. He was committed to a reversal of Lord Beaconsfield's policy; and, in politics it is never easy, and perhaps rarely wise, suddenly and violently to change a system. In one quarter of the world the new minister achieved much success. The war in Afghanistan, which had begun with disaster, was creditably concluded. A better understanding was gradually established with Russia; and, before the ministry went out, steps had been taken which led to the delimitation of the Russian and Afghan frontier. In South Africa, however, a very different result ensued. Mr. Gladstone, before he accepted office, had denounced the policy of annexing the Transvaal; his language was so strong that he was charged with encouraging the Boers to maintain their independence by force; his example had naturally been imitated by some of his followers at the general election; and, when he resumed power, he found himself in the difficult dilemma of either maintaining an arrangement which he had declared to be unwise, or of yielding to a demand which the Boers were already threatening to support in arms.

The events of the first year of his administration added to his difficulty. Before its close the Boers seized Heidelberg and established a republic; they destroyed a detachment of British troops at Bronker's Spruit; they treacherously murdered a British officer; and they surrounded and attacked the British garrisons in the Transvaal. Troops were of course sent from England to maintain the British cause; and Sir George Colley, who enjoyed a high reputation and had experience in South African warfare, was made governor of Natal, and intrusted with the military command. The events which immediately followed will not be easily forgotten. Wholly miscalculating the strength of the Boers Sir George Colley, at the end of January, 1881, attacked them at Laing's Nek, in the north of Natal, and was repulsed with heavy loss. Some ten days afterwards he fought another action on the Ingogo, and was again forced to retire. On the 26th February, with some 600 men, he occupied a high hill, known as Majuba, which, he thought, dominated the Boer position. The following day the Boers attacked the hill, overwhelmed its defenders, and Sir George Colley was himself killed in the disastrous contest on the summit. News of these occurrences was received with dismay in England. It was, no doubt, possible to say a good deal for Mr. Gladstone's indignant denunciation of his predecessor's policy in annexing the Transvaal; it would have been equally possible to advance many reasons for reversing the measures of Lord Beaconsfield's cabinet, and for conceding independence to the Transvaal in 1880. But the great majority of persons considered that, whatever arguments might have been urged for concession in 1880, when British troops had suffered no reverses, nothing could be said for concession in 1881, when their arms had been tarnished by a humiliating disaster. Great countries can afford to be generous in the hour of victory; but they cannot yield, without loss of credit, in the hour of defeat. Unfortunately this reasoning was not suited to Mr. Gladstone's temperament. The justice or injustice of the British cause seemed to him a much more important matter than the vindication of military honour; and he could not bring himself to acknowledge that Majuba had altered the situation, and that the terms which he had made up his mind to concede before the battle could not be safely granted till military reputation was restored.

The independence of the Transvaal was accordingly recognised,[1] though it was provided that the republic should remain under the suzerainty of the queen. Even this great concession did not satisfy the ambition of the Boers, who were naturally elated by their victories. Three years later some Transvaal deputies, with their president, Kruger, came to London and saw Lord Derby, the secretary of state for the colonies. Lord Derby consented to a new convention, from which any verbal reference to suzerainty was excluded; and the South African Republic was made independent, subject only to the condition that it should conclude no treaties with foreign powers without the approval of the crown.

The Bradlaugh Question

Mr. Gladstone's government declined in popularity from the date of the earliest of these concessions. Mr. Gladstone, in fact, had succeeded in doing what Lord Beaconsfield had failed to accomplish. Annoyance at his foreign policy had rekindled the imperialism which the embarrassments created by Lord Beaconsfield had done so much to damp down. And, if things were going badly with the new government abroad, matters were not progressing smoothly at home. At the general election of 1880, the borough of Northampton, which of late years has shown an unwavering preference for liberals of an advanced type, returned as its members Mr. Henry Labouchere and Mr. Bradlaugh. Mr. Bradlaugh, who had attained some notoriety for an aggressive atheism, claimed the right to make an affirmation of allegiance instead of taking the customary oath, which he declared was, in his eyes, a meaningless form. The speaker, instead of deciding the question, submitted it to the judgment of the house, and it was ultimately referred to a select committee, which reported against Mr. Bradlaugh's claim. Mr. Bradlaugh, on hearing the decision of the committee, presented himself at the bar and offered to take the oath. It was objected that, as he had publicly declared that the words of the oath had no clear meaning for him, he could not be permitted to take it; and after some wrangling the matter was referred to a fresh committee, which supported the view that Mr. Bradlaugh could not be allowed to be sworn, but recommended that he should be permitted to make the affirmation at his own risk.

The house refused to accept the recommendation of this committee when a bill was introduced to give effect to it. This decision naturally enlarged the question before it. For, while hitherto the debate had turned on the technical points whether an affirmation could be substituted for an oath, or whether a person who had declared that an oath had no meaning for him could properly be sworn, the end at which Mr. Bradlaugh's opponents were thenceforward aiming was the imposition of a new religious test—the belief in a God—on members of the house of commons. The controversy which thus began continued through the parliament of 1880, and led to many violent scenes, which lowered the dignity of the house. It was quietly terminated, in the Parliament of 1886, by the firm action of a new speaker. Mr. Peel, who had been elected to the chair, decided that neither the speaker nor any other member had the right to intervene to prevent a member from taking the oath if he was willing to take it. Parliament subsequently, by a new act, permitted affirmations to be used, and thenceforward religion, or the absence of religion, was no disqualification for a seat in the house of commons. The atheist, like the Roman Catholic and the Jew, could sit and vote.

[1 Great Britain first proposed to retain certain districts, but yielded to threats of renewed hostilities.]

Parnell

The Bradlaugh question was not the only difficulty with which the new government was confronted. Ireland was again attracting the attention of politicians. The Fenian movement had practically expired; some annual motions for the introduction of Home Rule, made with all the decorum of parliamentary usage, had been regularly defeated. But the Irish were placing themselves under new leaders and adopting new methods. During the conservative government of 1874, the Irish members had endeavoured to arrest attention by organised obstruction. Their efforts had increased the difficulties of government and taxed the endurance of parliament. These tactics were destined to be raised to a fine art by Mr. Parnell, who succeeded to the head of the Irish party about the time of the formation of Mr. Gladstone's government. It was Mr. Parnell's determination to make legislation impracticable and parliament unendurable till Irish grievances were redressed. It was his evident belief that by pursuing such tactics he could force the house of commons to concede the legislation which he desired. The Irish members were not satisfied with the legislation which parliament had passed in 1869–1870. The Land Act of 1870 had given the tenant no security in the case of eviction for non-payment of rent; and the tenant whose rent was too high or had been raised was at the mercy of his landlord. It so happened that some bad harvests had temporarily increased the difficulties of the tenantry, and there was no doubt that large numbers of evictions were taking place in Ireland. In these circumstances the Irish contended that the relief which the act of 1870 had afforded should be extended, and that, till such legislation could be devised, a temporary measure should be passed giving the tenant compensation for disturbance. Mr. Gladstone admitted the force of this reasoning, and a bill was introduced to give effect to it. Passed by the commons, it was thrown out towards the end of the session by the lords; and the government acquiesced—perhaps could do nothing but acquiesce—in this decision. In Ireland, however, the rejection of the measure was attended with disastrous results Outrages increased, obnoxious landlords and agents were "boycotted"—the name of the first gentleman exposed to this treatment adding a new word to the language; and Mr. Forster, who had accepted the office of chief secretary, thought it necessary, in the presence of outrage and intimidation, to adopt stringent measures for enforcing order. A measure was passed on his initiation, in 1881, authorising him to arrest and detain suspected persons; and many well-known Irishmen, including Mr. Parnell himself and other members of parliament, were thrown into prison.

It was an odd commentary on parliamentary government that a liberal ministry should be in power, and that Irish members should be in prison; and early in 1882 Mr. Gladstone determined to liberate the prisoners on terms. The new policy—represented by what was known as the Kilmainham Treaty—led to the resignation of the viceroy, Lord Cowper, and of Mr. Forster, and the appointment of Lord Spencer and Lord Frederick Cavendish as their successors. On the 6th of May, 1882, Lord Spencer made his entry into Dublin, and on the evening of the same day Lord Frederick, unwisely allowed to walk home alone with Mr. Burke, the under-secretary to the Irish government, was murdered with his companion in Phœnix Park. This gross outrage led to fresh measures of coercion. The disclosure, soon afterwards, of a conspiracy to resort to dynamite still further alienated the sympathies of the

liberal party from the Irish nation. Mr. Gladstone might fairly plead that he had done much, that he had risked much, for Ireland, and that Ireland was making him a poor return for his services.

Egypt: the Death of Gordon

In the mean while another difficulty was further embarrassing a harassed government. The necessities of the khedive of Egypt had been only temporarily relieved by the sale to Lord Beaconsfield's government of the Suez Canal shares. Egyptian finance, in the interests of the bondholders, had been placed under the dual control of England and France. The new arrangement naturally produced some native resentment, and Arabi Pasha placed himself at the head of a movement which was intended to rid Egypt of foreign interference. His preparations eventually led to the bombardment of Alexandria by the British fleet, and still later to the invasion of Egypt by a British army under Sir Garnet, afterwards Lord Wolseley, and to the battle of Tel-el-Kebir, after which Arabi was defeated and taken prisoner. The bombardment of Alexandria led to the immediate resignation of Mr. Bright, whose presence in the cabinet had been of importance to the government; the occupation of Egypt broke up the dual control, and made Great Britain responsible for Egyptian administration. The effects of British rule were, in one sense, remarkable. The introduction of good government increased the prosperity of the people, and restored confidence in Egyptian finance. At the same time it provoked the animosity of the French, who were naturally jealous of the increase of British influence on the Nile, and it also threw new responsibilities on the British nation. For, south of Egypt, lay the great territory of the Sudan, which to some extent commands the Nile, and which with Sir Samuel Baker's assistance had been conquered by the khedive. In 1881 a fanatic sheikh—known as the Mahdi—had headed an insurrection against the khedive's authority; and towards the close of 1883 an Egyptian army under an Englishman, Colonel Hicks, was almost annihilated by the insurgent soldiery. The insurrection increased the responsibilities which intervention had imposed on England, and an expedition was sent to Suakin to guard the littoral of the Red Sea; while, at the beginning of 1884, General Gordon—whose services in China had gained him a high reputation, and who had previous experience in the Sudan—was sent to Khartum to report on the condition of affairs.

These decisions led to momentous results. The British expedition to Suakin was engaged in a series of battles with Osman Digna, the Mahdi's lieutenant; while General Gordon, after alternate reverses and successes, was isolated at Khartum. Anxious as Mr. Gladstone's ministry was to restrict the sphere of its responsibilities, it was compelled to send an expedition to relieve General Gordon; and at the close of 1884 Lord Wolseley, who was appointed to the command, decided on moving up the Nile to his relief. The expedition proved much more difficult than Lord Wolseley had anticipated. And, before it reached its goal, Khartum was forced to surrender, and General Gordon and his few faithful followers were murdered. General Gordon's death inflicted a fatal blow on the liberal government. It was thought that the general, whose singular devotion to duty made him a popular hero, had been allowed to assume an impossible task; had been feebly supported; and that the measures for his relief had been unduly postponed and at last only reluctantly undertaken. The ministry ultimately experienced defeat on a side issue. The budget, which Mr. Childers brought forward as chancellor of the

exchequer, was attacked by the conservative party; and an amendment proposed by Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, condemning an increase in the duties on spirits and beer, was adopted by a small majority. Mr. Gladstone resigned office, and Lord Salisbury, who, after Lord Beaconsfield's death, had succeeded to the lead of the conservative party, was instructed to form a new administration.

LORD SALISBURY'S MINISTRY

It was obvious that the new government, as its first duty, would be compelled to dissolve the parliament that had been elected when Mr. Gladstone was enjoying the popularity which he had lost so rapidly in office. But it so happened that it was no longer possible to appeal to the old constituencies. For, in 1884, Mr. Gladstone had introduced a new reform bill; and, though its passage had been arrested by the lords, unofficial communications between the leaders of both parties had resulted in a compromise which had led to the adoption of a large and comprehensive Reform Act. By this measure, household franchise was extended to the counties. But counties and boroughs were broken up into a number of small constituencies, for the most part returning only one member each; while the necessity of increasing the relative weight of Great Britain, and the reluctance to inflict disfranchisement on Ireland, led to an increase in the numbers of the house of commons from 658 to 670 members. This radical reconstruction of the electorate necessarily made the result of the elections doubtful. As a matter of fact, the new parliament comprised 334 liberals, 250 conservatives, and 86 Irish nationalists. It was plain beyond the possibility of doubt that the future depended on the course which the Irish nationalists might adopt. If they threw in their lot with Mr. Gladstone, Lord Salisbury's government was evidently doomed. If, on the contrary, they joined the conservatives, they could make a liberal administration impracticable.

In the autumn of 1885 it was doubtful what course the Irish nationalists would take. It was generally understood that Lord Carnarvon, who had been made Viceroy of Ireland, had been in communication with Mr. Parnell; that Lord Salisbury was aware of the interviews which had taken place; and it was whispered that Lord Carnarvon was in favour of granting some sort of administrative autonomy to Ireland. Whatever opinion Lord Carnarvon may have formed—and his precise view is certain—a greater man than he had suddenly arrived at a similar conclusion. In his election speeches Mr. Gladstone had insisted on the necessity of the country returning a liberal majority which could act independently on the Irish vote; and the result of the general election had left the Irish the virtual arbiters of the political situation. In these circumstances Mr. Gladstone arrived at a momentous decision. He recognised that the system under which Ireland had been governed in the past had failed to win the allegiance of her people; and he decided that it was wise and safe to entrust her with a large measure of self-government. It was perhaps characteristic of Mr. Gladstone, though it was unquestionably unfortunate, that, in determining on this radical change of policy, he consulted few, if any, of his previous colleagues. On the meeting of the new parliament Lord Salisbury's government was defeated on an amendment to the address, demanding facilities for agricultural labourers to obtain small holdings for gardens and pasture—the policy,[1] in short, which was described as "Three acres and a cow."

[1 This policy was vehemently attacked by Lord Salisbury in a speech, October 7th.]

GLADSTONE AGAIN IN POWER

Lord Salisbury resigned, and Mr. Gladstone resumed power. The attitude, however, which Mr. Gladstone was understood to be taking on the subject of Home Rule threw many difficulties in his way. Lord Hartington, and others of his former colleagues, declined to join his administration; Mr. Chamberlain, who, in the first instance, accepted office, retired almost immediately from the ministry; and Mr. Bright, whose eloquence and services gave him a unique position in the house, threw in his lot in opposition to Home Rule. A split in the liberal party thus began, which was destined to endure; and Mr. Gladstone found his difficulties increased by the defection of the men on whom he had hitherto largely relied. He persevered, however, in the task which he had set himself, and introduced a measure endowing Ireland with a parliament, and excluding the Irish members from Westminster. He was defeated, and appealed from the house which had refused to support him to the country. For the first time in the queen's reign, two general elections occurred within twelve months. The country showed no more disposition than the house of commons to approve the course which the minister was taking. A large majority of the members of the new parliament were pledged to resist Home Rule. Mr. Gladstone, bowing at once to the verdict of the people, resigned office, and Lord Salisbury returned to power.

THE NEW SALISBURY MINISTRY

The new cabinet, which was formed to resist Home Rule, did not succeed in combining all the opponents to this measure. The secessionists from the liberal party—the liberal unionists, as they were called—held aloof from it; and Lord Salisbury was forced to form his cabinet out of his immediate followers. The most picturesque appointment was that of Lord Randolph Churchill, who was made chancellor of the exchequer, and leader of the house of commons. But before many months were over, Lord Randolph—unable to secure acceptance of a policy of financial retrenchment—resigned office, and Lord Salisbury was forced to reconstruct his ministry. Though he again failed to obtain the co-operation of the liberal unionists, one of the more prominent of them—Mr. Goschen—accepted the seals of the exchequer. Mr. W. H. Smith moved from the war office to the treasury, and became leader of the house of commons; while Lord Salisbury himself returned to the foreign office, which the dramatically sudden death of Lord Iddesleigh, better known as Sir Stafford Northcote, vacated. These arrangements lasted till 1891, when, on Mr. Smith's death, the treasury and the lead of the commons were entrusted to Lord Salisbury's nephew, Mr. Arthur Balfour, who had made a great reputation as chief secretary for Ireland.

The ministry of 1886, which endured till 1892, gave to London a county council; introduced representative government into every English county; and made elementary education free throughout England. The alliance with the liberal unionists was, in fact, compelling the conservative government to promote measures which were not wholly consistent with the stricter conservative traditions or wishes. In other respects, the legislative achievements of the government were not great; and the time of parliament was largely occupied in devising rules for the conduct of its business, which the obstructive attitude of the Irish members made necessary, and in discussing the charges brought against the nationalist party by the *Times*, of complicity in

the Phœnix Park murders. Under the new rules, the sittings of the house on ordinary days were made to commence at 3 P.M., and opposed business was automatically interrupted at midnight, while for the first time a power was given to the majority in a house of a certain size to conclude debate by what was known as the closure. Notwithstanding these new rules obstructive tactics continued to prevail; and, in the course of the parliament, many members were suspended for disorderly conduct.

The hostility of the Irish members was perhaps increased by some natural indignation at the charges brought against Mr. Parnell. The *Times*, in April, 1887, printed the facsimile of a letter purporting to be signed by Mr. Parnell, in which he declared that he had no other course open to him but to denounce the Phœnix Park murders, but that, while he regretted "the accident" of Lord Frederick Cavendish's death, he could not "refuse to admit that Burke got no more than his deserts." The publication of this letter, and later of other similar documents, naturally created a great sensation; and the government ultimately appointed a special commission of three judges to inquire into the charges and allegations that were made. In the course of the inquiry it was proved that the letters had emanated from a man named Pigott, who had at one time been associated with the Irish nationalist movement, but who for some time past had earned a precarious living by writing begging and threatening letters. Pigott, subjected to severe cross-examination by Sir Charles Russell (afterwards Lord Russell of Killowen), broke down, fled from justice, and committed suicide. His flight practically settled the question; and an inquiry, which many people had thought at its inception would brand Mr. Parnell as a criminal, raised him to an influence which he had never enjoyed before. But in the same year which witnessed his triumph, his fall was doomed. He was made co-respondent in a divorce suit brought by Captain O'Shea—another Irishman—for the dissolution of his marriage; and the disclosures made at the trial induced Mr. Gladstone, who was supported by the nonconformists generally throughout the United Kingdom, to request Mr. Parnell to withdraw from the leadership of the Irish party. Mr. Parnell refused to comply with this request, and the Irish party was shattered into fragments by his decision. Mr. Parnell himself did not long survive the disruption of the party which he had done so much to create. The exertions which he made to retrieve his waning influence proved too much for his strength, and in the autumn of 1891 he died suddenly at Brighton.

Mr. Parnell's death radically altered the political situation. At the general elections of 1885 and 1886 the existence of a strong, united Irish party had exercised a dominating influence. As the parliament of 1886 was drawing to a close, the dissensions among the Irish members, and the loss of their great leader, were visibly sapping the strength of the nationalists. At the general election of 1892, Home Rule was still the prominent subject before the electors. But the English liberals were already a little weary of allies who were quarrelling among themselves, and whose disputes were introducing a new factor into politics. The political struggle virtually turned not on measures but on men. Mr. Gladstone's great age, and the marvellous powers which he displayed at a time when most men seek the repose of retirement, were the chief causes which affected the results. His influence enabled him to secure a small liberal majority. But it was noticed that the majority depended on Scottish, Irish, and Welsh votes, and that England—the "predominant partner," as it was subsequently called by Lord Rosebery—returned a majority of members pledged to resist any attempt to dissolve the union between the three kingdoms.

GLADSTONE AND THE HOME RULE BILL OF 1893 A.D.

On the meeting of the new parliament Lord Salisbury's government was defeated on a vote of want of confidence, and for a fourth time Mr. Gladstone became prime minister. In the session of 1893 he again introduced a Home Rule bill. But the measure of 1893 differed in many respects from that of 1886. In particular, the Irish were no longer to be excluded from the imperial parliament at Westminster. The bill which was thus brought forward was actually passed by the commons. It was, however, rejected by the lords. The dissensions among the Irish themselves, the hostility which English constituencies were displaying to the proposal, emboldened the peers to arrive at this decision. Some doubt was felt as to the course which Mr. Gladstone would take in this crisis. Many persons thought that he should at once have appealed to the country, and have endeavoured to obtain a distinct mandate from the constituencies to introduce a new Home Rule bill. Other persons imagined that he should have followed the precedent which had been set by Lord Grey in 1831, and, after a short prorogation, have re-introduced his measure in a new session. As a matter of fact, Mr. Gladstone adopted neither of these courses. The government decided not to take up the gauntlet thrown down by the peers, but to proceed with the rest of their political programme. With this object an autumn and winter session was held, during which the Parish Councils Act, introduced by Mr. Fowler, was passed, after several important amendments which had been introduced into it by the house of lords had been reluctantly accepted by Mr. Gladstone. On the other hand an employers' liability bill, introduced by Mr. Asquith, the home secretary, was ultimately dropped by Mr. Gladstone after passing all stages in the house of commons, rather than that an amendment of the peers, allowing "contracting out," should be accepted. Before, however, the session had quite run out (3rd March, 1894), Mr. Gladstone, who had now completed his eighty-fourth year, laid down a load which his increasing years made it impossible for him to sustain.

LORD ROSEBERY

Gladstone was succeeded by Lord Rosebery, whose abilities and attainments had raised him to a high place in the liberal counsels. Lord Rosebery did not succeed in popularising the Home Rule proposal which Mr. Gladstone had failed to carry. He declared, indeed, that success was not attainable till England was converted to its expediency. He hinted that success would not even then be assured until something was done to reform the constitution of the house of lords. But if, on the one hand, he refused to introduce a new Home Rule bill, he hesitated, on the other, to court defeat by any attempt to reform the lords. His government, in these circumstances, while it failed to conciliate its opponents, excited no enthusiasm among its supporters. It was generally understood, moreover, that a large section of the liberal party resented Lord Rosebery's appointment to the first place in the ministry, and thought that the lead should have been conferred on Sir W. Harcourt. It was an open secret that these differences in the party were reflected in the cabinet, and that the relations between Lord Rosebery and Sir W. Harcourt were too strained to ensure either the harmonious working or the stability of the administration. In these circumstances the fall of the ministry was only a question of time. It occurred—as often happens in parliament—on a minor

issue which no one had foreseen. Attention was drawn in the house of commons to the insufficient supply of cordite provided by the war office, and the house—notwithstanding the assurance of the war minister (Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman) that the supply was adequate—placed the government in a minority. Lord Rosebery resigned office, and Lord Salisbury for the third time became prime minister, the duke of Devonshire, Mr. Chamberlain, and other liberal unionists joining the government. The parliament of 1892 was dissolved, and a new parliament, in which the unionists obtained an overwhelming majority, was returned.

The government of 1892, which was successively led by Mr. Gladstone and Lord Rosebery, will, on the whole, be recollected for its failures. Yet it passed two measures which have exercised and are exercising a wide influence. The Parish Councils Act introduced electoral institutions into the government of every parish, and in 1894 Sir W. Harcourt, as chancellor of the exchequer, availed himself of the opportunity which a large addition to the navy invited, to reconstruct the death duties. He swept away in doing so many of the advantages which the owner of real estate and the life tenant of settled property had previously enjoyed, and drove home a principle which Mr. Goschen had tentatively introduced a few years before by increasing the rate of the duty with the amount of the estate. Rich men, out of their superfluities, were thenceforward to pay more than poor men out of their necessities.

LORD SALISBURY; THE QUEEN'S JUBILEE

It is difficult to recapitulate the history of unionist government of 1895, which (with minor changes) was still in office in 1901. History may hereafter conclude that the most significant circumstance of the period is to be found in the demonstrations of loyalty and affection to which the sixtieth anniversary of Queen Victoria's accession led in 1897. Ten years before, her jubilee had been the occasion of enthusiastic rejoicings, and the queen's progress through London to a service of thanksgiving at Westminster had impressed the imagination of her subjects and proved the affection of her people. But the rejoicings of 1887 were forgotten amid the more striking demonstrations ten years later. It was seen that the queen, by her conduct and character, had gained a popularity which has had no parallel in history, and had won a place in the hearts of her subjects which perhaps no other monarch had ever previously enjoyed. There was no doubt that, if the opinion of the English-speaking races throughout the world could have been tested by a plebiscite, an overwhelming majority would have declared that the fittest person for the rule of the British Empire was the gracious and kindly lady who for sixty years, in sorrow and in joy, had so worthily discharged the duties of her high position. This remarkable demonstration was not confined to the British Empire alone. In every portion of the globe the sixtieth anniversary of the queen's reign excited interest; in every country the queen's name was mentioned with affection and respect; while the people of the United States vied with the subjects of the British Empire in praise of the queen's character and in expressions of regard for her person. Only a year or two before, an obscure dispute on the boundary of British Venezuela had brought the United States and Great Britain within sight of a quarrel. The jubilee showed conclusively that, whatever politicians might say, the ties of blood and kinship, which united the two peoples, were too close to be severed by either for some trifling cause; that the wisest heads in both nations were aware of the advantages which must arise from the closer union of the Anglo-Saxon races; and that

the true interests of both countries lay in their mutual friendship. A war in which the United States was subsequently engaged with Spain cemented this feeling. The government and the people of the United States recognised the advantage which they derived from the goodwill of Great Britain in the hour of their necessity, and the two nations, drew together as no other two nations had perhaps ever been drawn together in the history of the world.

If the jubilee was a proof of the closer union of the many sections of the British empire, and of their warm attachment to their sovereign, it also gave expression to the "imperialism" which was becoming a dominant factor in British politics. Few people realised the mighty change which in this respect had been effected in thought and feeling. Forty years before, the most prominent English statesmen had regarded with anxiety the huge responsibilities of a world-wide empire. In 1897 the whole tendency of thought and opinion was to enlarge the burden of which the preceding generation had been weary. The extension of British influence, the protection of British interests, were almost universally advocated; and the few statesmen who repeated in the 'nineties the sentiments which would have been generally accepted in the 'sixties, were regarded as "Little Englanders."

African Affairs

It is perhaps needless in this page to refer to the effect which these new ideas had on Oriental politics, whether in China or Turkey. But a few words must be added on the consequences which they produced in Africa. Both in the north and in the south of this great and imperfectly explored continent, memories still clung which were ungrateful to imperialism. In the north, the murder of Gordon was still unavenged; and the vast territory known as the Sudan had escaped from the control of Egypt. In the south, war with the Transvaal had been concluded by a British defeat; and the Dutch were elated, the English irritated, at the recollection of Majuba. In 1898 Lord Salisbury's government decided on extending the Anglo-Egyptian rule over the Sudan, and a great expedition was sent from Egypt under the command of Sir Herbert (afterwards Lord) Kitchener to Khartum. Few military expeditions have been more elaborately organised, or have achieved a more brilliant success. The Sudanese forces were decisively beaten, with great slaughter, in the immediate neighbourhood of Omdurman; and Khartum became thenceforward the capital of the new province, which was placed under Lord Kitchener's rule. Soon after this decisive success, a French exploring expedition under Major Marchand reached the Upper Nile and hoisted the French flag at Fashoda. It was obvious that the French could not be allowed to remain at a spot which the khedive of Egypt claimed as Egyptian territory; and after some negotiation, and some irritation, the French were withdrawn. In South Africa still more important events were in the meanwhile progressing. Ever since the independence of the South African Republic had been virtually conceded by the convention of 1884, unhappy differences had prevailed between the Dutch and British residents in the Transvaal. The discovery of gold at Johannesburg and elsewhere had led to a large immigration of British and other colonists. Johannesburg had grown into a great and prosperous city. The foreign population of the Transvaal, which was chiefly English, became actually more numerous than the Boers themselves, and they complained that they were deprived of all political rights, that they were subjected to unfair taxation, and that they were hampered in their industry and unjustly treated by the Dutch courts and Dutch officials.

Failing to obtain redress, at the end of 1895 certain persons among them contemplated a revolution. Dr. Jameson, who was administering the adjacent territory of Rhodesia, accompanied by some British officers, actually attempted an invasion of the Transvaal. His force, utterly inadequate for the purpose, was stopped by the Boers, and he and his fellow-officers were taken prisoners. There was no doubt that this raid on the territory of a friendly state was totally unjustifiable. Unfortunately, Dr. Jameson's original plan had been framed with the knowledge of Mr. Rhodes, the prime minister at the Cape, and many persons thought that they ought to have been suspected by the colonial office in London. England at any rate would have had no valid ground of complaint if the leaders of a buccaneering force had been summarily dealt with by the Transvaal authorities. The president of the republic, Mr. Kruger, however, handed over his prisoners to the British authorities, and parliament instituted an inquiry by a select committee into the circumstances of the raid. The inquiry was terminated somewhat abruptly. The committee acquitted the colonial office of any knowledge of the plot; but a good many suspicions remained unanswered. The chief actors in the raid were tried under the Foreign Enlistment Act, found guilty, and subsequently released after short terms of imprisonment. Mr. Rhodes himself was not removed from the privy council, as his more extreme accusers demanded; but he had to abandon his career in Cape politics for a time, and confine his energies to the development of Rhodesia.

In consequence of these proceedings, the Transvaal authorities at once set to work to accumulate armaments, and they succeeded in procuring vast quantities of artillery and military stores. The British government would undoubtedly have been entitled to insist that these armaments should cease. It was obvious that they could only be directed against Great Britain; and no nation is bound to allow another people to prepare great armaments to be employed against itself. The criminal folly of the raid prevented the British government from making this demand. It could not say that the Transvaal government had no cause for alarm when British officers had attempted an invasion of its territory and had been treated rather as heroes than as criminals at home. Ignorant of the strength of Great Britain, and elated by the recollection of their previous successes, the Boers themselves believed that a new struggle might give them predominance in South Africa. The knowledge that a large portion of the population of Cape Colony was of Dutch extraction, and that public men at the cape sympathised with them in their aspirations, increased their confidence. In the meantime, while the Boers were silently and steadily continuing their military preparations, the British settlers at Johannesburg—the Uitlanders, as they were called—were demanding consideration for their grievances.

Boer War (1899 A.D.)

In the spring of 1899, Sir Alfred Milner, governor of the Cape, met President Kruger at Bloemfontein, the capital of the Orange Free State, and endeavoured to accomplish that result by negotiation He thought, at the time, that if the Uitlanders were given the franchise and a fair proportion of influence in the legislature, other difficulties might be left to settle themselves. The negotiations thus commenced unfortunately failed. The discussion, which had originally turned on the franchise, was enlarged by the introduction of the question of suzerainty or supremacy; and at last, in the beginning of October, when the rains of an African spring were causing the grass to grow

on which the Boer armies were largely dependent for forage, the Boers declared war and invaded Natal. The British government had not been altogether happy in its conduct of the preceding negotiations. It was certainly unhappy in its preparations for the struggle. It made the great mistake of underrating the strength of its enemy; it suffered its agents to commit the strategical blunder of locking up a few troops it had in an untenable position in the north of Natal. It was not surprising, in such circumstances, that the earlier months of the war should have been memorable for a series of exasperating reverses. These reverses, however, were redeemed by the valour of the British troops, the spirit of the British nation, and the enthusiasm which induced the great autonomous colonies of the empire to send men to support the cause of the mother country. The gradual arrival of reinforcements, and the appointment of a soldier of genius—Lord Roberts—to the supreme command, changed the military situation; and, before the summer of 1900 was concluded, the places which had been besieged by the Boers—Kimberley, Ladysmith and Mafeking—had been successively relieved; the capitals of the Orange Free State and of the Transvaal had been occupied; and the two republics, which had rashly declared war against the British Empire, had been formally annexed to the dominions of the queen.

The defeat and dispersal of the Boer armies, and the apparent collapse of Boer resistance, induced a hope that the war was over; and the government seized the opportunity to terminate the parliament, which had already endured for more than five years. The election was conducted with unusual bitterness; but the constituencies practically affirmed the policy of the government by maintaining, almost unimpaired, the large majority which the unionists had secured in 1895. Unfortunately, the expectations which had been formed at the time of the dissolution were disappointed. The same circumstances which had emboldened the Boers to declare war in the autumn of 1899, induced them to renew a guerilla warfare in the autumn of 1900—the approach of an African summer supplying the Boers with the grass on which they were dependent for feeding their hardy horses. Guerilla bands suddenly appeared in different parts of the Orange River Colony and of the Transvaal. They interrupted the communications of the British armies; they won isolated victories over British detachments; they even attempted the invasion of the Cape Colony. Thus the year which concluded the century closed in disappointment and gloom.[b]

THE QUEEN'S LAST YEAR AND DEATH

But if the South African War proved more serious than had been anticipated, it did more to weld the empire together than years of peaceful progress might have accomplished. The queen's frequent messages of thanks and greeting to her colonies and to the troops sent by them, and her reception of the latter at Windsor, gave evidence of the heartfelt joy with which she saw the sons of the empire giving their lives for the defence of its integrity; and the satisfaction which she showed in the federation of the Australian colonies was no less keen. The reverses of the first part of the Boer campaign, together with the loss of so many of her officers and soldiers, caused no small part of that "great strain" of which the *Court Circular* spoke in the ominous words which first told her majesty's subjects that she was seriously ill. But the queen faced the new situation with her usual courage, devotion, and strength of will. She reviewed the departing regiments; she entertained the wives and children of the Windsor soldiers who had gone to the war; she showed

by frequent messages her watchful interest in the course of the campaign and in the efforts which were being made throughout the whole empire; and her Christmas gift of a box of chocolate to every soldier in South Africa was a touching proof of her sympathy and interest. She relinquished her annual holiday on the Riviera, feeling that at such a time she ought not to leave her country. Entirely on her own initiative, and moved by admiration for the fine achievements of "her brave Irish" during the war, the queen announced her intention of paying a long visit to Dublin; and there, accordingly, she went for the month of April, 1899, staying in the viceregal lodge, receiving many of the leaders of Irish society, inspecting some fifty thousand school children from all parts of Ireland, and taking many a drive amid the charming scenery of the neighbourhood of Dublin. She went even farther than this attempt to conciliate Irish feeling, and to show her recognition of the gallantry of the Irish soldiers she issued an order for them to wear the shamrock on St. Patrick's Day, and for a new regiment of Irish Guards to be constituted.

In the previous November the queen had had the pleasure of receiving, on a private visit, her grandson, the German emperor, who came accompanied by the empress and by two of their sons. His foreign minister, Count von Bülow, was with him; there were long interviews with Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chamberlain; and there was a rapid visit to Sandringham, where Bishop Creighton preached a strong sermon on the need of a good understanding between the United Kingdom and Germany, to which the emperor replied, "You are preaching a doctrine which I am ndeavoring with all my strength to impress upon my people." This visit of her grandson cheered the queen, and the successes of the army which followed the arrival of Lord Roberts in Africa occasioned great joy to her, as she testified by many published messages. But independently of the public anxieties of the war, and of those aroused by the violent and unexpected outbreak of fanaticism in China, the year brought deep private griefs to the queen. In 1899 her grandson, the hereditary prince of Coburg, had succumbed to phthisis, and in 1900 his father, the duke of Coburg, the queen's second son, previously known as the duke of Edinburgh, also died (July 30th). Then Prince Christian Victor, the queen's grandson, fell a victim to enteric fever at Pretoria; and during the autumn it came to be known that the empress Frederick, the queen's eldest daughter, was very seriously ill. Moreover, just at the end of the year a loss which greatly shocked and grieved the queen was experienced in the sudden death, at Windsor Castle, of the dowager lady Churchill, one of her majesty's oldest and most intimate friends.

These losses told upon the queen at her advanced age. Throughout her life she had enjoyed excellent health, and even in the last few years the only marks of age were rheumatic stiffness of the joints, which prevented walking, and a diminished power of eyesight. In the autumn of 1900, however, her health began definitely to fail, and though arrangements were made for another holiday in the south, it was plain that her strength was seriously affected. Still she continued the ordinary routine of her duties and occupations. Before Christmas she made her usual journey to Osborne, and there on January 2nd she received Lord Roberts on his return from South Africa and handed to him the insignia of the Garter. A fortnight later she commanded a second visit from the field-marshal; she continued to transact business, and until a week before her death she still took her daily drive. A sudden loss of power then supervened, and on Friday evening, January 18th, the *Court Circular* published an authoritative announcement of her illness On Tuesday, January 22nd, 1901, she died.

Queen Victoria was a ruler of a new type. When she ascended the throne the popular faith in kings and queens was on the decline. She revived that faith; she consolidated her throne; she not only captivated the affections of the multitude, but won the respect of thoughtful men; and all this she achieved by methods which to her predecessors would have seemed impracticable—methods which it required no less shrewdness to discover than force of character and honesty of heart to adopt steadfastly. The queen was no woman of placid temperament who could remain indifferent to public affairs so long as her domestic concerns were not interfered with. To imagine that she divested herself of all responsibilities and secured to herself a peaceful life by doing, without reflection, whatever her ministers advised, would be absolutely to misunderstand her intelligent, sensitive nature, and to ascribe grand results to very petty causes. Whilst all who approached the queen bore witness to her candour and reasonableness in relation to her ministers, all likewise proclaimed how anxiously she considered advice that was submitted to her before letting herself be persuaded that she must accept it for the good of her people. By thus acting she put statesmen on their mettle, raised the level of public morality, and laid down the lines of action for a modern constitutional ruler.

Though richly endowed with saving common sense, the queen was not specially remarkable for high development of any specialised intellectual force. Her whole life, public and private, was an abiding lesson in the paramount importance of character. John Bright said of her that what specially struck him was her absolute truthfulness. For nearly sixty-four years she watched, at first diffidently, later with ever-maturing experience, but always with insight, sympathy, and genuine patriotism, over the developments of national policy. The condition of Europe when she ascended the throne was one of extreme instability. A few years later it became one of turmoil and confusion, in which dynasties were overthrown and high potentates had to flee their countries for asylum elsewhere. That the British throne came through that troublous time unscathed, and even with added prestige, must be ascribed in no small measure to the character of its occupant. The extent of her family connections and the correspondence she maintained with foreign sovereigns, together with the confidence inspired by her personal character, often enabled her to smooth the rugged places of international relations; and she gradually became in later years the mother of her people and the link between all parts of a democratic empire, the citizens of which felt a passionate loyalty for their venerable queen.

By her long reign and unblemished record her name had become associated inseparably with British institutions and British solidarity. Her own life was by choice, and as far as her position would admit, one of almost austere simplicity and homeliness, and her subjects were proud of a royalty which involved none of the mischiefs of caprice or ostentation, but set an example alike of motherly sympathy and of queenly dignity. She was mourned at her death not by her own country only, nor even by all English-speaking people, but by the whole world. The funeral in London on the 1st and 2nd of February, including first the passage of the coffin from the Isle of Wight to Gosport between lines of warships, and secondly a military procession from London to Windsor, was a memorable solemnity; from beginning to end there was no false note, but a simple and serious realisation that the greatest of English sovereigns, whose name would in history mark an age, had gone to her rest.[c]

A RETROSPECTIVE GLANCE

The reign of the queen may, perhaps, be divided into three periods. During nearly the whole of the first period, from 1837 to 1862, she had her consort by her side, and was largely influenced by his advice. The prince's stiff and reserved manners, however, diverted attention from his many admirable qualities; and the court hardly enjoyed the full measure of popularity which it deserved at the time and which it acquired later on. During the second period, from the death of the prince consort to the earlier eighties, the sorrow which had fallen on the queen induced her to withdraw from the more prominent duties of her position; the people grew accustomed to the absence of their sovereign, and forgot or were unaware of the many great services which she was rendering to them. Even during these years of mourning, however the queen's sympathy with suffering made a profound impression on the nation; and if in some respects she lost ground as a ruler, she gained the affection of her subjects by her many excellent qualities as a woman. But it was not till her jubilee of 1887 that the people generally became thoroughly acquainted with the great qualities of their sovereign. The queen herself saw with surprise the admiration and love which her presence everywhere excited. Thenceforward she emerged more and more from her retirement, and made exertions, which were the more remarkable from the growing infirmities of her age, to display her gratitude for her people's appreciation. She acquired in these years a popularity which no British sovereign, and perhaps no sovereign in the world, has ever enjoyed; and, partly through her connection with the ruling houses of Europe, and partly in consequence of the authority bestowed by age and experience, she exercised an influence abroad almost as great and beneficial as that which she exerted at home.

The long period over which her reign extended was, in one sense, the most remarkable in the history of the world. So far as the English-speaking races were concerned, it witnessed a material and moral progress which has no parallel in their annals. During her reign the people of Great Britain doubled their number; but the accumulated wealth of the country increased at least threefold and its trade sixfold. All classes shared the prevalent prosperity. Notwithstanding the increase of population, the roll of paupers at the end of the reign, compared with the same roll at the beginning, stood as 2 stands to 3; the criminals as 1 to 2. The expansion abroad was still more remarkable. There were not two hundred thousand white persons in Australasia when the queen came to the throne; there were nearly five million when she died. The great Australian colonies were almost created in her reign; two of them—Victoria and Queensland—owe their names to her; they all received those autonomous institutions under which their prosperity had been built up during its continuance. Expansion and progress were not confined to Australasia. The opening months of the queen's reign were marked by rebellion in Canada. The close of it saw Canada one of the most loyal portions of the empire. In Africa, the advance of the red line which marks the bounds of British dominion has been even more rapid; while in India the Punjab, Scindh, Oudh, and Burma are some of the acquisitions which were added to the British Empire while the queen was on the throne. When she died one square mile in four of the land in the world was under the British flag, and at least one person out of every five persons alive was a subject of the queen.

Material progress was largely facilitated by industry and invention. The first railways had been made, the first steamship had been built, before the

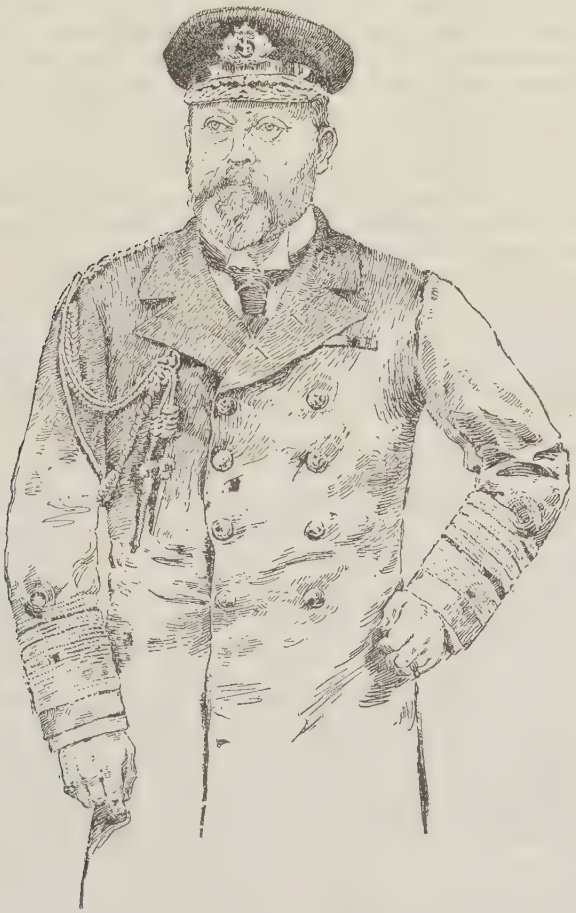
queen came to the throne. But, so far as railways are concerned, none of the great trunk lines had been constructed in 1837; the whole capital authorised to be spent on railway construction did not exceed £55,000,000; and, five years after the reign had begun, there were only 18,000,000 passengers. The paid-up capital of British railways now exceeds £1,100,000,000; the passengers, not including season ticket-holders, also number 1,100,000,000; and the sum which is annually spent in working the lines considerably exceeds the whole capital authorised to be spent on their construction in 1837. The progress of the commercial marine was still more noteworthy. In 1837 the entire commercial navy comprised 2,800,000 tons, of which less than 100,000 tons were moved by steam. At the end of the reign the tonnage of British merchant vessels had reached 13,700,000 tons, of which more than 11,000,000 tons were moved by steam. At the beginning of the reign it was supposed to be impossible to build a steamer which could either cross the Atlantic or face the monsoon in the Indian Ocean. The development of steam navigation since then has made Australia much more accessible than America was in 1837, and has brought New York, for all practical purposes, nearer to London than Aberdeen was at the commencement of the reign. Electricity has had a greater effect on communication than steam on locomotion; and electricity, as a practical invention, had its origin in the reign. The first experimental telegraph line was erected only in the year in which Queen Victoria came to the throne. Submarine telegraphy, which has done so much to knit the empire together, was not perfected for many years afterwards; and long ocean cables were almost entirely constructed in the last half of the reign.

These are some of the more striking changes which have taken place in the period in question. Concentrated as they have been in the years which have been covered by a single reign, they impart additional importance and interest to the age of Queen Victoria. On personal grounds her memory will be consecrated in history as that of the best of sovereigns; on imperial grounds her reign will be recollected for the extension of the British Empire, the expansion of the British race, and the material and moral progress of the British people.[b]

THE ACCESSION OF EDWARD VII (1901 A.D.)

It was the especial distinction of Albert Edward, prince of Wales, to have been an ornament and support of the throne before he was called upon to fill it himself. This cannot be said of any of his predecessors except Edward the Black Prince. Most princes of Wales have either died or attained the regal dignity too early to leave any conspicuous mark in history as princes. Since the days of the Black Prince only two have enjoyed a popularity comparable to Prince Albert Edward's—Henry of Monmouth and Henry, the son of James I. The glories of Henry V have cast a veil over the irregularities of Prince Hal; and the popularity of the Stuart prince Henry arose in great measure from his suppressed antagonism to his father, and the expectation that he would reverse the latter's policy. The other two princes of Wales who have filled a conspicuous place in the public eye, Prince Frederick and George IV, were neither dutiful nor popular. It was reserved for the son of Queen Victoria to show what strength an heir-apparent exemplary in the discharge of the duties of his station can bring to a monarchy, and how important a place, even with the most scrupulous abstinence from party politics, he can fill in the life of a self-governing nation. He was a keen patron of the theatre, and made it his business to know and remember all the distinguished

men of the time in arts and letters. His thoroughly British taste for sport was as pronounced as his inclination for most of the contemporary amusements of society. The "Tranby Croft Case" (1890), in which Sir William Gordon Cumming brought an unsuccessful libel action for having been accused of cheating at a game of baccarat, caused some comment in connection with the prince's appearance in the witness-box on behalf of the defendants. But



EDWARD VII

it did him no disservice with the people to have twice won the Derby with his horses Persimmon (1896) and Diamond Jubilee (1900), and his interest in yacht-racing was conspicuously shown at all the important fixtures, his yacht *Britannia* being one of the best of her day. In other respects his activity in the life of the nation and his wide interests may be illustrated by his establishment (1897) of the Prince of Wales Hospital Fund, his devotion to the cause of Masonry (he was first elected grand master of the Freemasons of England in 1874), and his position as a bencher of the Middle Temple, where he also became (1887) treasurer. It was on the occasion of his first appearance at "Grand Night" that the students were for the first time allowed to follow the prince's example and to smoke in hall; and this was only one

instance of the influence in this respect which the prince's taste for tobacco had on English society.

On the death of Queen Victoria on January 22nd, 1901, the question what title the new king would assume was speedily set at rest by the popular announcement that he would be called Edward VII. The new reign began auspiciously by the holding of a privy council at St. James' Palace, at which the king announced his intention to follow in his predecessor's footsteps and to govern as a constitutional sovereign, and received the oaths of allegiance. On 14th February the king and queen opened parliament in state. Shortly afterwards it was announced that the visit of the duke and duchess of York to Australia, in order to inaugurate the new commonwealth, which had been sanctioned by Queen Victoria, would be proceeded with; and on March 16th they set out on board the *Ophir* with a brilliant suite. The tour lasted till November 1st, the duke and duchess having visited Australia, New Zealand, the Cape, and Canada; and on their return the king, on November 9th, created the duke prince of Wales and earl of Chester. In the mean while parliament had settled the new civil list at £470,000 a year. The question of enlarging the royal title to include specific mention of the colonial empire had been discussed during the year, and on July 30th parliament passed a bill to enable the king to style himself Edward VII, by the grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of all the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India.[d]

THE CORONATION, AND THE RETIREMENT OF SALISBURY

Early in January, 1902, negotiations were begun looking towards a cessation of hostilities in South Africa, and at length, after many delays and setbacks, peace was signed at Pretoria on May 30th. The account of the war in detail will be found in our South Africa. Elaborate preparations had been made for the coronation of King Edward, which was set for June 26th, 1902. Two days earlier, however, it was announced that the king was suffering from perityphlitis, and an operation was performed by Sir Frederick Treves. The programme of festivities was abandoned, and anxiety and friendly concern were manifested not only throughout the British Empire but the whole civilised world. On June 27th the attending physician declared the king "out of immediate danger." The coronation was then set for August 9th. On June 30th a conference of colonial premiers began its session in London.

Before the coronation, however, Lord Salisbury, carrying out his previously announced intention, retired on July 13th from the post of premier, and was succeeded by his nephew, the right honourable Arthur James Balfour. Within a few days Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, chancellor of the exchequer, and Earl Cadogan, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, retired from office. On August 9th the coronation was carried out successfully, but somewhat less elaborately than had been originally planned.

During the summer and fall several by-elections to vacant seats in parliament showed a surprising liberal gain. On September 15th an important commercial treaty with China was signed. Parliament reassembled on October 16th, an incident of the opening being the expulsion of John O'Donnell, an Irish radical member, for an insult to Mr. Balfour. On November 5th parliament voted £8,000,000 in aid of the South African colonies. The single great triumph of the parliamentary session, which ended December 18th, was the passage of the long-pending Ministerial Education Bill. The coercive measures adopted by Germany, Italy, and Great Britain to force

[1902–1906 A.D.]

Venezuela to pay certain debts owing to private citizens of those countries led on the last day before adjournment to Mr. Balfour's acknowledgment that a state of war practically existed between Great Britain and Venezuela. Before, however, any real hostilities began, the United States succeeded in adjusting the dispute between the two countries.

On next to the last day of the year, a treaty creating a defensive and offensive alliance between Great Britain and Japan was signed. By this treaty, which was to last for five years without renewal, the two powers recognised the independence of China and Corea, and each bound itself to assist the other in case it should in defense of its interests in the two mentioned countries become involved in war with more than one power. On the 12th of August, 1905, a new and more sweeping treaty of alliance was signed. This treaty is to remain in force for ten years, and in it each contracting party agrees to assist its ally in case of attack upon that ally's territory or special privileges in the regions of eastern Asia and India.

Other important events in the recent foreign relations of Great Britain have not been numerous. During the Japanese-Russian war there was danger that England might, because of her alliance with Japan, become involved in the struggle. This danger was greatest when the Baltic fleet in its passage through the North Sea mistook some English fishing trawlers for Japanese torpedo boats, fired upon them, and sank one boat and killed two men. Russia, however, promptly disclaimed having intended to injure the fishermen, and the matter was referred to a board of arbitration, with the ultimate result that the Russian government paid heavy damages. Another event which deserves recording is the decided *rapprochement* which has taken place during the last few years with France. On April 7, 1904, a treaty with that country was signed, in which France recognised England's predominance in Egypt and relinquished its exclusive rights to the "French shore" of Newfoundland, while England recognised the predominance of French interests in Morocco and practically conceded France a free hand in that country. The agreement with regard to Morocco was accepted by Spain and other countries, but the German emperor, after seemingly acquiescing, later objected, and after negotiations, during which war at one time seemed possible, the Moroccan question was referred to an international conference which met at Algeciras in January, 1906. Here Germany was supported by Austria; France by the other European participants. The conference continuing until April, resulted in leaving French influence predominant in Morocco, though French police control is shared by Spain and superintended by the other Powers.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S TARIFF PROGRAMME

But the engrossing question with the English public from 1903 to 1906 had been a fiscal, not a diplomatic, one. The man who brought forward the issue was Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, at that time the colonial secretary. Mr. Chamberlain's programme involved nothing less than an abandonment of the principles of free trade. His chief reasons in support of such a departure were two in number. He proposed to build up a preferential customs union between the home country and the colonies in order to produce mutual commercial advantages, but more especially in order to draw the different parts of the empire more closely together and pave the way for an imperial federation. Secondly, he wished to adopt a tariff policy, not for the sake of fostering and protecting home industries—he and his sup-

porters expressly repudiated the name "protectionists"—but in order to furnish the government with a weapon to be used in negotiations with countries having hostile tariffs. In order to gain all the objects sought it was believed that duties must be imposed upon such products as wheat and flour, meats and dairy produce.

It appears that Mr. Chamberlain first laid his plan before the cabinet in November, 1902, but much opposition was encountered, and nothing of importance resulted at the time. On the 15th of May, 1903, Mr. Chamberlain brought the subject before the public in a notable speech at his home city, Birmingham. His proposals were soon afterwards debated in the House of Commons, and were there in part endorsed by Mr. Balfour, the premier, who said that the country was no longer in the position occupied by it when the free trade policy was adopted, and admitted that a tariff might be useful for purposes of fiscal retaliation against foreign countries whose tariffs were injurious to British interests. As the government and the country were not, however, in readiness for the adoption of his policy, Mr. Chamberlain on September 9th, in order not to embarrass the premier, wrote a letter resigning his position as colonial secretary, and devoted himself to popularising the cause he had at heart.

Before this letter was communicated to the ministry by Mr. Balfour, Mr. Ritchie, who had succeeded Sir Michael Hicks-Beach as chancellor of the exchequer in 1902, and Lord George Hamilton, secretary for India, withdrew from the ministry on the ground that they being free-traders could not logically sit in a cabinet dominated by Mr. Chamberlain. These resignations were followed in a few days by those of Lord Balfour of Burleigh, secretary for Scotland, and Mr. Arthur Elliot, financial secretary of the treasury, and early in October by that of the Duke of Devonshire, president of the council and conservative leader in the house of lords. The vacancies were at once filled with men likely to be more inclined to favour the Chamberlain idea. At the same time the premier made a more definite statement of his position by declaring that he did not advocate general protection, but merely the adoption of a system that would enable Great Britain to discriminate against the products of protectionist countries.

The campaign was now fairly opened, and for more than two years the subject was debated pro and con, both in and out of parliament. The advocates of the programme urged that it would be of great benefit to the empire, and endeavoured to prove that because England was a free-trade country, she was at a great disadvantage in securing favourable commercial treaties with such high tariff countries as the United States and Germany, which, having by their protectionist policy secured control of their home markets, were in a position to "dump" their surplus products upon British markets at extremely low prices. The free-traders, in reply, pointed to the prosperity which Great Britain had enjoyed under free-trade; declared that the measures proposed by the supporters of Mr. Chamberlain would increase the cost of living and would therefore bear heavily upon workingmen; and urged that it would, in reality, be a great misfortune to the empire if the imperial tie should come to be associated with an increase in the price of bread.

The new doctrine did not prove popular. It created dissension in the ministry and in the ranks of the Unionist party; most of the by-elections went against the government; some of the unionist members went over to the opposition; and the ministerial majority was gradually diminished.

On the 4th of December, 1905, Mr. Balfour tendered the resignation of

the ministry. His motives for doing so before he had been defeated in the commons have been variously interpreted, but it is probable that his action was due partly to a desire to gain an advantage by forcing the opposition to take office before the dissolution, which, under any circumstances, must take place soon, and it may be also to the impatience of Mr. Chamberlain.

A NEW MINISTRY

At the request of the king Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman undertook the formation of a new ministry. Sir Henry himself took the position of first lord of the treasury. He drew about him a body of distinguished assistants. Among those who accepted office were the following: Sir Edward Grey, secretary of state for foreign affairs; Herbert J. Gladstone, secretary of state for home affairs; John Morley, secretary of state for India; James Bryce, chief secretary for Ireland; and John Burns, the noted labour leader, president of the local government board; Winston Churchill was made under-secretary for the colonies.

The new ministry decided to make an early appeal to the country. On the 8th of January the house of commons was dissolved, and a new election was ordered. The main issue was the fiscal one, although the unionists dwelt largely upon the dangers of home rule. The elections, which began on the 13th, resulted in a sweeping victory for the liberals. Mr. Chamberlain and seven unionist candidates were returned for Birmingham; but Mr. Balfour was defeated in the borough of East Manchester, though he was later elected to a seat by a London constituency; and most of the ministry which had held office under him were defeated. When the elections were over it was found that the liberals would have a majority of at least ninety over all possible combinations against them, while the more than fifty labour members and the eighty-three nationalists could ordinarily be counted to vote with them. One of the most significant aspects of the election was the choice of so many labour representatives. Indeed the labour vote assumed such proportions as to bring forward what is virtually a new party. The power of this new party was early shown in the passage of the Trade Disputes Act, strongly favouring trades unions, protecting their funds, and containing clauses against which the attorney-general himself protested.

The most ardently contested bill of the session of 1906 was the government's Education Bill, introduced by Mr. Augustine Birrell, president of the Board of Education, on April 9th. This measure was forced upon the cabinet by the passionate hostility of the nonconformists to the Education Act of 1902; and was intended to secure that no elementary school should receive public money unless it was recognised as a school "provided" by the local public authority under certain specific conditions that strongly affected the question of religious instruction. The bill was actively opposed in the house of commons by Unionists and the Roman Catholics; it occupied the attention of the house of lords throughout the autumn session, and was largely amended there; but the commons declined to accept the amendments, and the bill itself was temporarily abandoned. The lords also rejected without discussion a bill sent up to them by the commons with the object of abolishing plural voting, and imposing penalties on electors registered in more than one constituency.

A little later, in the Workmen's Compensation Act, which came into operation on July 1st, 1907, the liberal government strengthened a former act for the compensation of workmen for injuries suffered in the course of

their employment, by extending it to every class of labour. In passing these bills the old parties showed their anxiety to stand well with the new representatives.

At various times in the nineteenth century efforts were made to remove the disability of women to vote in parliamentary elections. Government after government had refused to deal with this question, but on the advent of liberals to power the advancement of women's rights seemed to come within the sphere of practical politics. The movement was extensively advertised by a militant organisation. In April, 1906, the ladies' gallery of the house of commons was invaded by feminine demonstrators, who interrupted the course of a debate on this very question; and on subsequent occasions women attempted to enter the house of commons,—proceedings which led to disorderly scenes and the arrest of many prominent women, most of whom preferred to go to prison rather than pay the fines imposed. A woman's suffrage bill, introduced by a private member, was "talked out" in the house of commons in the spring of 1907.

In the parliamentary session of 1907 the liberal government set out to deal with a great variety of interests. The King's speech at the opening of parliament on February 12th promised legislation affecting every part of the United Kingdom and every class of the community, including even the relations subsisting between the lords and commons; but, after much parliamentary skirmishing and a few hard fights, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, at the beginning of June, announced that the promised attack upon the house of lords would be limited for the time to a simple resolution, and that besides dealing with necessary financial and service matters the original programme would be cut down to four or five not very important bills.

Much political capital on both sides of the house was made in the spring of 1907 by the appointment of a commission to inquire into the workings of the Irish Agricultural Department, the head of which was Sir Horace Plunkett, a unionist, and an appointee of the former conservative government. This official, not being a member of the house of commons, could not be questioned in parliament, and following the inquiries of the commission, Sir Horace Plunkett resigned his post, amid many expressions of appreciation of his services to Ireland in general and Ulster in particular.

In February, 1907, for the nineteenth occasion, the house of commons expressed its approval, by a large majority, of a bill to legalise marriage with a deceased wife's sister. The house of lords, which since 1851 had rejected the proposal, passed the measure on August 26th.

Following the abandonment of the Education Bill, the government had another set back in May, 1907, through the refusal of the Irish Nationalists party to accept its Irish Council Bill, which the government had hoped would be accepted as a step in the direction of home rule. Another Irish matter worthy of attention was the reopening of the Catholic university question by Mr. Bryce just before his appointment as British ambassador at Washington in the spring of 1907. Mr. Bryce proposed to reorganise Dublin University, but his scheme excited the hostility of all sections of Irish educationists, and even the university of Oxford passed a resolution protesting against the suggestion to interfere with an existing order of things which certainly satisfied the Protestant portion of the community.

THE HOUSE OF LORDS

The conflict of opinion between the two houses of parliament which arose in the early part of 1907 over the education bill and the plural voting bill led

to the recrudescence of the long-standing problem of the adjustment of relations between the house of commons and the house of lords. The critics of the latter institution urged that it did not really reflect the will of the nation, but only of one party.

The question gave rise to two distinct proposals. First, there was the suggestion of reform from within, voiced by Lord Newton, which would have altered altogether the composition of the second chamber, while leaving its powers of veto untouched. Secondly, there was the government proposal, put forward by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, to leave the composition of the house as it was, but to ensure that "within the limits of a single parliament the will of the commons shall prevail." Lord Newton proposed that the second chamber should consist of (1) qualified peers, that is, peers who had already held some public office; (2) peers elected to represent those who were not qualified; (3) life peers appointed by the crown. This proposal was rejected on a second reading.

Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman proposed that in the event of a conflict between the houses a conference should take place between a small number of representatives chosen equally from both houses. If this failed the bill was to be sent up again to the lords, and, if again rejected, was to be followed by a second conference. On a third rejection the commons and crown were to be empowered to pass it alone. In order that the lower house might not fail really to represent the will of the people this proposal was combined with one for quinquennial parliaments. This resolution, which merely amounted to an expression of opinion, was carried in the commons by 432 votes to 147. The prime minister opened the campaign against the Lords at a crowded meeting in Edinburgh on October 5th. The government expects to press forward another education bill.

IMPROVEMENTS IN TRANSPORTATION

The introduction of electric traction in London and the provinces in the opening years of the twentieth century brought about changes in transportation methods which have revolutionised all systems of traffic. The London County Council's first electric tramcar was driven from Westminster Bridge to Tooting on May 15th, 1903, by the Prince of Wales. In the year 1907, of the 128½ miles of tramways constructed in the metropolis, the London County Council owned 119 miles. The capital expenditure of the Council on these tramways was more than £2,000,000, and the total receipts for the year 1905-6 amounted to £782,210. The report for the same year showed that on the southern lines alone the cars ran 15,578,793 miles, and the number of passengers carried was 183,512,421. The transformation from horse to electric traction had already been accomplished on most of the routes.

A remarkable development took place during the same period in the London suburbs connecting up the county with the outlying areas. In 1901 the London United Tramways Company opened the first electric tramway in London. From the first the enterprise was successful, and the system was rapidly extended into many districts where the tramcars had not run before, until nearly fifty miles of these lines were in operation. The passengers carried in the year 1906–7 numbered 55,355,281, and the lines were being extended to a total length of about eighty miles.

Motor cars and motor cycles rapidly grew in favour. Whereas in 1904 the local authorities in England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland issued 58,041 licenses to drivers, the number increased in 1906–7 to 205,606. In 1904 the

total number of cars in use was 19,750, and of motor cycles 8,232; the corresponding totals for the year 1906-7 were: cars, 65,750; motor cycles, 53,800.

A number of electric omnibuses and several hundred electric cabs were placed on the London streets. Many petrol motor omnibuses were also running, and several underground electric tube railways were in successful operation. In many of the provincial cities and towns similar transformation of passenger traffic had been brought about by the introduction of extensive electric tramway systems. The effect of the new competition for local traffic upon railway receipts was enormous, and the railway companies lost much of that suburban passenger traffic which was formerly one of their most profitable sources of revenue. They sought to recoup themselves by accelerations of services for long-distance traffic, leading to improvements much welcomed by the public.

THE COLONIAL CONFERENCE

A new colonial conference of the premiers of the self-governing colonies was held in London in April and May, 1907, under the presidency of the earl of Elgin. Among the most notable figures in the conference were General Botha, the first elected premier of the Transvaal, and his ancient enemy in arms, Dr. L. S. Jameson, premier of Cape Colony, who led the historic "Raid" in 1905. The resolution of 1902 favouring preferential duties was adopted with certain modifications, as were proposals looking to the more effective coördination of the military forces of the Empire. Meetings are to be held in the future every four years under the presidency of the British premier.

MILITARY REORGANISATION

The years following the South African war were occupied with various attempts to increase the efficiency of the military system, with some advance in the direction of economy. Mr. St. John Brodrick's system of four army corps was abolished by Mr. Arnold-Foster in 1904, and a new system proposed, by which the regular army was to be divided into two parts: a general service army to serve abroad and at home, and a home service army to serve at home, and, in case of important war, abroad, the latter spending a great part of the period of their enlistment in the reserve. This plan, however, never came completely into operation, and on the advent of the liberal government to power an entirely new scheme was brought forward by Mr. R. B. Haldane. His proposals were, first, to create a new territorial army by an amalgamation of the volunteers and militia; the administration being vested in county associations, who were to look after army interests in their districts, though not sharing in the training or command. Secondly, the regular army was to be supplemented by a new force of some seventy thousand men to help in the mobilisation of the regular troops and to perform non-combatant services in war. They were to have six months' training, then, save for a fortnight's service in each year, to return to civilian life until mobilised. A reserve of officers was to be created to supply both the regulars and the new territorial army, each officer to join the regulars for a year, with deductions for those who had served at school and at the universities.

At the same time an agitation was started in favour of universal military training and practice in rifle shooting. In 1905 Earl Roberts issued an appeal for a system of such training, considering it the only alternative to conscription, from which he specially distinguished it. In 1906 he resigned

his post on the committee of imperial defence in order to be free to spread his propaganda.

Changes were also made, though less sweeping, in the fleet. By Lord Selborne's memorandum of December, 1904, the effective war fleet was divided into two parts: the fleet in commission at sea, and that in commission in reserve, the latter part consisting of all effective ships not at sea. In July, 1906, the liberal government announced its intention of reducing the estimates arranged by the previous ministry; one armoured ship, three destroyers, and four submarines being dropped. In October, further alterations in the distribution of naval strength were announced. The main feature of these was the creation of a home fleet from the ships in commission in reserve, with headquarters at Sheerness; the flag-ship to be the *Dreadnought*, an enormous vessel launched in the preceding February. In July, 1907, the *Bellerophon*, a ship of even larger displacement than the *Dreadnought*, was launched, and in August a sister ship, the *Téméraire*.

In the field of diplomacy Great Britain has played an unusually active part in recent years. She supported France in the conference at Algeciras and succeeded in large degree in foiling the efforts of Germany. In June, 1907, agreements were signed between Great Britain, Spain, and France for the maintenance of the *status quo* in the Mediterranean and east Atlantic. The idea underlying both agreements was that in the event of anything happening to disturb the existing order of things between these countries, or affecting their Mediterranean or North African interests, they should communicate with each other with a view to taking concerted action. It was not specifically provided in these communications that England and France should act together, but the net result of the arrangements was regarded as a counter thrust at the triple alliance existing between Germany, Austria, and Italy, for it tended to draw the chief countries lying around the Mediterranean into closer relations with Great Britain and with each other. A better understanding has also been reached with Russia. On August 31st, 1907, a convention was signed harmonising the conflicting interests of the two powers in Central Asia. By the terms of the convention, Great Britain secures what is virtually a protectorate over Afghanistan and withdraws from Tibet, while as regards Persia the rivals have each agreed to remain within a definite "sphere of influence." In the negotiations to strengthen Great Britain's place among the nations and in efforts to promote good feeling and harmony throughout the world, King Edward has played an active and honourable part.

During the early part of the year 1908 there were numerous disorderly demonstrations by the female advocates of woman's suffrage before the Houses of Parliament that occasioned conflicts with the police.[a]

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[The letter [a] is reserved for Editorial Matter.]

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[b] Spencer Walpole, article on "English History" in the *New Volumes* of the *Encyclopædia Britannica.*—[c] Anonymous, article on "Queen Victoria" in the *New Volumes* of the *Encyclopædia Britannica.*—[d] Anonymous, article on "Edward VII" in the *New Volumes* of the *Encyclopædia Britannica.*



A CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND SINCE 1792 A.D.

1792 Bill for abolition of slave trade passes the commons. Pitt hinders Holland from joining the coalition. Pitt's efforts for peace unsuccessful. Society of the Friends of the People formed to promote parliamentary reform. Riots in Sheffield and Dundee: the militia called out. Disabilities of Irish Catholics removed. Preparations for war. Trial of Thomas Paine.

1793 Impending war with France. The Alien bill. Death of Louis XVI. England declares war against France. England, Spain, and Holland join Austria and Prussia in the first coalition. French successes on the Continent and against the royalists in France. Traitorous Correspondence act passed. Catholic Relief act for Scotland, removing various disabilities. Trials for treason of Muir, Palmer, and others. English driven from Toulon.

1794 English driven from Holland. Lord Howe's victory over French fleet. Suspension of the Habeas Corpus act. Coalition between Pitt and the majority of the whigs. Duke of York defeated at Bois-le-duc. Execution of Robespierre.

1795 Prince of Wales marries Caroline of Brunswick. Establishment of the Directorate in France. Lord Camden becomes viceroy of Ireland. Acquittal of Warren Hastings. War declared against Dutch: capture of Cape of Good Hope. Spain declares war against England. Treason act and the Sedition act carried.

1796 Pitt's negotiations with the Directorate for peace. French expedition to Ireland fails. Monetary crisis in England: suspension of cash payments. Burke's *Letters on a Regicide Peace.*

1797 Nelson's victory at Cape St. Vincent. Mutiny at Spithead suppressed. Mutiny at the Nore. Disorganisation of the French government. Dutch fleet defeated off Camperdown. Desire of France to invade England.

1798 Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt. Battle of the Nile. Pitt forms the Second Coalition.

1799 Napoleon defeated at Nore through co-operation of Sir Sidney Smith. Duke of York, in command of expedition to Holland, is defeated at Bergen. Napoleon made first consul. Conquest of Mysore.

1800 Grenville rejects Bonaparte's proposals for peace. Surrender of Malta to English fleet Act of Union with Ireland. Armed neutrality of northern powers is revived. The Corresponding Societies bill is passed.

1801 First imperial parliament of United Kingdom meets. George III rejects Pitt's plan of Catholic emancipation. Pitt resigns. Addington becomes premier. Abercrombie defeats the French at Alexandria. Battle of Copenhagen: destruction of Danish fleet by Nelson. Peace between England and Russia. Napoleon appropriates Holland, Switzerland, and Italy.

1802 Treaty of Amiens signed. Napoleon's continued aggressions cause change of feeling in England. Negotiations for Pitt's return. Publication of *Edinburgh Review.*

1803 Rupture of Treaty of Amiens. Peltier convicted for libel on Bonaparte. War declared against Bonaparte. Napoleon arrests English in France. Wellesley gains battle of Assaye over the Mahrattas. Several executions at Dublin for insurrection.

1804 Addington resigns. Pitt forms a new administration. Preparations to resist Napoleonic invasion: bill for providing additional forces passed. Spain declares war against England. Napoleon made emperor. Addington joins the ministry. Failure of the Catamaran expedition.

1805 Napoleon's scheme at Boulogne fails. His abandonment of expeditions against England. Third Coalition formed against Napoleon. Battle of Ferrol: England against combined French and Spanish fleets. Battle of Trafalgar: death of Nelson. Melville is impeached for peculation. Sidmouth resigns. Napoleon's campaign at Austerlitz. Wellesley's recall.

1806 Death of William Pitt. Grenville and Fox form the ministry of "All the Talents." Fox negotiates with Napoleon. Death of Fox. Lord Horrick, Grenville, and Tierney assume office. Stuart defeats French at Maida. Battle of Jena. Napoleon issues his Berlin Decrees. Abolition of the slave trade carried.

1807 The Orders in Council, in reply to the Berlin Decrees. Rejection of bill to remove Catholic disabilities: fall of Grenville's ministry. Duke of Portland becomes prime minister. Treaty of Tilsit. Expeditions sent to the Dardanelles, Sicily, and Alexandria. Lord Minto made governor-general of India. Friction between England and United States caused by the Orders in Council: Whitelocke is defeated in expedition against Buenos Ayres. Bombardment of Copenhagen. Heligoland is taken. Seizure of the Danish fleet. Napoleon's armies in Spain.

1808 Spain rises against the French and demands English help. Wellesley sent to Portugal. The Peninsular War begins. Battle of Vimiera and Convention of Cintra. Sir John Moore's march to Salamanca. Napoleon in Madrid.

1809 Battle of Corunna: death of Moore. Wellesley defeats Soult at Oporto, and Victor at Talavera. Failure of expedition under Lord Chatham to Walcheren. Resignation of Canning and Castlereagh. Resignation of duke of Portland. His death. Perceval becomes prime minister. Revival of parliamentary reforms. America passes the Non-Intercourse act.

1810 Mauritius taken from the French. Burdett sent to the Tower for contempt. Riots ensue. Wellington defeats Massena at Busaco. The latter is forced to retreat from Torres Vedras. King's illness.

1811 Regency of prince of Wales. Graham defeats Victor at Barossa and Massena retires toward Ciudad Rodrigo. Wellington defeats Massena at Fuentes d'Onoro and takes Almeida. Beresford defeats Soult at Albuera. Luddite riots at Nottingham. Threatened war between Russia and France.

1812 Wellington storms Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajos. Wellesley resigns. Castlereagh becomes foreign secretary. Perceval assassinated by Bellingham in house of commons. Lord Liverpool becomes prime minister. Canning's laws in favour of Catholics. United States declare war against England. Victories of American frigates. Battle of Salamanca is won by Wellington. He retreats from Bourgos. Dissenting ministers relieved from Conventicle act. Napoleon in Russia.

1813 Catholic Relief bill is dropped. Battle of Vittoria. Wellington defeats Joseph. Battle of the Pyrenees: defeat of Soult. Wellington storms St. Sebastian, and Pampeluna surrenders. Americans attack Canada.

1814 Invasion of France by Wellington. He wins battle of Orthez and defeats Soult at Toulouse (April). English join the Prussians in Holland. Battle of Chippewa. First Treaty of Paris. Visit of allied monarchs to the prince regent. British raid upon Washington. English defeated on Lake Champlain. Congress of Vienna: Lord Castlereagh represents England. British repulses at Plattsburg and New Orleans. Treaty of Ghent between England and United States.

1815 Napoleon's escape from Elba. Wellington and Blücher command the allied forces in Belgium. Napoleon defeats the Prussians at Ligny. Wellington defeats Ney at Quatre Bras. Battle of Waterloo. The allies enter Paris. Napoleon surrenders to English at Rochefort and is conveyed to St. Helena. Second Treaty of Paris. Holy Alliance made between Russia, Austria, and Prussia.

1816 Canning joins the government. The Corn law and the abolition of the property tax. Agricultural and commercial depression: riots in the east of England. Petition from corporation of London. Battle of Algiers.

1817 Attack on the prince regent. Suspension of the Habeas Corpus act. Government measure to repress disaffection. Military and Naval Officers' Oath bill passed. "Sidmouth Circular" issued. William Moore is tried for libel and acquitted. Grattan's motion for relief of Catholics. Death of Princess Charlotte.

1818 Suspension of Habeas Corpus act repealed. Renewal of Alien bill is carried. Motion for repeal of Septennial act is lost. Evacuation of France by the allies.

1819 Birth of Princess Victoria. Rejection of Catholic emancipation. Renewal of industrial distress. Resumption of cash payments. The Manchester massacre. The Six acts.

1820 Death of George III. **George IV.** succeeds. Danger of the ministry: Cato Street conspiracy. Execution of conspirators. Bill for Queen Caroline's divorce. Brougham defends the queen. The bill abandoned. England refuses to join the Congress of Troppau.

1821 Catholic Relief bill passed by commons. Coronation of George IV. Queen's trial engenders an alienation of the ministry and people. Death of Napoleon Bonaparte.

1822 Peel and Wellesley join the ministry. Death of Castlereagh. Canning made foreign secretary: his diplomacy in Spain. Suicide of Lord Londonderry (formerly Castlereagh).

1823 Huskisson becomes president of board of trade. His changes in commercial policy. Change of the Navigation act: Huskisson carries his Reciprocity of Duties bill. Criminal law reform. Peel's Currency act. Discussion on slavery. England recognises freedom of South American republics. The Catholic Association formed.

1824 Reduction of duties on silk and wool. Repeal of acts limiting the free travelling of workmen. English are worsted in Ashantee war. Death of Byron in Greece.

1825 Bill to suppress Catholic Association. Catholic Relief bill is again rejected by the lords. Commissioner inquires into administration of court of chancery. Wild money speculations. Crash of joint-stock companies and banks. Robinson's budgets.

1826 Canning's policy in Portugal. Certain house taxes abolished. Dissolution of parliament.

1827 Death of duke of York. Resignation of Lord Liverpool. Canning becomes prime minister. Treaty of London between England, France, and Russia for pacification of Greece. Death of Canning. Lord Goderich becomes prime minister. Battle of Navarino. Destruction of Turco-Egyptian fleet and Goderich's inaction.

1828 Goderich resigns. Duke of Wellington becomes prime minister. Wellington refuses to coerce Turkey. Lord John Russell and parliamentary reform: Repeal of the Test and Corporation acts. The Corn bill passed. Resignation of Huskisson. Other "Canningites" resign. O'Connell elected to parliament, but cannot sit. Catholic Association is revived. The Catholic emancipation question raised.

1829 Resignation of Lord Anglesey. Act passed suppressing the Catholic Association. King opposes emancipation; then consents (March 3rd). Catholic Relief bill carried in commons and lords. O'Connell's agitation for repeal of union of England and Ireland. Annual act passed for suspending militia ballot.

1830 Death of George IV. Accession of **William IV.** Opening of Liverpool and Manchester Railway: death of Huskisson. England recognises Louis Philippe. Resignation of duke of Wellington. Lord Grey becomes prime minister.

1831 Lord John Russell introduces the Reform bill. Rejected in the lords. Riots in the country. Opposition of the king.

1832 The Reform bill passes the commons (March). Resignation of ministers. King's opposition is overcome. Reform bill passes the lords (June). Reform bills passed for Ireland and Scotland.

1833 First reformed parliament meets. Coercion act for Ireland passed. Position of the Irish Church: the Church Temporalities act is carried, reducing and reforming the Irish Church. Act for the Emancipation of Slaves passes the lords. Abolition of slavery in the colonies. Act passed for renewing the Bank charter. The first Factory act passed. East India trade thrown open. The Jewish Relief bill passes the commons, but is rejected by the lords in successive years till 1858. The Tractarian movement in English Church begins.

1834 The Poor Law Amendment act is carried. Resignation of ministers on the Irish Church question. Irish and Land-tax bill (proposing a substitute for tithes) thrown out by the lords. Resignation of Lord Althorp and Lord Grey. Lord Melbourne becomes prime minister. New Poor law is introduced. System of national education begun. Central criminal court established. The Irish Coercion act renewed in modified form. Lord Melbourne is dismissed by the king. Sir R. Peel forms an administration. Increase of trades unions. New charter granted to Bank of England. Ecclesiastical commission appointed to inquire into English Church. The Tamworth Manifesto: Sir R. Peel indicates his reforms.

1835 Various reforming bills are introduced. Resignation of Sir R. Peel. Lord Melbourne becomes prime minister. Condition of municipal corporations: the Municipal Reform act is passed. The Irish Tithe bill is passed by commons.

1836 Bill for Tithe Commutation in England passed. General Registration act. Newspaper stamp duty is reduced. The ecclesiastical commissioners are incorporated. Civil Marriage act. Lord Buckland governor-general of India. South Australia is first colonised.

1837 Death of William IV (June). Accession of **Victoria.** Duke of Cumberland becomes king of Hanover. Remissions of capital punishment. Natal founded by Dutch settlers and placed under English rule (1841). Rebellion in Canada. Danger of war with America. Rise of trades unions. Division in parliament into conservatives and liberals.

1838 Lord Durham appointed governor-general of Canada; he resigns soon after. The Irish Poor Law act passed. The Irish Tithes Commutation act passed. Act against non-residence of clergy passed. The people's charter adopted by the chartists. Forma-

tion of the Anti-Corn-Law League. New Zealand is first permanently colonised. Capture of Kandahar. Difficulties in Jamaica.

1839 The Jamaica bill is carried. The bed-chamber question: Sir Robert Peel declines office. Lord Melbourne again takes office. Rowland Hill's new postage scheme. Committee of privy council for education is instituted. Chartist insurrection at Newport. War with China. Occupation of Kabul. Debates on Irish affairs. France and England differ as to Egypt.

1840 Victoria marries Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg. Blockade of Canton by English fleet. Popular constitution is granted to Canada. Threatened breach with France. Quadruple Alliance with France, Portugal, and Spain. Bombardment of Acre. Irish Municipal act passed. Agitation for repeal of union with Ireland. Introduction of penny postage. War with Egypt. Defeat of Mehemet Ali.

1841 Cobden's free-trade agitation. Fall of the Melbourne ministry. Peel's new ministry. Duke of Buckingham leaves cabinet. Palmerston's foreign policy. Attack on Canton.

1842 Peel's first free-trade budget: Income-tax revived; revision of the customs tariff. Evacuation of Kabul. Defeat of Chinese: peace concluded between China and England. Lord Ellenborough is made governor-general of India. War in India. Massacre of English army in Afghanistan. Annexation of Scinde. Battles of Meeanee and Hyderabad. Treaty of Nankin. Misery of the working classes. Ashley's Collieries' bill carried.

1843 House of commons refuses petition of the general assembly of Scotland. Great secession from the Scottish church. Establishment of the Free Church in Scotland. The Irish Arms act is passed. Cobden and Bright lead the Anti-Corn-Law League. O'Connor issues his land scheme. Return of Dost Mahomed. O'Connell and other repeal leaders are arrested. The Rebecca riots.

1844 Trial of O'Connell: reversal of his sentence. Commercial prosperity and remission of further duties. Sir R. Peel's Bank Charter act is passed. The Currency bill. Boers are forced to submit. Natal declared a British colony. Hardinge becomes governor-general of India. Graham's Factory bill. The Tahiti question.

1845 Peel's second free-trade budget. Renewal of income-tax. Peel's Maynooth act. He founds Queen's Colleges in Ireland. The Irish famine. Spread of the Anti-Corn-Law League. Sir R. Peel proposes repeal of the Corn laws. He resigns office. Lord J. Russell fails to form a cabinet. Sir R. Peel resumes office. Great meeting of Anti-Corn-Law League at Manchester. War declared against the Sikhs. Battles of Moodkee and Ferozeshah. Newman joins the Church of Rome.

1846 Sir R. Peel's proposal for repeal of Corn laws carried in commons and lords. Protest signed by eighty-nine peers. Government is defeated on Irish bill. Sir R. Peel resigns. Lord John Russell becomes prime minister. Battles of Sobraon and Aliwal. Treaty of Lahore and end of the first Sikh war. Potato famine in Ireland and large Irish emigration.

1847 Government grant of ten millions for relief of Ireland. Relation of landlord and tenant in Ireland. Fielden's Factory bill passed. Parliament passes Coercion bill for Ireland. The Poor Law board is constituted. Strained relations between France and England. Corn and Navigation acts suspended. Death of O'Connell.

1848 Louis Philippe arrives in England. Suppression of the chartists and Irish rebels. Treason Felony act is passed. Jewish Disabilities bill passed by commons, thrown out by lords. Louis Napoleon declared president-elect of French Republic. Boers are made to acknowledge the sovereignty of England. Lord Dalhousie governor-general of India. The Punjab War. Habeas Corpus act suspended in Ireland.

1849 Battles of Chillianwallah and Goojerat. Annexation of the Punjab. End of second Sikh war. Irish encumbered states court is established. Navigation Laws repealed. Difficulties in India. Reform of the colonial office.

1850 Australian Constitution bill passed. Victoria made a separate colony. English fleet sent to Greece. Death of Sir R. Peel. Irish Tenant League formed. The Ecclesiastical Titles bill. Papal bull issued creating Roman Catholic bishops in England. Great gold discoveries in Australia.

1851 The Great Exhibition. Ministerial defeat on the county franchise. Lord John Russell resigns. Lord Stanley is unable to form a ministry and Lord John Russell returns to office. Palmerston's despatch to Normanby and his dismissal from the ministry. Lord Granville becomes foreign secretary. The Ecclesiastical Titles bill passed.

1852 The Militia bill rejected and subsequently carried. End of the Russell ministry. Lord Derby becomes prime minister. Bribery act passed for inquiring into corrupt practices. Death of the duke of Wellington. Disraeli's budget is defeated. Resignation of Lord Derby. Lord Aberdeen forms a coalition ministry and becomes prime minister. A constitution given to the colonies in New Zealand.

1853 Gladstone introduces his first budget and abolishes various taxes. Burmese and Kaffir Wars. The Crimean War begins. Union of England and France to protect Turkey against Russia. Conference of the powers. The English and French fleets enter the Dardanelles. Russia destroys Turkish fleet at Sinope. The Jewish Disabilities bill

again rejected by the lords. Close of Kaffir War. British Kaffraria is annexed. New India bill is passed. Lord Palmerston resigns and again resumes office.

1854 Declaration of war by France and England against Russia. Baltic fleet despatched under Sir C. Napier. Russians unsuccessfully besiege Silistria (May). The allied armies land in Crimea. Battle of the Alma (September). The march to Balaclava. Siege of Sebastopol begins (October 17th). Battle of Balaclava. Battle of Inkerman (November). Government charged with gross mismanagement. Demand for change of ministry. Gladstone's budget. The University Reform bill. Colonial and war secretaryships are added. The first Cape parliament meets.

1855 Lord John Russell and Lord Aberdeen resign. Lord Palmerston becomes prime minister. The Vienna Conference. Committees of inquiry in Crimea. Reform of the army hospitals. Death of Lord Raglan. Battle of the Tchernaya. Fall and evacuation of Sebastopol. Surrender of Kars. Resignation of Lord J. Russell.

1856 Treaty of peace with Russia signed at Paris. Difficulties with America. The Persian War. The Chinese War. Annexation of Oudh. Lord Canning governor-general of India. Bombardment of Canton.

1857 Government condemnation of conduct in China. Palmerston announces dissolution. Indian mutiny. Outbreaks at Meerut, Delhi, Lucknow, and Cawnpore. Relief of Allahabad. Massacre of Cawnpore garrison. Havelock's victory at Fathipur. Relief of Lucknow under Havelock and Outram. Siege and fall of Delhi. Sir Colin Campbell's final relief of Lucknow. Death of Havelock. Destruction of Chinese fleet (June). Commercial panic in England. Suspension of Bank Charter act. The English and French capture Canton. Sepoy rebels punished for the mutiny. Treaty of peace between England and Persia signed at Paris.

1858 Sir C. Campbell and Outram capture Lucknow. Gradual reduction of the Indian provinces. Capture of Thansee, Calpee, Gwalior, Behar, and Oudh. Final suppression of the rebels and close of the mutiny. Lord Palmerston's bill transferring government of India from East India Company to the crown. Palmerston's new India bill. Formation of secretaryship of state for India. Lord Stanley is first secretary. Orsini's attempted assassination of the French emperor. Irritation felt against England. Palmerston's Conspiracy to Murder bill. Resignation of Palmerston. Lord Derby becomes prime minister. Treaty between England and China at Tientsin. Bill for admission of Jews to parliament passed. Queen of England proclaimed sovereign of India.

1859 Failure of Disraeli's reform bill. Resignation of ministry. Lord Palmerston becomes prime minister. Reorganisation of the Indian army. Queensland is made a separate colony. Rise of Fenianism. War in China.

1860 Capture of Pekin. Treaty with China. Cobden's treaty of commerce with France. Church Rates Abolition bill carried in commons. Act regulating the relation of landlord and tenant in Ireland. Rise of the broad church.

1861 Abolition of the paper duty. Change introduced by the Bankruptcy act. Forcible seizure of Confederate commissioners. Boers of the Transvaal form into a separate state. Death of the prince consort.

1862 War in Japan. The cotton famine.

1863 Strained relations with America arising from the cruisers. Marriage of the prince of Wales. Separation of the Ionian Islands from England and union with Greece. Death of Lord Elgin, viceroy of India.

1865 Poor Law Union Chargeability bill is passed. Resignation of lord chancellor. Dissolution of parliament. Defeat of Gladstone at Oxford University. Death of Lord Palmerston. Lord Russell becomes prime minister. The cruel suppression of the Jamaica insurrection.

1866 Suspension of Habeas Corpus act in Ireland. Gladstone introduces the government Reform bill. Disruption of the liberal party; the Adullamites. The government resigns. Lord Derby becomes prime minister. Commercial panic in the city. The Bank Charter act suspended.

1867 Disraeli again introduces the Reform bill. Resignation of ministers. Reform bill passes the lords. Expedition to rescue English prisoners from King Theodore of Abyssinia. Fenian and trades-union outrages. Confederation of the British North American provinces.

1868 Resignation of Lord Derby. Disraeli becomes prime minister. Gladstone's resolution for disestablishment of Irish Church. Gladstone's bill for abolition of compulsory church rates. The Irish and Scotch Reform bills passed. British troops capture Magdala in Abyssinia. Resignation of Disraeli. Gladstone becomes prime minister.

1869 Gladstone's measure for disestablishment of the Irish Church. Reform of the new land laws. The Endowed Schools bill passed. University Tests Abolition bill passed by Commons. Lord Mayo viceroy of India. Gladstone's Irish Land bill.

1870 The Irish Land act is passed. The Elementary Education act passed. Peace Preservation act (Ireland) is passed. The Fenians invade Canada. The Home Govern-

ment Association founded in Ireland. Treaty with France and Germany to secure neutrality of Belgium.

1871 Bill to abolish religious tests at universities passes the lords. Treaty of Washington made with the United States. Act passed giving the crown authority over militia, yeomanry, and volunteers. Dangerous illness of prince of Wales. The local government board is constituted. The Army Regulation bill; abolition of purchase of commissions by royal warrant. The Black Sea conferences.

1872 Reorganisation of the army. Ballot and Licensing bills passed. The Alabama arbitration. New commercial treaty with France.

1873 The Irish University bill rejected. Gladstone resigns and returns to office. Bill for abolition of religious tests at Dublin University passed. The Judicature bill. The Ashantee War in defence of Gold Coast settlement. Home Rule League is formed.

1874 Gladstone resigns. Disraeli becomes prime minister. Licensing act passed. Public Worship Regulation act passed. Endowed Schools Amendment bill passed. Spread of trades unionism. Prevalence of strikes. Ashantee War concluded. The Scotch Church Patronage bill.

1875 Retirement of Gladstone. Replaced by marquis of Hartington. Irish Coercion bills renewed. John Mitchel's election declared void. The Judicature bill completed. The Artisans' Dwellings act. Agricultural Holdings bill. The Regimental Exchanges act. Land Transfer bill. Friendly Societies bill. Peace Preservation act (Ireland). Amendment of Labour laws. Merchant Shipping bill passed. Colony of Fiji constituted. Reopening of Eastern question: The Andrassy and Berlin notes. Central government established for New Zealand. England purchases shares in the Suez Canal.

1876 Lord Lytton viceroy of India. Famine in India. War between Servia and Turkey. England urges reform upon the Turks. The Additional Tithes bill passed. England refuses to accede to Berlin note. Disraeli created earl of Beaconsfield. Appellate Jurisdiction act passed. Elementary Education act passed. Gladstone's indignation at Bulgarian atrocities. Punishment of offenders demanded. Salisbury attends the European conference at Constantinople.

1877 Failure of the conference at Constantinople. Turkey rejects the European protocol. Queen proclaimed empress of India. South African bill passed to confederate colonies of Natal, Cape of Good Hope, Orange Free State, and Transvaal. Annexation of the Transvaal, and difficulties with the Zulus. Russian war with Turkey: jingoism in England. Obstruction procedure by Parnell in house of commons.

1878 British fleet ordered to Constantinople. Lord Carnarvon and Lord Derby resign. Troops from India ordered to Malta. Death of Earl Russell. Agitation against war with Russia. Secret treaties with Russia and with Turkey. Occupation of Cyprus. Meeting of the Berlin Congress. Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury attend (June). Treaty of Berlin signed (July). War declared against Afghanistan. Invasion of Zululand.

1879 Depression of trade in England. Zulus defeat English at Isandhlwana. Flight and death of ameer of Afghanistan. Treaty of Gundamak signed with new ameer. Zulus defeated at Ulundi. Second invasion of Afghanistan. English victory at Charasiab and entry of Kabul. Difficulties in Transvaal. The Army Discipline and Regulation bill passed. Irish University act passed. Home-rulers' obstruction in parliament. Parnell's agitation against landlordism. A commission inquires into agricultural depression. Davitt forms the Irish Land League. Arrests of Irish leaders.

1880 Relief of Irish famine. Water Works bill. Marquis of Ripon, viceroy of India. Resignation of Lord Beaconsfield (April). Gladstone forms a ministry. English victories at Ahmed Kiel, in Afghanistan. English defeated at Maiwand. March of Roberts from Kabul to Kandahar. Goschen sent on mission to Constantinople. Bradlaugh not permitted to make affirmation. Second Relief of Distress act for Ireland passed. The Burials' bill carried. Employers' Liability act passed. Prosecution of Parnell and others. Revolt of the Boers of Transvaal.

1881 English troops in Transvaal defeated at Laing's Nek and Majuba Hill. Boers agree to British suzerainty. Thirty-six Irish members suspended and removed from House. Protection of Life and Property bill and Preservation bill passed. Death of Lord Beaconsfield. Irish Land bill receives the royal assent (August). The Regulation of the Forces' act and Army act passed. Kandahar ceded to the ameer of Afghanistan. The Land League proclaimed "an illegal and criminal association."

1882 Bradlaugh expelled from house of commons. Plot of Arabi Bey against English influence in Egypt. He gains command of the army. British fleet bombards and destroys the fortifications of Alexandria. Defeat of Arabi's army at Tel-el-Kebir by English under Wolseley. Arabi, taken prisoner, is banished from Egypt for life. Murder of Cavendish and Burke. Irish obstruction in parliament and suspension of twenty-five Irish members. Several Procedure bills regulating parliament business passed.

1883 Explosives bill passed. Trial of the Invincibles. Corrupt Practices bill and Agricultural Holdings bill passed. The Bankruptcy bill and Patent Law bill passed.

1884 General Gordon sent to Khartum. Battle of Trinkitat. Fall of Sinkat and Tokar. Graham defeats Osman Digna. Conference of Great Powers as to affairs of Egypt. Wolseley enters the Soudan with British troops. The Ilbert bill passed by the council of India. New convention signed with Transvaal. Lord Dufferin appointed viceroy of India. Sir C. Warren despatched to Bechuanaland. The Franchise bill becomes law (December 6th).

1885 Defeat of Arabs at Abuklea by General Stewart. Khartum surrenders to the mahdi. Death of Gordon. The Berber expedition to Egypt. Troops withdrawn from the Soudan. The Afghanistan Boundary Commission: dispute with Russia. Anticipations of war. Arbitration agreed to. The Redistribution bill is passed. Resignation of Gladstone. Salisbury becomes prime minister. Death of the mahdi (June). British troops invade Upper Burma. A Land Purchase bill (Lord Ashbournes bill) is passed. Criminal Law Amendment act passed. General election (December).

1886 Annexation of Upper Burma to the British Empire. Bradlaugh takes the oath. Carnarvon resigns lord-lieutenancy of Ireland. Resignation of Lord Salisbury. Gladstone forms a ministry (February 1st). The "unemployed" meeting. The Scotch Crofters bill is passed. Ministers leave the government owing to Gladstone's proposed Irish policy (March 26th). Gladstone introduces Home Rule bill for Ireland (April 8th) and the Land Purchase bill (April 16th). Influential political meetings disapproving of Home Rule bill (May). Second reading of Home Rule bill is lost (June 7th). Riots in Belfast. General election (July). Resignation of Gladstone. Salisbury becomes prime minister (July). The "plan of campaign" is announced. Lord R. Churchill resigns leadership of house of commons.

1887 Meeting of the Round Table conference. New rules of procedure are carried. Balfour becomes chief secretary for Ireland. Colonial conference at colonial office (May 2nd). The "Times" article on Dillon (May 6th). The Crimes bill in committee. Celebration of the Queen's Jubilee (June 21st). Irish Land bill passed (August). Proclamation of the National League. The Allotments act, the Coal Mines Regulation act, and Merchandise Marks act are passed. Proclamation for suppression of National League (September 20th). The Trafalgar Square conflict. Irish M.P.'s are imprisoned under the Crimes act.

1888 Lansdowne becomes viceroy of India. New rules of parliamentary procedure carried. Goschen's scheme for reducing interest on national debt is passed. Local Government bill (England and Wales) passed. Conflicts between nationalists and police. The Fisheries Treaty signed at Washington (February 5th). Commission on "Parnellism and Crime" bill. Parnell's action against the *Times*. The Irish Land Purchase bill carried.

1889 The county councils meet for the first time. Pigott's confession and suicide. Naval Defences bill passed. Local Government bill for Scotland passed. Bill for Improved Drainage of Ireland and Light Railways Extension passed. The question of royal grants is raised. Acts for prevention of cruelty to children. Technical Instruction act. Welsh Intermediate Education act passed. The dockers' strike. Charter granted to British South Africa Company. Dervishes defeated by General Grenfell.

1890 Balfour's Land Purchase bill introduced (March). New education code issued (April). West Australia Constitution bill passed. Police act and Housing of Working Classes Amendment act passed (August). The O'Shea trial. Rejection of Parnell by Irish party.

1891 Death of Bradlaugh. Tithe bill passes the commons. Royal commission inquires into labour conditions. Balfour's Land Purchase bill passed (June 15th). Factory Workshops act passed. Bill creating free education in England and Wales read and passed. Newcastle programme adopted. Death of Parnell.

1892 Balfour's Irish Local Government bill is withdrawn (May 24th). Chaplin's Small Agricultural Holdings bill passed. General election (July). Resignation of Salisbury. Gladstone becomes prime minister (August 16th).

1893 Gladstone introduces his Home Rule bill (February 13th). Second reading carried (April 21st). Gladstone's closure resolutions carried (August 21st). Home Rule bill thrown out by lords (September 8th). Coal trade dispute settled (November 17th).

1894 Amendments to Parish Councils bill carried in the lords (February 12th). Education acts passed. Gladstone resigns (March 3rd). Lord Rosebery forms a ministry. British Protectorate declared in Uganda. Introduction of various bills into parliament. War between China and Japan (August).

1895 Introduction of new bills. Resignation of liberal ministry (June 22nd). Salisbury takes office. Jameson's raid from Mafeking into the Transvaal.

1896 Boers defeat Jameson at Krugersdorp (January 1st). Rhodes resigns premiership of Cape Colony. Withdrawal of the Education bill (June 22nd). Trial of the Johannesburg raiders. Rosebery resigns the liberal leadership.

1897 Voluntary Schools bill carried. Bill passed for relief of necessitous school boards. Sixtieth year of Victoria's reign. Thanksgiving services. War on the Indian frontier against the Afridis and other tribes.

1898 Death of Gladstone (May 19th). Irish Local Government bill, Vaccination bill, and University of London bill passed. Kitchener defeats the Khalifa. Capture of Omdurman and Khartum. English and French troops meet at Fashoda: evacuation of Fashoda by the French.

1899 Conference at Bloemfontein between Sir Alfred Milner and President Kruger. Negotiations proceed between the British and Transvaal governments as to the franchise and suzerainty. Orange Free State joins the Transvaal. An ultimatum issued by the Transvaal government (October 9th). War breaks out. British troops withdraw to Ladysmith. Disasters to the British troops. Boers besiege Ladysmith, Kimberley, and Mafeking. Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener are appointed to the command in Africa. Passing of the Local Government bill. Tithe Rent Charge Rating bill and Board of Education bill.

1900 Siege of Ladysmith. Relief of Kimberley (February 15th). Cronje surrenders at Paardeberg (February 27th). Relief of Ladysmith (February 28th). Death of Joubert. Relief of Mafeking (May 17th). Lord Roberts proclaims the annexation of the Orange Free State. Australia Commonwealth bill passed. General election (October). Lord Roberts becomes commander-in-chief. War Loan bill carried.

1901 Death of Queen Victoria (January 22nd). **Edward VII.** succeeds.

1902 Peace made in South Africa. Lord Salisbury retires and is succeeded by Mr. Balfour.

1903 Treaty of alliance with Japan. Mr. Chamberlain begins his fiscal campaign.

1905 New treaty of alliance with Japan. The Balfour ministry resigns and a liberal ministry is formed by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman.

1906 Great liberal victory in the general election. The lords' amendments to the Education bill rejected by the commons. Constitution granted to the Transvaal. Army bill passed; reductions in the navy. Plural Voting bill rejected by the lords.

1907 Colonial conference. Visit to England of Prince Fushimi of Japan. Resignation of Lord Cromer. Resolution passed against the house of lords. Irish Council bill rejected by the Irish national convention. Workmen's Compensation act passed. Presentation of the Cullinan diamond to King Edward. Convention with Russia concerning Central Asia.




SCOTLAND, IRELAND, AND WALES
showing the
PROMINENT TRIBES.
SCALE OF MILES
0 20 40 60 80 100
THE ORKNEYS
THE HEBRIDES
SCOTLAND
ENGLAND
IRELAND
ULSTER
CONNAUGHT
LEINSTER
MUNSTER
WALES
NORTH SEA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
IRISH SEA
ENGLISH CHANNEL
Bristol Channel
North Channel
St. George's Channel
Donegal Bay
Dingle Bay
Kenmare Bay
Bantry Bay
Galway Bay
Solway Firth
Firth of Forth
Moray Firth
The Minch
Clan Morgan
Mackenzies
Mackays
Sinclairs
Murrays
Sutherland
Caithness
Ross
Badenoch
Lochaber
Mac Donalds of Isles
Mac Donalds of Harris
Mac Donalds of Antrim
Mac Leods
Mac Leans
Mac Neils
Buchan
Aberdeen
Mearns
Montrose
Angus
Dunnichen
Duddee
Strathearn
Perth
Menteith
Bannockburn
Stirling
Falkirk
Edinburgh
Dunbar
Glasgow
Lothian
Merse
Hirsels
Tweedale
Teviotdale
Tweed R.
Hadden
Alnwick
Hexham
Nevils Cross
Carlisle
Allerton
Galloway
Kyle
Carrick
Cunningham
Renfrew
Lennox
Argyll
Arran I.
Isle of Man
The King
Londonderry
Derry
Clandeboy
Antrim
Belfast
Tyrone
Omagh
Enniskillen
Blackwater
Armagh
Mc Mahons
O'Connors
O'Rourkes
Roscommon
Trugheda
Dublin
Galway
Athlone
Rathfarnham
Rathmines
Kildare
Wicklow
Wicklow Mt.
Kilkenny
Tinnahinch Hill
Limerick
Tipperary
Clonmel
New Ross
Waterford
Wexford
Killarney
Youghal
Cork
Kinsale
Fitz Stephens
Lucys
Burkes
Geraldines
Shannon R.
Barrow R.
Suir R.
Anglesey I.
Flint
Huwarden
Shrewsbury
Coventry
Gloucester
Tewkesbury
Severn R.
Bath
Bristol
Brecknock
Glamorgan
Caermarthen
Pembroke
Cardigan
Radnor
Montgomery
Denbigh
Merioneth
Carnarvon
Lundy I.
Plymouth
Lands End
Scilly Is.
Longitude West 6° from Greenwich
10° 8° 6° 4° 2°
58° 56° 54° 52° 50°
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THE DEATH OF GENERAL MONTGOMERY

After the painting by John Trumbull

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BY

HENRY SMITH WILLIAMS, LL.D.



IN TWENTY-SEVEN VOLUMES

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Contributors, and Editorial Revisers

Prof. Adolf Erman, University of Berlin.
Prof. Joseph Halévy, College of France.
Prof. Thomas K. Cheyne, Oxford University.
Prof. Andrew C. McLaughlin, University of Chicago.
Prof. David H. Müller, University of Vienna.
Prof. Alfred Rambaud, University of Paris.
Capt. F. Brinkley, Tokio.

Prof. Eduard Meyer, University of Berlin.
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Prof. Theodor Nöldeke, University of Strasburg.
Prof. Albert B. Hart, Harvard University.
Dr. Paul Brönnle, Royal Asiatic Society.
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Prof. C. W. C. Oman, Oxford University.
Prof. W. L. Fleming, Louisiana State University.
Prof. I. Goldziher, University of Budapest.
Prof. R. Koser, University of Berlin.

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TOGETHER WITH

A REVIEW OF THE EMPIRE, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE COLONIAL WORLD

BY

LADY LUGARD

WITH ADDITIONAL CITATIONS FROM

ABUL FAZL, R. ACTON, L. S. AMERY, J. F. BRIGHT, LORD BROUGHAM, W. S. CHURCHILL, J. A. COCKBURN, T. A. COGHLAN, F. CORBYN, J. S. COTTON, J. M. CURRAN, C. DE WET, C. DILKE, DOYLE, J. EVELYN, GHOLAM, HOSSEIN, F. J. GOLDSMID, HAJI MUSTAPHA, W. HARCUS, BISHOP HEBER, T. R. E. HOLMES, K. JOHNSTON, J. W. KAYE, A. H. KEANE, H. G. KEENE, C. KNIGHT, H. M. LAWRENCE, G. C. LEVEY, J. McCARTHY, LIEUT. MACDOWELL, C. MACFARLANE, R. MACLAGAN, J. MALCOLM, H. MARTINEAU, MOHAMMED KAZIM FERISHTA, G. R. PARKIN, PARLIAMENTARY HISTORY, E. PEACH. S. PURCHAS, QUARTERLY REVIEW, W. P. REEVES, C. G. D. ROBERTS, LORD ROBERTS, LADY SALE, R. SEARS, J. STRACHEY, R. STRACHEY, J. B. TAVERNIER, T. THOMSON, M. THOMSON, L. J. TROTTER, A. M. TULLOCH, J. W. TURNBULL, A. R. WALLACE, G. WEBER, DUKE OF WELLINGTON, WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY C. WYTFLIET

INTRODUCTION

A REVIEW OF THE EMPIRE, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE COLONIAL WORLD[1]

By LADY LUGARD

The land surface of the earth is estimated to extend over about 52,500,000 square miles. Of this area the British Empire occupies nearly one-quarter, extending over an area of about 12,000,000 square miles. By far the greater portion lies within the temperate zones, and is suitable for white settlement. The notable exceptions are the southern half of India and Burma; East, West, and Central Africa; the West Indian Colonies; the northern portion of Australia; New Guinea, British Borneo, and that portion of North America which extends into Arctic regions. The area of the territory of the empire is divided almost equally between the southern and the northern hemispheres, the great divisions of Australasia and South Africa covering between them in the southern hemisphere 5,308,506 square miles, while the United Kingdom, Canada, and India, including the native states, cover between them in the northern hemisphere 5,271,375 square miles. The alternation of the seasons is thus complete, one-half of the empire enjoying summer, while one-half is in winter. The division of territory between the eastern and western hemispheres is less equal, Canada occupying alone in the western hemisphere 3,653,946 square miles, while Australasia, South Africa, India, and the United Kingdom occupy together in the eastern hemisphere 6,925,975 square miles. As a matter of fact, however, the eastern portions of Australasia border so nearly upon the western hemisphere that the distribution of day and night throughout the empire is, like the alternations of the seasons, almost complete, one-half enjoying daylight, while the other half is in darkness. These alternations of time and of seasons, combined with the variety of soils and climates, are calculated to have an increasingly important effect upon the material and industrial, as well as upon the social and political developments of the empire. This will become evident in considering the industrial productions of the different divisions, and the harvest seasons which permit the summer produce of one portion of the empire to supply the winter requirements of its other markets, and conversely.

The empire contains or is bounded by some of the highest mountains, the greatest lakes, and the most important rivers of the world. Its climates may be said to include all the known climates of the world; its soils are no less various. In the prairies of central Canada it possesses some of the most valuable wheat-producing land; in the grass lands of the interior of Australia the best pasture country; and in the uplands of South Africa the most valuable gold and diamond-bearing beds which exist. The United Kingdom at present produces more coal than any other single country except the United States

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(which exceeded the British output in 1900). The effect of climate throughout the empire in modifying the type of the Anglo-Saxon race has as yet received only partial attention, and conclusions regarding it are of a somewhat empiric nature. The general tendency in Canada is held to be towards somewhat smaller size, and a hardy active habit; in Australia to a tall, slight, pale development locally known as "cornstalkers," characterised by considerable nervous and intellectual activity. In New Zealand the type preserves almost exactly the characteristics of the British Isles. The South African, both Dutch and British, is readily recognised by an apparently sun-dried, lank, and hard habit of body. In the tropical possessions of the empire where white settlement does not take place to any considerable extent the individual alone is affected. The type undergoes no modification. It is to be observed, in reference to this interesting aspect of imperial development, that the multiplication and cheapening of channels of communication and means of travel throughout the empire will tend to modify the future accentuation of race difference, while the variety of elements in the vast area occupied should have an important, though as yet not scientifically traced, effect upon the British imperial type.

POPULATION OF THE EMPIRE

The white population of the empire reaches a total of upwards of 52,000,000 or about one-eighth of its entire population, which, including native races, is estimated at something over 430,000,000. The white population includes some French, Dutch, and Spanish peoples, but is mainly of Anglo-Saxon race. It is distributed roughly as follows:

United Kingdom and Ireland		41,454,578
Australia		4,600,000
Canada—French	1,400,000	
English	3,800,000	
		5,200,000
Africa—Dutch } British }		1,000,000
India		100,000
West Indies and Bermuda		100,000
		52,454,578

These figures must be taken only as approximate. In some cases census details are out of date, and official estimates have been accepted.

The native population of the empire includes types of the principal black, yellow, and brown races, classing with these the high-type races of the East, which may almost be called white. It is distributed as follows:

India

British Provinces	Mainly high type, brown	231,085,132
Native States		63,181,569
British Tracts		607,710
		294,874,411

The population of India is divided into 118 groups, on the basis of language. These may, however, be collected into twelve principal groups as follows:

Aryo-Indic	Khasi	Sinitic
Dravidian	Tibeto-Burman	Aryo-Iranic
Kolarian	Mon Annam	Semitic
Gypsy	Shan	Aryo-European

Eastern Colonies

Ceylon—High type, brown and mixed	3,391,000
Straits Settlements—Brown and mixed	267,073
Chinese yellow	228,000
Hong-Kong—Chinese yellow	211,000
Brown	1,901
North Borneo—Mixed brown	200,000
	4,298,974

Of the various races which inhabit these Eastern dependencies the most important are the 2,000,000 Sinhalese and the 750,000 Tamil that make up the population of Ceylon. The rest is made up of Malays, Chinese (in the Straits Settlements and Hong-Kong), Dyaks, Eurasians, and others.

West Indies

The West Indies, including the continental colonies of British Guiana and Honduras, and seventeen islands or groups of islands, have a total coloured population of about 1,600,000. The colonies of this group which have the largest coloured populations are:

Jamaica—Chiefly black, some brown and yellow	625,000
Trinidad—Black and brown	244,000
British Guiana—Black and brown	270,000
	1,139,000

The populations of the West Indies are very various, being made up largely of imported African negroes. In Jamaica these contribute four-fifths of the population. There are also in the islands a considerable number of imported East Indian coolies and some Chinese. The aboriginal races include American Indians of the mainland and Caribs. With these there has been intermixture of Spanish and Portuguese blood, and many mixed types have appeared. The total European population of this group of colonies amounts to upwards of 80,000, to which 15,000 on account of Bermuda may be added.

Africa

South	Chiefly black	5,000,000
Central		3,000,000

The aboriginal races of South Africa were the Hottentots and Bushmen. The Hottentots are a yellow-skinned race with crisp light hair. The Bushmen, who appear to have been a lower order of the same race, are believed to be the aboriginal type of the Abatwa or pigmy race of Central Africa. Both these races are rapidly diminishing in numbers, and in British South Africa it is expected that they will in the course of the twentieth century become extinct. Besides these primitive races there are the dark-skinned negroids of Bantu stock, commonly known in their tribal groups as Kaffirs, Zulus, Makalakas, Bechuanas, and Damaras, which are again subdivided into many lesser groups. The Bantu compose the greater part of the native population. There are also in South Africa Malays and Indians and others, who during the last two hundred years have been introduced from Java, Ceylon, Madagascar, Mozambique, and British India, and by intermarriage with each other and

with the natives have produced a hybrid population generally classed together under the heading of the Mixed Races. These are of all colours, varying from yellow to dark brown. The tribes of Central Africa are as yet less known. Many of them exhibit racial characteristics allied to those of the tribes of South Africa, but with in some cases an admixture of Arab blood.

East Africa

Protectorate—Black and brown	Natives	2,485,000
	Asiatics	15,000
Zanzibar—Black and brown		250,000
Uganda—Estimated in 1899		3,800,000
		6,550,000

West Africa

Nigeria—Black and brown—Estimated in 1900		35,000,000
Lagos	Chiefly black	3,000,000
Gold Coast		1,500,000
Sierra Leone		260,000
Gambia		14,000
		4,774,000

From east to west across Africa the aboriginal nations are mostly of the black negroid type, their varieties being only imperfectly known. The tendency of some of the lower negroid types has been to drift towards the west coast, where they still practise cannibalistic and fetish rites. On the east coast are found much higher types approaching to the Christian races of Abyssinia, and from east to west there has been a wide admixture of Arab blood producing a light brown type. In Uganda and Nigeria a large proportion of the population is Arab and relatively light-skinned.

Australasia

Australia—Black, very low type	200,000
Chinese and half castes, yellow	50,000
New Zealand—Maoris, brown	40,000
Fiji—Polynesian, black and brown	121,700
New Guinea—Polynesian, black and brown	250,000
	661,700

The native races of Australia and the Polynesian groups of islands are divided into main types known as the dark and light Polynesian. The dark type, which is black, is of a very low order, and in some of the islands still retains its cannibal habits. The aboriginal tribes of Australia are of a low-class black tribe, but generally peaceful and inoffensive in their habits. The white Polynesian races are of a very superior type, and exhibit, as in the Maoris of New Zealand, characteristics of a high order. The natives of New Guinea are in a very low state of civilisation. The estimate given of their numbers is approximate, as no census has been taken.

Canada

Indians—Brown	100,000

The only coloured native races of Canada are the Red Indians, many in tribal variety, but few in numbers.

Summary

NATIVE POPULATIONS OF PRINCIPAL DIVISIONS OF THE EMPIRE

India	294,874,411
Ceylon and Eastern Colonies	4,298,974
West Indies	1,650,000
South Africa	5,000,000
British Central Africa	3,000,000
East Africa	6,550,000
West Africa	40,000,000
Australasia and Islands	661,000
Canada	100,000
	356,134,385
White populations	52,454,578
Giving a total of	408,588,963

This is without taking into account the population of the lesser crown colonies or allowing for the increase likely to be shown by a later census. Throughout the empire, and notably in the United Kingdom, there is among the white races a considerable sprinkling of Jewish blood.

The latest calculation of the entire population of the world, including a liberal estimate of 650,000,000 for peoples not brought under any census, gives a total of something over 1,500,000,000. The population of the empire may therefore be calculated as amounting to something more than one-fourth of the population of the world.

DIVISIONS AND GROWTH OF THE EMPIRE

It is a matter of first importance in the geographical distribution of the empire that the five principal divisions, the United Kingdom, South Africa, India, Australia, and Canada, are separated from each other by the three great oceans of the world. The distance as usually calculated in nautical miles: from an English port to the Cape of Good Hope is 5,840 miles; from the Cape of Good Hope to Bombay is 4,610; from Bombay to Melbourne is 5,630; from Melbourne to Auckland is 1,830; from Auckland to Vancouver 6,210; from Halifax to Liverpool is 2,744. From a British port direct to Bombay by way of the Mediterranean it is 6,272; from a British port by the same route to Sydney 11,548 miles. These great distances have necessitated the acquisition of intermediate ports suitable for coaling stations on the trade routes, and have determined the position of many of the lesser crown colonies, which are held simply for military and commercial purposes. Such are the Bermudas, Gibraltar, Malta, Aden, Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, Labuan, Hong-Kong, which complete the chain of connection on the eastern route, and such on other routes are the lesser West African stations — Ascension, St. Helena, the Mauritius, and Seychelles, the Falklands, Tristan d'Acunha, and the groups of the western Pacific. Some of the latest annexations of the British Empire have been rocky islets of the northern Pacific required for the purpose of telegraph stations in connection with an all-British cable.

For purposes of political administration the empire falls into the three sections of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, with the dependencies of the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man; the Indian Empire, consisting of British India and the feudatory native states; and the colonial empire, comprising all other colonies and dependencies.

In the modern sense of extension beyond the limits of the United Kingdom the growth of the empire is of comparatively recent date. The Channel Islands became British as a part of the Norman inheritance of William the Conqueror. The Isle of Man, which was for a short time held in conquest by Edward I and restored, was sold by its titular sovereign to Sir William Scroop, earl of Wiltshire, in the year 1393, and by his subsequent attainder for high treason and the confiscation of his estates, became a fief of the English crown. It was granted by Henry IV to the earls of Stanley, and held by them and their collateral descendants until the sovereignty and revenues of the island were finally surrendered to the crown in 1765. With these exceptions and the nominal possession taken of Newfoundland by Sir Humphrey Gilbert in 1583, all the territorial acquisitions of the empire have been made in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The following list of British colonies and dependencies shows the date and manner of their acquisition:

Name	Date	Method of Acquisition
Newfoundland	1583	Possession taken by Sir H. Gilbert for the crown.

Seventeenth Century

St. Helena	1600	Captured. Settled by East India Company, 1651. Government vested in British crown, 1833.
Barbadoes	1605	Settlement.
Bermudas	1609	,,
Prince Edward Island	1626	,,
Nova Scotia	1626	,, } Ceded to France 1632; recovered 1713.
New Brunswick	1626	,,
St. Christopher	1623	,, } Ceded to France; recovered 1713.
Nevis	1628	,,
Bahamas	1629	,,
Gambia	1631	,, A second time in 1817.
Antigua	1632	,,
Leeward Islands	1632	,,
Jamaica	1655	Conquered.
Gold Coast	1661	Settlement.
N.-W. Territories of Canada	1670	Settlement under royal charter of Hudson Bay Company. Purchased 1869, and transferred to Canada 1870.

Eighteenth Century

Name	Date	Method of Acquisition
Gibraltar	1704	Capitulation.
Ontario	1759–1790	,,
Quebec	1759–1790	,,
Dominica	1763	,,
St. Vincent	1763	,,
Grenada	1763	,,
Windward Islands	1763	,,
Tobago	1763	,,
Falkland Islands	1765	Settlement.
Honduras	1783–1786	Treaty.
Sierra Leone	1787	Settlement.
N. S. Wales	1788	,,
Ceylon	1795	Capitulation.
Trinidad	1797	,,

Nineteenth Century

Malta	1800	Capitulation.
British Guiana	1803	,,
St. Lucia	1803	,,

Nineteenth Century (Continued)

Name	Date	Method of Acquisition
Tasmania	1803	Settlement.
Cape of Good Hope	1806	Capitulation.
Seychelles	1806	,,
Mauritius	1810	,,
Ascension and Tristan d'Acunha	1815	Military occupation.
West Australia	1829	Settlement.
South Australia	1836	,,
New Zealand	1840	Settlement and treaty.
Hong-Kong	1843–1861	Treaties. Kowloon on the mainland added in 1861.
Natal	1844	By separation from Cape.
Labuan	1846	Cession.
Turks and Caicos Islands	1848	Separation from Bahamas.
Victoria	1851	Separation from N. S. Wales.
British Columbia	1858	Settlement under Hudson Bay Company. Transferred to crown 1869. Entered Canadian Confederation 1871.
Straits Settlements	1858	Vested in crown by East India Company. Transferred from Indian to colonial possessions, 1867.
Queensland	1859	By separation from N. S. Wales.
Lagos	1861	Cession.
Manitoba	1870	By separation from N.-W. Territory.
Fiji	1874	Cession.
West Pacific Islands, including Union, Ellice, Gilbert, Southern Solomon, and other groups	1877	By international agreement. High commission created by order in council, giving jurisdiction over islands not included in other colonial governments, nor within jurisdiction of other civilised powers. Tonga and Cook Islands annexed to New Zealand 1900.
Cyprus	1878	Occupied by treaty.
North Borneo	1881	Treaty and settlement under royal charter.
Niger Coast or S. Nigeria	1884	Protectorate declared.
British New Guinea	1884	,, ,,
Bechuanaland	1885	,, ,,
Nigeria	1886	Treaty, conquest, and settlement under royal charter. Transferred to crown, incorporated with Niger Coast Protectorate and divided into N. and S. Nigeria, 1900.
Somaliland	1887	Protectorate declared.
Sarawak	1888	,, ,,
Brunei	1888	,, ,,
British East Africa	1888	Treaty, conquest, and settlement under royal charter. Transferred to crown 1895.
Rhodesia	1889	Treaty, conquest, and settlement under royal charter.
British Central Africa	1891	Protectorate declared.
Federated Malay States	1874–1895	Treaty.
Uganda	1894–1896	Protectorate declared.
Pacific Islands — Christmas, Fanning, Penrhyn, Suwarrow	1898	Annexed for purposes of projected Pacific cable.
Wei-hai-Wei	1898	Lease from China.
Orange River Colony	1900	Annexation.
Transvaal	1900	Annexation.

In the Pacific there are, in addition to the possessions already mentioned, Bauman Islands, Bakir Island, Bell Cay, Bird Island, Bramble Cay, Caroline Island, Cato Island, Coral Island and Dudosa, Danger Island, Ducie Island, Flint Island, Howland Island, Humphrey Island, Jarvis Island, Lihow Island, Little Scrub Island, Malden Island, Manihiki Islands, Nassau Island, Palmerston Island, Palmyra Island, Phœnix group of Islands, Pitcairn Island, Purdy group, Raine Island, Rierson Island, Roggewein Island, Sophia Island, Starbuck Island, Surprise Island, Teinhoven Island, Vestoc, Washington or New York Island, Willis group, Wreck Reef, Macquarie Island, Rotuma Island,

and islands adjacent to British New Guinea. Among the dependencies of New Zealand should be mentioned the Kermadec Islands.

In the Indian Ocean there are, besides the colonies already mentioned, Seychelles, Rodrigues, the Chagos Islands, St. Brandon Islands, Amirante Islands, Aldabra and some other small groups. There are also the Kuria-Muria Islands, the Maldive Islands, and the Ashmore Islands.

In America there is all land which lies to the north of the Canadian provinces, with the exception of the United States territory of Alaska and its dependencies.

The Indian section of the empire was acquired during the same three centuries under a royal charter granted to the East India Company by Queen Elizabeth in 1600. It was transferred to the imperial government in 1858, and Queen Victoria was proclaimed empress under the Royal Titles Act in 1877. The following list gives the dates and methods of acquisition of the centres of the main divisions of the Indian Empire. They have, in most instances, grown by general process of extension to their present dimensions.

The nine provinces are:

Name	Date	Method of Acquisition
Madras	1639–1748	By treaty and subsequent conquest. Fort St. George, the foundation of Madras, was the first territorial possession of the East India Company in India. It was acquired by treaty with its Indian ruler. Madras was raised into a presidency in 1683; ceded to France 1746; recovered 1748.
Bombay	1608–1685	Treaty and cession. Trade first established 1608. Ceded to British crown by Portugal 1661. Transferred to East India Company 1668. Presidency removed from Surat 1685.
Bengal	1633–1765	Treaty and subsequent conquests. First trade settlement established by treaty at Pipli in Orissa 1633. Erected into presidency by separation from Madras 1681. Virtual sovereignty announced by East India Company, as results of conquests of Clive, 1765.
N.-W. Provinces and Oudh	1764–1856	By conquests and treaty, of which the principal dates were 1801–3–14–15. In 1832 the nominal sovereignty of Delhi, till then retained by the great Mughal, was resigned into the hands of the East India Company. Oudh, of which the conquest may be said to have begun with the battle of Baxar in 1768, was finally annexed in 1856. It was attached as a commissionership to the N.-W. Provinces in 1879.
Central Provinces	1802–1817	By conquest and treaty.
Assam	1825–1826	Conquest and cession.
Burmah	1824–1852	Conquest and cession.
Punjab	1849	Conquest and annexation. Made into distinct province 1859.
N.-W. Frontier Province	1901	Subdivision.

The senior commissionerships are:

Ajmere and Merwara	1818	By conquest and cession.
Coorg	1834	Conquest and annexation.
British Baluchistan	1841–1876	Conquest and treaty.
Andaman Islands	1858	Annexation

The following is a list of the principal Indian states or agencies which are more or less under the control of the British government:

Hyderabad
Baroda
Mysore
Kashmir
Sikkim
Shan States

Rajputana States, including

Udaipur	Dholpur
Jodhpur	Alwar
Bikaner	Jhalawar
Jaipur (and feudatories)	Tonk
Bhurtpur	Kotah

Central Indian States, including

Indore	Bhopal
Rewa	Gwalior

Bombay States, including

Cutch	Khairpur (Sind)
Kolhapur (and dependencies)	

Madras States, including

Travancore	Cochin

Central Provinces States

Bastar

Bengal States

Cooch Behar	Hill Tipperah

N.-W. Provinces States, including

Rampur	Garhwal

Punjab States, including

Patiala	Sirmur (Nahan)
Bahawulpur	Maler Kotla
Jind	Faridkot
Nabha	Chamba
Kapurthala	Suket
Mandi	Kalsia

In addition to these there are British tracts known as the Upper Burma frontier and the Burma frontier. There is also a sphere of British influence in the border of Afghanistan. The state of Nepal, though independent, has been since the campaign of 1814–15 in close relations with Great Britain. All these native states have come into relative dependency upon Great Britain as a result of conquest or of treaty consequent upon the annexation of the neighbouring provinces. The settlement of Aden, with its dependencies of Perim and Socotra Island, forms part of the government of Bombay.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE EMPIRE

This vast congeries of states, widely different in character, and acquired by many different methods, holds together under the supreme headship of the crown on a generally acknowledged triple principle of self-government, self-support, and self-defence. The principle is more fully applied in some parts of the empire than in others; there are some parts which have not yet reached their full political evolution; some others in which the principle is temporarily or for special reasons in abeyance; others, again — chiefly those of very small extent, which are held for purposes of the defence or advantage of the whole — to which it is not applicable; but the principle is generally acknowledged as the structural basis upon which the constitution of the empire exists.

In its relation to the empire the home section of the British Isles is distinguished from the others as the place of origin of the British race and the residence of the crown. The history and constitutional development of this portion of the empire will be found fully treated under separate headings.

The total revenue, expenditure, and trade of the home section of the empire in 1900 were as follows:

Revenue	£119,839,905
Expenditure	133,976,920
Imports	563,146,659
Exports	387,522,633

It is enough to say that for purposes of administration the Indian Empire is divided into nine great provinces (of which the ninth, the N.-W. Frontier, was proclaimed in 1901) and four minor commissionerships. The nine great provinces are presided over by two governors (Bombay and Madras), four lieutenant-governors (Bengal, North-West Provinces, the Punjab, and Burma) and three chief commissioners (Assam, the Central Provinces, and the N.-W. Frontier Province). The four minor commissionerships are presided over each by a chief commissioner. Above these the supreme executive authority in India is vested in the viceroy in council. The council consists of five ordinary members besides the existing commander-in-chief. For legislative purposes the governor-general's council is increased by the addition of sixteen members nominated by the crown, and has power under certain restrictions to make laws for British India, for British subjects in the native states, and for native Indian subjects of the crown in any part of the world. The administration of the Indian Empire in England is carried on by a secretary of state for India assisted by a council of not less than ten members. The expenditure of the revenues is under the control of the secretary in council.

The total revenue, expenditure, and trade of India for 1900 were as follows:

Revenue	£67,617,800
Expenditure	64,976,920
Imports	64,185,440
Exports	78,646,690

The colonial empire — exclusive of the Transvaal and Orange River colonies — comprises forty-three district governments. It is divided into colonies of three classes and dependencies; these, again, are in some instances associated for administrative purposes in federated groups. The three classes of colonies are crown colonies, colonies possessing representative institutions but not responsible government, and colonies possessing representative institutions and responsible government. In crown colonies the crown has entire control of legislation, and the public officers are under the control of the home government. In representative colonies the crown has only a veto on legislation, but the home government retains control of the public officers. In responsible colonies the crown retains a veto upon legislation, but the home government has no control of any public officer except the governor.

In crown colonies — with the exception of Gibraltar and St. Helena, where laws may be made by the governor alone — laws are made by the governor with the concurrence of a council nominated by the crown. In some crown colonies, chiefly those acquired by conquest or cession, the authority of this council rests wholly on the crown; in others, chiefly those acquired by settlement, the council is created by the crown under the authority of local or imperial laws. The crown council of Ceylon may be cited as an example of the first kind, and the crown council of Jamaica of the second.

In colonies possessing representative institutions without responsible government, the crown cannot (generally) legislate by order in council, and laws are made by the governor with the concurrence of the legislative body or bodies, one at least of these bodies in cases where a second chamber exists possessing a preponderance of elected representatives. The Bahamas, Barbadoes, and Bermuda have two legislative bodies — one elected and one nominated by the crown; Malta and the Leeward Islands have but one, which is partly elected and partly nominated.

Under responsible government legislation is carried on by parliamentary means exactly as at home, with a cabinet responsible to parliament, the

crown reserving only a right of veto which is exercised at the discretion of the governor in the case of certain bills. The executive councils in those colonies designated as at home by parliamentary choice are appointed by the governor alone, and the other public officers only nominally by the governor on the advice of his executive council.

Colonial governors are classed as governors-general; governors; lieutenant-governors; administrators; high commissioners; and commissioners, according to the status of the colony and dependency, or group of colonies and dependencies over which they preside. Their powers vary according to the position which they occupy. In all cases they represent the authority of the crown.

As a consequence of this organisation the finance of crown colonies is under the direct control of the imperial government; the finance of representative colonies, though not directly controlled, is usually influenced in important departures by the opinion of the imperial government. In responsible colonies the finance is entirely under local control, and the imperial government is dissociated from either moral or material responsibility for colonial debts.

The total revenue, expenditure, and trade of the colonial empire for 1900 were as follows:

Revenue	£58,815,700
Expenditure	56,563,660
Imports	181,846,110
Exports	192,330,040

In federated groups of colonies and dependencies matters which are of common interest to a given number of separate governments are by mutual consent of the federating communities adjudged to the authority of a common government, which, in the case of self-governing colonies, is voluntarily created for the purpose. The associated states form under the federal government one federal body, but the parts retain control of local matters, and exercise all their original rights of government in regard to these. The advantages of united action are thus secured for larger questions without impairing the vigour of independent initiative in matters of individual concern. The two great self-governing groups of federated colonies within the empire are the Dominion of Canada and the Commonwealth of Australia. India, of which the associated provinces are under the control of the central government, may be given as an example of the practical federation of dependencies. Examples of federated crown colonies and lesser dependencies are to be found in the Leeward Island group of the West Indies and the federated Malay States.

This rough system of self-government for the empire has been evolved not without some strain and friction, by the recognition through the vicissitudes of three hundred years of the value of independent initiative in the development of young countries. Queen Elizabeth's first patent to Sir Walter Raleigh permitted British subjects to accompany him to America, "with guarantee of a continuance of the enjoyment of all the rights which her subjects enjoyed at home."

This guarantee may presumably have been intended at the time only to assure the intending settlers that they should lose no rights of British citizenship at home by taking up their residence in America. Its mutual interpretation in a wider sense, serving at once to establish in the colony rights of citizenship equivalent to those enjoyed in England, and to preserve for the colonist the status of British subject at home and abroad, has formed in

application to all succeeding systems of British colonization the unconscious charter of union of the empire.

The first American colonies were all settled under royal grants. Each had its own constitution, and looked to no other head but the king. Their governments were free — the executive being responsible to the elective element in the legislature, as now in the colonies which enjoy responsible self-government. The immense distance which in those days separated America from Great Britain secured them from interference on the part of the home authorities. They paid their own most moderate governing expenses, and they contributed largely to their own defence. From the middle of the seventeenth century their trade was not free, but this was the only restriction from which they suffered. The great war with France in the middle of the eighteenth century temporarily destroyed this system. That war, which resulted in the conquest of Canada and the delivery of the North American colonies from French antagonism, cost the imperial exchequer £90,000,000. The attempt to avert the repetition of such expenditure by the assertion of a right to tax the colonies through the British parliament led to the one great rupture which has marked the history of the empire. It has to be noted that at home during the latter half of the seventeenth century and the earlier part of the eighteenth century parliamentary power had to a great extent taken the place of the divine right of kings. But parliamentary power meant the power of the English people and taxpayers. The struggle which developed itself between the American colonies and the British parliament, was in fact a struggle on the part of the people and taxpayers of one portion of the empire to resist the domination of the people and taxpayers of another portion. In this light it may be accepted as having historically established the fundamental axiom of the constitution of the empire, that the crown is the supreme head from which the parts take equal dependence.

The crown requiring advice in the ordinary and constitutional manner receives it in matters of colonial administration from the secretaries of state for the colonies and for India. After the great rupture separate provision in the home government for the administration of colonial affairs was at first judged to be unnecessary, and the "council of trade and plantations," which up to that date had supplied the place now taken by the two offices of the colonies and India, was suppressed in 1782. There was a reaction from the liberal system of colonial self-government, and an attempt was made to govern the colonies which remained, simply as dependencies, the home treasury being responsible for their expenditure as now in the crown colonies.

In 1791, not long after the extension of the range of parliamentary authority in another portion of the empire, by the creation in 1784 of the board of control for India, Pitt made the step forward of granting to Canada representative institutions, of which the home government kept the responsible control. Similar institutions were also given at a later period to Australia and South Africa. But the long peace of the early part of the nineteenth century was marked by great colonial developments; Australia, Canada, and South Africa became important communities. Representative institutions controlled by the home government were insufficient for their needs, and they reasserted the old British colonial claim for liberty to manage their own affairs.

Fully responsible government was granted to Canada in 1840, and gradually extended to the other colonies. In 1854 a separate secretary of state for the colonies was appointed at home, and the colonial office was established on its present footing. In India, as in the colonies, there came with the growing needs of empire a recognition of the true relations of the parts to each other

and of the whole to the crown. In 1858, on the complete transference of the territories of the East India Company to the crown, the board of control was abolished, and the India council, under the presidency of a secretary of state for India, was created. It was especially provided that the members of the council may not sit in parliament.

Thus, although it has not been found practicable in the working of the British constitution to carry out the full theory of the direct and exclusive dependence of colonial possessions on the crown, the theory is recognised as far as possible. It is understood that the principal sections of the empire enjoy equal rights under the crown, and that none are subordinate to each other. The intervention of the imperial parliament in colonial affairs is only admitted theoretically in so far as the support of parliament is required by the constitutional advisers of the crown. To bring the practice of the empire into complete harmony with the theory it would be necessary to constitute for the purpose of advising the crown upon imperial affairs, a parliament or council in which all important parts of the empire should be represented.

The gradual recognition of the constitutional theory of the British Empire, and the assumption by the principal colonies of full self-governing responsibilities, has cleared the way for a movement in favour of a further development which should bring the supreme headship of the empire more into accord with modern ideas.

It was during the period of domination of the "Manchester school," of which the most effective influence in public affairs was exerted for about thirty years, extending from 1845 to 1875, that the fullest development of colonial self-government was attained, the view being generally accepted at that time that self-governing institutions were to be regarded as the preliminary to inevitable separation. A general inclination to withdraw from the acceptance of imperial responsibilities throughout the world gave to foreign nations at the same time an opportunity by which they were not slow to profit and contributed to the force of a reaction of which the part played by Great Britain in the scramble for Africa marked the culmination. Under the increasing pressure of foreign enterprise, the value of a federation of the empire for purposes of common interest began to be discussed. Imperial federation was openly spoken of in New Zealand as early as 1852. A similar suggestion was officially put forward by the general association of the Australian colonies in London in 1857. The Royal Colonial Institution, of which the motto "United Empire" illustrates its aims, was founded in 1868.

First among leading British statesmen to repudiate the old interpretation of colonial self-government as a preliminary to separation, Lord Beaconsfield, in 1872, spoke of the constitutions accorded to the colonies as "part of a great policy of imperial consolidation." In 1875 Mr. W. E. Forster, afterwards a member of the liberal government, made a speech in which he advocated imperial federation as a means by which it might become practicable to "replace dependence by association." The foundation of the Imperial Federation League — in 1884, with Mr. Forster for its first president, shortly to be succeeded by Lord Rosebery — marked a distinct step forward. The colonial conferences of 1887 and 1894, in which colonial opinion was sought and accepted in respect of important questions of imperial organisation and defence, and the enthusiastic loyalty displayed by the colonies towards the Crown on the occasion of the jubilee manifestations of Queen Victoria's reign, were further indications of progress in the same direction. Coincidently with this development, the achievements of Sir George Goldie and Mr. Cecil Rhodes, who, the one in West Africa, and the other in South Africa, added between

them to the empire in a space of less than twenty years a dominion of greater extent than the whole of British India, followed by the action of a host of distinguished disciples in other parts of the world, effectually stemmed the movement initiated by Cobden and Bright. A tendency which had seemed temporarily to point towards a complacent dissolution of the empire was arrested, and the closing years of the nineteenth century were marked by a growing disposition to appreciate the value and importance of the unique position which the British Empire has created for itself in the world. No stronger demonstration of the reality of imperial union can be needed than that which was afforded by the support given to the imperial forces by the colonies and India in the South African War. It remains only to be seen by what process of evolution the further consolidation of the empire will find expression in the machinery of government.

The question of self-government is closely associated with the question of self-support. Plenty of good land and the liberty to manage their own affairs were the causes assigned by Adam Smith for the marked prosperity of the British colonies towards the end of the eighteenth century. The same causes are still to be observed to produce the same effects, and it may be pointed out that since the date of the latest of Adam Smith's writings, upwards of 6,000,000 square miles of virgin soil, rich with possibilities of agricultural, pastoral, and mineral wealth, have been added to the empire. In the same period the white population has grown from about 12,000,000 to 52,000,000, and the developments of agricultural and industrial machinery have multiplied, almost beyond computation, the powers of productive labour.

INDUSTRY AND TRADE

It is scarcely possible within this article to deal with so widely varied a subject as that of the productions and industry of the empire. For the purposes of a general statement, it is interesting to observe that concurrently with the acquisition of the vast continental areas during the nineteenth century, the progress of industrial science in application to means of transport and communication brought about a revolution of the most radical character in the accepted laws of economic development. Railways did away with the old law that the spread of civilisation is necessarily governed by facilities for water carriage and is consequently confined to river valleys and sea-shores. Steam and electricity opened to industry the interior of continents previously regarded as unapproachable. The resources of these vast inland spaces which have lain untouched since history began became available to individual enterprise, and over a great portion of the earth's surface were brought within the possessions of the British Empire. The production of raw material within the empire increased at a rate which can only be appreciated by a careful study of figures.

The tropical and temperate possessions of the empire include every field of production which can be required for the use of man. There is no main staple of human food which is not grown; there is no material of textile industry which is not produced. The British Empire gives occupation to more than one-third of the persons employed in mining and quarrying in the world. It may be interesting, as an indication of the relative position in this respect of the British Empire to the world, to state that at present it produces one-third of the coal supply of the world, one-sixth of the wheat supply, and very nearly two-thirds of the gold supply. But while these figures may be taken

as in themselves satisfactory, it is far more important to remember that as yet the potential resources of the new lands opened to enterprise have been barely conceived, and their wealth has been little more than scratched. Population as yet has been only very sparsely sprinkled over the surface of many of the areas most suitable for white settlement. In the wheat lands of Canada, the pastoral country of Australasia, and the mineral fields of South Africa and western Canada alone, the undeveloped resources are such as to ensure employment to the labour and satisfaction to the needs of at least as many millions as they now contain thousands of the British race. In respect of this promise of the future the position of the British Empire is unique.

In regard to the distribution of existing industry, although the more important colonies have established manufactures of their own, of which the prosperity is assured, the general conditions have hitherto been maintained under which Great Britain has remained the manufacturing centre for the raw material of the whole. The primary production of the colonies and the industrial development of Great Britain are still, therefore, the important divisions of the subject. These subjects are dealt with elsewhere in detail.

It is not too much to say that trade has been at once the most active cause of expansion and the most potent bond of union in the development of the empire. Trade with the tropical and settlement in the temperate regions of the world formed the basis upon which the foundations of the empire were laid. Trading companies founded most of the American and West Indian colonies; a trading company won India; a trading company colonised the northwestern districts of Canada; commercial wars during the greater part of the eighteenth century established the British command of the sea, which rendered the settlement of Australasia possible. The same wars gave Great Britain, South Africa, and chartered companies in the nineteenth century carried the British flag into the interior of the African continent from south and east and west. Trading companies produced Borneo and Fiji. The bonds of prosperous trade have kept the Australasian colonies within the empire. The protection of colonial commerce by the imperial navy is one of the strongest of material links which connect the crown with the outlying possessions of the empire.

The trade of the empire, like the other developments of imperial public life, has been profoundly influenced by the variety of local conditions under which it has flourished. In the early settlement of the North American colonies their trade was left practically free; but by the famous Navigation Act of 1660 the importation and exportation of goods from British colonies were restricted to British ships, of which the master and three-fourths of the mariners were English. This act, of which the intention was to encourage British shipping and to keep the monopoly of British colonial trade for the benefit of British merchants, was followed by many others of a similar nature up to the time of the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 and the introduction of free trade into Great Britain. And the Navigation Acts were repealed in 1849. Thus for very nearly two hundred years British trade was subject to restrictions, of which the avowed intention was to curtail the commercial intercourse of the empire with the world. During this period the commercial or mercantile system, of which the fallacies were exposed by the economists of the latter half of the eighteenth century, continued to govern the principles of British trade. Under this system monopolies were common, and among them few were more important than that of the East India Company.

In 1813 the trade of India was, however, thrown open to competition, and in 1846, after the introduction of free trade at home, the principal British colonies which had not yet at that date received the grant of responsible gov-

ernment were specially empowered to abolish differential duties upon foreign trade. A first result of the commercial emancipation of the colonies was the not altogether unnatural rise in the manufacturing centres of a school known as the Manchester school, which was disposed to question the value to Great Britain of the retention of colonies which were no longer bound to give her the monopoly of their commercial markets. An equally natural desire on the part of the larger colonies to profit by the opportunity which was opened to them of establishing local manufactures of their own, combined with the convenience in new countries of using the customs as an instrument of taxation, led to something like a reciprocal feeling of resentment, and there followed a period during which the policy of Great Britain was to show no consideration for colonial trade, and the policy of the principal colonies was to impose heavy duties upon British trade. By a gradual process of better understanding, largely helped by the development of means of communication, the antagonistic extreme was abandoned, and a tendency towards a system of preferential duties within the empire displayed itself. At the colonial conference held in London in 1887, a proposal was formally submitted by the South African delegate for the establishment within the empire of a preferential system, imposing a duty of 2 per cent. upon all foreign goods, the proceeds to be directed to the maintenance of the imperial navy. To this end it was requested that certain treaties with foreign nations which imposed restrictions on the trade of various parts of the empire with each other should be denounced. Some years later the treaties in question were denounced, but simultaneously with the movement in favour of reciprocal fiscal advantages to be granted within the empire by the many local governments to each other, there was a growth of the perception that an increase of the foreign trade of Great Britain, which is carried on chiefly in manufactured goods, was accompanied by a corresponding enlargement of the home markets for colonial raw material, and consequently that injury to the foreign trade of Great Britain must necessarily react upon the colonies. This view was definitely expressed at the colonial conference at Ottawa in 1894, and made itself felt in the relinquishment of the demand that in return for colonial concessions there should be an imposition on the part of Great Britain of a differential duty upon foreign goods. Canada was the first important British colony to give substantial expression to the new imperial sentiment in commercial matters by the introduction in 1897 of an imperial tariff, granting without any reciprocal advantage a deduction of 25 per cent. upon customs duties imposed upon British goods. The same advantage is offered to all British colonies trading with her upon equal terms. Although in Great Britain trade is free, and customs duties are only imposed for purposes of revenue on a few selected articles, about half the national income is derived from customs and excise. In most of the colonies customs form of necessity one of the important sources of revenue. It is, however, worthy of remark that in the self-governing colonies, even those which are avowedly protectionist, a smaller proportion of the public revenue is derived from customs and excise than is derived from these sources at home. The proportion in Australasia before federation was about one-quarter. In Canada it is more difficult to estimate it, as customs and excise form the principal provision made for federal finance, and note must therefore be taken of the separate sources of revenue in the provinces. With these reservations it will still be seen that customs, or, in other words, a tax upon the movements of trade, forms one of the chief sources of imperial revenue.

The development of steam shipping and electricity gave to the movements

of trade a stimulus no less remarkable than that given by the introduction of railroads and industrial machinery to production and manufactures. Whereas at the beginning of the nineteenth century the journey to Australia occupied eight months, and business communications between Sydney and London could not receive answers within the year, the journey can now be accomplished in thirty-one days, and telegraphic despatches enable the most important business to be transacted within twenty-four hours. For one cargo carried in the year at the beginning of the nineteenth century at least six may now be carried by the same ship, and from the point of view of trade the difference of a venture which realises its profits in two months, as compared with one which occupied a whole year, does not need to be insisted on. The increased rapidity of the voyage and the power of daily communication by telegraph with the most distant markets have introduced a wholly new element into the national trade of the empire, and commercial intercourse between the southern and the northern hemispheres has received a development from the natural alternation of the seasons, of which until quite recent years the value was not even conceived. Fruit, eggs, butter, meat, poultry, and other perishable commodities pass in daily increasing quantities between the northern and the southern hemispheres with an alternate flow which contributes to raise in no inconsiderable degree the volume of profitable trade. Thus the butter season of Australasia is from October to March, while the butter season of Ireland and Northern Europe is from March to October. In three years after the introduction of ice-chambers into the steamers of the great shipping lines, Victoria and New South Wales built up a yearly butter trade of £1,000,000 with Great Britain without seriously affecting the Irish and Danish markets whence the summer supply is drawn. These facilities, combined with the enormous additions made to the public stock of land and labour, contributed to raise the volume of trade of the empire from a total of less than £100,000,000 in the year 1800 to a total of nearly £1,500,000,000 in 1900. The declared volume of British exports to all parts of the world in 1800 was £38,120,120, and the value of British imports from all parts of the world was £30,570,605; total, £68,690,725. As in those days the colonies were not allowed to trade with any other country this must be taken as representing imperial trade. The exact figures of the trade of India, the colonies, and the United Kingdom for 1900 were: imports, £809,178,209; exports, £657,899,363; total, £1,467,077,572.

DEFENCE OF THE EMPIRE

A question of sovereign importance to the continued existence of the empire is the question of defence. A country of which the main thoroughfares are the oceans of the world demands in the first instance a strong navy. It has of late years been accepted as a fundamental axiom of defence that the British navy should exceed in strength any reasonable combination of foreign navies which could be brought against it. The expense of maintaining such a floating armament is colossal, and until within the decade of 1890-1900 it was borne exclusively by the taxpayers of the United Kingdoms. As the benefits of united empire have become more consciously appreciated in the colonies, and the value of the fleet as an insurance for British commerce has been recognised, a desire manifested itself on the part of the self-governing colonies to contribute towards the formation of a truly imperial navy. As yet the movement remains in its infancy. In 1895 the Australasian colonies voted a small subsidy of £126,000 per annum for the maintenance of an Australasian

squadron, and in 1897 the Cape Colony also offered a contribution of £30,000 a year to be used at the discretion of the imperial government for naval purposes. The colonies have also contributed in some degree to their own naval defence by the erection of fortifications at selected points upon their shores. The net cost of the navy to the imperial exchequer, as estimated for the year 1900-1901 was £27,522,600. Though available for service throughout the empire, and forming the principal bulwark of colonial defence, the cost, with the trivial exceptions named, is still borne exclusively by the home government, and recruiting for the navy is carried on wholly in the British Isles.

Land defence has hitherto been regarded as forming a secondary branch of the great question of imperial defence. But though secondary it has been intimately connected with the development and internal growth of the empire. In the case of the first settlement of the American colonies they were expected to provide for their own land defence. To some extent in the early part of their career they carried out this expectation, and even on occasion, as in the taking of Louisburg, which was subsequently given back at the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle as the price of the French evacuation of Madras, rendered public service to the empire at large. In India the principle of local self-defence was from the beginning carried into practice by the East India Company. But in America the claim of the French wars proved too heavy for local resources. In 1755 Great Britain intervened with troops sent from home under General Braddock, and up to the outbreak of the American war the cost of the defence of the North American colonies was borne by the imperial exchequer. To meet this expense the imperial parliament took upon itself the right to tax the American colonies. In 1765 a Quartering Act was passed by which 10,000 imperial troops were quartered in the colonies. As a result of the American war which followed and led to the loss of the colonies affected, the imperial authorities accepted the charge of the land defences of the empire, and with the exception of India and the Hudson Bay territories, where the trading companies determined to pay their own expenses, the whole cost of imperial defence was borne as the cost of the navy still is, by the taxpayers of the United Kingdom. This condition of affairs lasted till the end of the Napoleonic wars.

During the thirty years' peace which followed there came time for reconsideration. The fiscal changes which towards the middle of the nineteenth century gave to the self-governing colonies the command of their own resources very naturally carried with them the consequence that a call should be made on colonial exchequers to provide for their own governing expenses. Of these defence is obviously one of the most essential. Coincidently, therefore, with the movements of free trade at home, the renunciation of what was known as the mercantile system and the accompanying grants of constitutional freedom to the colonies, a movement for the reorganisation of imperial defence was set on foot. In the decade which elapsed between 1846 and 1856 the movement as regards the colonies was confined chiefly to calls made upon them to contribute to their own defence by providing barracks, fortifications, etc., for the accommodation of imperial troops, and in some cases paying for the use of troops not strictly required for imperial purposes. In 1857 the Australian colonies agreed to pay the expenses of the imperial garrison quartered in Australia. This was a very wide step from the imperial attempt to tax the American colonies for a similar purpose in the preceding century. Nevertheless, in evidence given before a departmental committee in 1859, it was shown that at that time the colonies of Great Britain were free from almost every obligation of contributing either by personal service or money

payment towards their own defence, and that the cost of military expenditure in the colonies in the preceding year had amounted in round figures to £4,000,000. A committee of the house of commons sat in 1861 to consider the question, and in 1862 it was resolved without a division, that "colonies exercising the right of self-government ought to undertake the main responsibility of providing for their own internal order and security, and ought to assist in their own external defence." The decision was accepted as the basis of imperial policy.

The first effect was the gradual withdrawing of imperial troops from the self-governing colonies, together with the encouragement of the development of local military systems by the loan, when desired, of imperial military experts. A call was also made for larger military contributions from some of the crown colonies. The committee of 1859 had emphasised in its report the fact that the principal dependence of the colonies for defence is necessarily upon the British navy, and in 1865, exactly 100 years after the Quartering Act, which had been the cause of the troubles that led to the independence of the United States, a Colonial Naval Defence Act was passed which gave power to the colonies to provide ships of war, steamers, and volunteers for their own defence, and in case of necessity to place them at the disposal of the crown. In 1868 the Canadian Militia Act gave the fully organised nucleus of a local army to Canada. In the same year the imperial troops were withdrawn from New Zealand, leaving the colonial militia to deal with the native war still in progress. In 1870 the last imperial troops were withdrawn from Australia, and in 1873 it was officially announced that military expenditure in the colonies was almost "wholly for imperial purposes." In 1875 an imperial officer went to Australia to report for the Australian government upon Australian defence. The appointment in 1879 of a royal commission to consider the question of imperial defence, which presented its report in 1882, led to a considerable development and reorganisation of the system of imperial fortifications. Coaling stations were also selected with reference to the trade routes. In 1885 rumours of war roused a very strong feeling in connection with the still unfinished and in many cases unarmed condition of the fortifications recommended by the commission of 1879. Military activity was stimulated throughout the empire, and the Colonial Defence Committee was created to supply a much-felt need for organised direction and advice to colonial administrations acting necessarily in independence of each other. The question of colonial defence was among the most important of the subjects discussed at the colonial conference held in London in 1887, and it was at this conference that the Australasian colonies first agreed to contribute to the expense of their own naval defence.

From this date the principle of local responsibility for self-defence has been fully accepted. With the exception of Natal all the self-governing colonies have provided practically for their own military requirements. India has its own native army, and pays for the maintenance within its frontiers of an imperial garrison. Early in the summer of 1899, when hostilities in South Africa appeared to be imminent, the government of the principal colonies took occasion to express their approval of the policy pursued by the imperial government, and offers were made by the governments of India, the Australasian colonies, Canada, Hong-Kong, the Federal Malay states, some of the West African and other colonies, to send contingents for active service in the event of war. On the outbreak of hostilities these offers, on the part of the self-governing colonies, were accepted, and colonial contingents upwards of thirty thousand strong were among the most efficient sections of the British

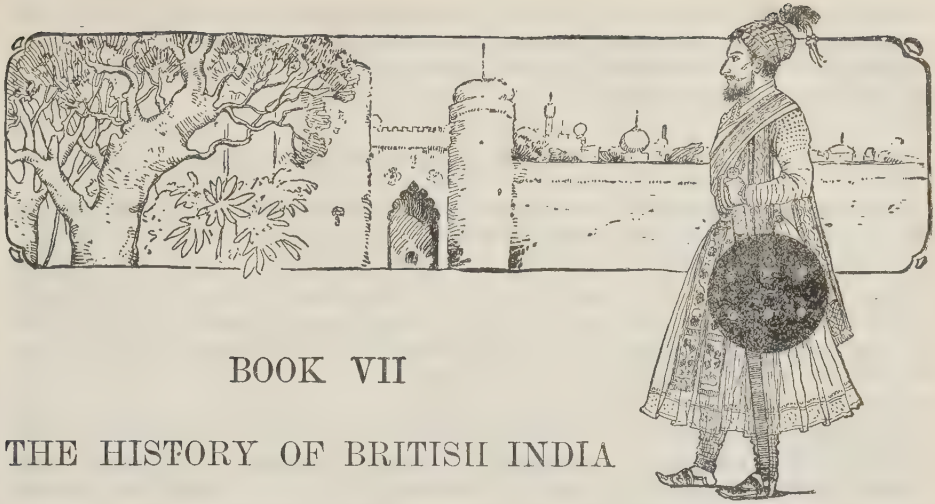
fighting force. The manner in which these colonial contingents were raised, their admirable fighting qualities, and the service rendered by them in the field, have disclosed altogether new military possibilities within the empire, and the reorganisation of the army on an imperial footing is among the more probable developments of the near future.

The feudatory and dependent native states have native armies of their own which, according to the latest available estimates, number about 350,000 men, with upwards of 4,000 guns. Offers of military service in South Africa in 1900 were received from some of the principal feudatory states.

Special expenditure has been made by the Indian government upon coast defences armed with modern breechloading guns. Large sums have also been spent upon external and border defences, and an establishment of two coast-defence ironclads, a despatch vessel, two first-class torpedo gunboats, seven first-class torpedo boats, as well as armed gunboats, etc., is maintained.

With the exceptions of Natal and the garrisons of the naval stations of Cape Town and Halifax, no imperial garrisons are under normal conditions maintained in the self-governing colonies. In the crown colonies garrisons are maintained in Gibraltar, Malta, Mauritius, Sierra Leone, St. Helena, Ceylon, Straits Settlements, Hong-Kong, and the West Indies. There are imperial naval stations at Simon's Bay, Trincomalee, Bermuda, Esquimalt, Halifax, Malta, Gibraltar, St. Lucia, Ascension, Hong-Kong, and Wei-hai-Wei.

Systems of justice throughout the empire have a close resemblance to each other, and the privy council of the house of lords, on which the self-governing colonies and India are represented, constitutes a supreme court of appeal for the entire empire; but common law varies according to its origin in some important divisions. Religion, of which the forms are infinitely varied is everywhere free except in cases where the exercise of religious rites leads to practices foreign to accepted laws of humanity. Systems of instruction of which the aim is generally similar in the white portions of the empire, and is directed towards giving to every individual the basis of a liberal education, are governed wholly by local requirements. Native schools are established in all settled communities under British rule.



BOOK VII

THE HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA

CHAPTER I

THE MOHAMMEDAN AND THE MUGHAL EMPIRES

[664–1857 A.D.]

Modern critics have remarked with surprise how well the descriptions of India given by the officers of Alexander the Great portray what we now behold in that country at the distance of two thousand years. The delicate and slender forms of the people; their dark complexion; their black, uncurled hair; their cotton raiment; their vegetable food; their training of elephants to battle; their division into separate castes; the prohibition of intermarriage from one caste to another; the name of Brachmani or Brahmans to their priests; the custom of widows burning themselves on the funeral pyres of their husbands — these and several other particulars which Arrian has recorded apply to the modern quite as perfectly as to the ancient Hindus.

The progress of Alexander in India itself did not extend beyond the district of the Punjab, and the navigation of the Indus between that district and the sea. But on Afghanistan he made a more lasting impression; a dynasty which he founded in that country is proved by its coins to have subsisted during several generations; and a monument which he raised even now remains. When, in May, 1842, a melancholy train of captives, the survivors of the greatest military disaster that England had ever yet to mourn, were slowly wending up the mountain passes of Kabul, they beheld, towering high above them, the column of the Macedonian conqueror.

Many ages after Alexander's expedition, the tide of Mohammedan invasion, which had already overwhelmed the kingdom of Persia, approached the shores of the Indus and the Ganges. The gentle, unwarlike Hindus were ill fitted to withstand the enthusiasm of a new religion, and the energy of a fiercer race. But it is remarkable that, widely as the disciples of the Koran spread in India, there was never, as in like cases, any amalgamation between the conquered and the conquerors — between the old faith and the new. Although the Mohammedans have succeeded in converting almost every man

of almost every other nation that they conquered, and although in India they formed the sovereign and controlling power in so many states and for so many years, yet they do not now exceed, and never have exceeded, one-fifth of the whole Indian population.[b]

THE MOHAMMEDAN CONQUEST (664–1001); MAHMUD OF GHAZNI (997–1026 A.D.)

In volume II we have traced the history of India down to the Mohammedan era, and described the cults of Brahma and Buddha. The first Mussulman invasions of India go back as far as the seventh century [the first in 664; the second in 711, under Muhammed Khasim]. They were successful incursions; but they were not followed by lasting settlements. [In 750 the Hindus revolted and expelled the Mohammedans.] It was only at the beginning of the eleventh century that the serious conquest of India was begun under the leadership of Mahmud of Ghazni.

Mahmud was the descendant of a Turkish adventurer who had created for himself an independent principality in the mountainous district of Ghazni, a town situated in Afghanistan, to the south of Kabul. When he appeared in India, the northwest of the peninsula was divided between several Rajput princes who, in a greater or less degree, acknowledged the supremacy of the rajah of Delhi. The rajah of Kanauj, as a descendant of Rama, was lord over the principalities of Oudh and of the Ganges valley. Bengal and Behar obeyed the Pal dynasty and Malwa was governed by the successors of Vikramaditya.

Mahmud of Ghazni did not establish his supremacy without difficulty. The Rajputs, notably the king of Lahore, opposed to him a desperate resistance. It required no less than seventeen expeditions, between the years 1001 and 1026 to subdue the north of the peninsula. He carried his arms as far as Guzerat, where he pillaged the temple of Somnath, but he retained lasting possession only of the Punjab. The Rajputs remained practically independent, and later on, when the successors of Mahmud extended the Mussulman conquests, they emigrated into the mountainous regions of Rajputana, to which access was difficult and where they founded states, that, even under the Mughals [or Moguls] were never really subdued. Several Rajput dynasties still continue to reign.

Mahmud's conquest was as much religious as political. He was a Mussulman by conviction, desirous to enforce the law of the prophet. He everywhere gave himself out as the propagator of the religion and of the civilisation of the Arabs, and the caliph of Baghdad bestowed on him the title, Protector of the True Believers. When Mahmud penetrated into India, that country was of an incomparable opulence. The oriental historians and Mahmud himself have no terms strong enough to express their admiration. When he entered Muttra, in 1019, Mahmud was amazed at the splendour displayed on all sides. This is what he wrote on the subject:

"This marvellous city," he said, "encloses more than a thousand structures, the greater number in marble and as firmly established as the faith of the true believers. If we reckon the money which all these monuments must have cost, it will not be too much to estimate it at several millions of dinars, and moreover it must be said that such a city could not be built even in two centuries. In the pagan temples my soldiers found five idols of gold, whose eyes were formed of rubies of the value of 50,000 dinars; another idol wore as an ornament a sapphire, weighing 400 miskals, and the image itself,

when melted, yielded 98 miskals of pure gold. We found besides a hundred silver idols, representing as many camel loads."

Mahmud encountered the same wonders in all the cities he passed through. On the expedition which he made in 1024, chiefly for the purpose of destroying the temple of Somnath in Guzerat, Mahmud found a wonderful temple whose fifty-six pillars were covered with plates of gold and had precious stones scattered all about them; thousands of statues of gold and silver surrounded the sanctuary. The successors of Mahmud were no less surprised at the wealth and marvels which they encountered everywhere in India. At Benares, Mahmud of Ghor destroyed the idols of a thousand temples and loaded four thousand camels with the booty seized.

THE AFGHAN DYNASTY OF GHOR; THE SLAVE KINGS, ALA-UD-DIN, FIROZ, AND TUGHLAK

The first Afghan dynasty, founded by Mahmud of Ghazni, reigned from 996 to 1186 at Ghazni and Lahore. In 1186 it was overthrown by Mahmud of Ghor [or Ghur], founder of a second Afghan dynasty. He began his conquest by following a very simple method which was employed with success by all subsequent conquerors, including the English. It consisted of intervening in the quarrels of the native princes and of profiting by their rivalries, first to enfeeble them, and afterwards to take possession of their kingdoms. Having intervened as an ally in a quarrel which divided the kings of Delhi and Kanauj, he united these two kingdoms and formed a vast empire, having for borders Benares on the east and Gwalior and Guzerat on the south; the seat of the government was Delhi.

After the death of Mahmud, one of his viceroys, Kutub-ud-din [or Kutab], made himself independent and became the chief of a dynasty, Afghan by origin and known as that of the Slave Kings. This dynasty reigned from 1206 to 1290. It was this prince who founded the famous tower of the Kutab at Delhi. The most celebrated sovereign of this dynasty was the emperor Altamsh, whose magnificent mausoleum is one of the most remarkable monuments of Delhi. He reigned from 1211 to 1236 and had several times to contend with the incursions of the Mughals and the revolts of the native tribes. The dynasty of Ghor was soon replaced by another dynasty, of which Ala-ud-din was one of the most notable princes (1294–1316). He considerably extended the Mussulman conquests and had the same taste for architecture as his predecessors. The famous sculptured gate at Delhi which bears his name is the proof of this. Unfortunately for the new dynasty, the Mughals enrolled in the imperial army became more and more dangerous. The chief of these mercenaries soon founded a fifth Afghan dynasty (1320 to 1414), of which Firoz and Tughlak were the most remarkable princes. They also distinguished themselves by the impulse they gave to architecture. Elphinstone calls Tughlak "one of the most accomplished princes and one of the most furious tyrants that ever adorned or disgraced human nature."

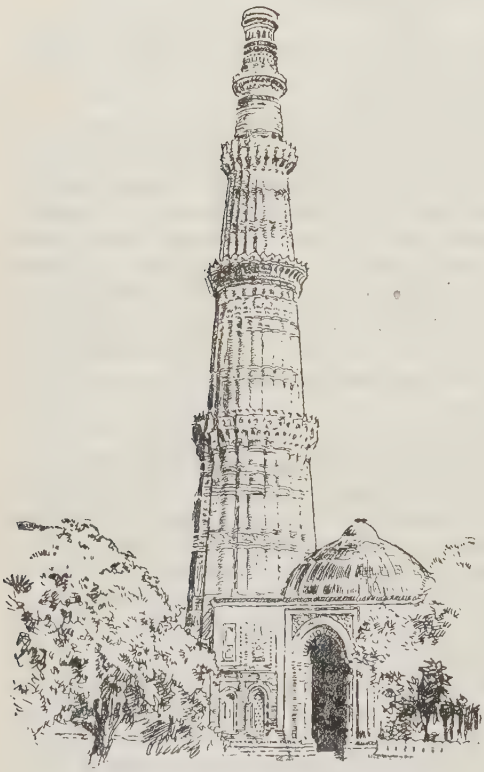
THE MUGHAL INVADERS: TIMUR (1398 A.D.) AND BABER (1525 A.D.)

It was in 1398, in the reign of this last prince, that the Mughal Timur, or Tamerlane, invaded India. He pillaged Delhi, but merely crossed the peninsula like a storm and soon regained his own country. During the struggles which the sovereigns of Delhi had to sustain, the governors of the provinces

attempted to make themselves independent; in this several of them succeeded and founded different kingdoms, whose capitals rivalled each other in splendour and were adorned with monuments that still subsist in great numbers.

After Timur's invasion the anarchy was complete. The governors of the Mussulman provinces, having become independent, tried to make themselves masters of Delhi. In 1450 the Lodi, who were governors of Lahore, managed to seize it and founded a new Afghan dynasty — the seventh. In 1517 they were still reigning there.

At this period a new governor of Lahore, who had complied with tradition by endeavouring to make himself independent, finding that he was pursued by Ibrahim Lodi who wished to make him return to his obedience, called to his aid a Mughal king of Kabul, Zehir-ud-din, surnamed Baber, or the Tiger, who was a descendant of Timur and Jenghiz Khan.[c]



KUTAB MINAR, OLD DELHI
(Erected by the Mussulmans to commemorate their victory over the Rajputs in 1193)

In 1525 Baber invaded India, won the victory of Panipat over Ibrahim the last of the Lodi dynasty, and founded the Mughal Empire, which lasted, at least in name, until 1857.[d] Ibrahim was killed, and the Indian army, having been nearly surrounded during the battle, suffered prodigious loss in the defeat. Baber judged from observation that fifteen thousand lay dead on the field, of whom five thousand lay in one spot around their king. The Indians reported that not less than forty thousand perished in the battle and pursuit. Delhi was surrendered, and Baber advanced and took possession (May 10th) of Agra, which had lately been the royal residence.

Baber's conduct to the places where he met with resistance was as inhuman as that of Timur, who was naturally his model. The smallness of his force was some justification of the means he took to strike a terror; but the invariable practice of his country is the best palliation for him.[e]

Baber's own *Memoirs*, which are still preserved, relate in detail the exploits by which he overcame and the arts by which he circumvented his numerous opponents.[b] They contain a minute account of the life of a great Tatar monarch, along with a natural effusion of his opinions and feelings, free from disguise and reserve, and no less free from all affectation of extreme frankness and candour. His mind was as active as his body: besides the business of the kingdom, he was constantly taken up with aqueducts, reservoirs, and other improvements, as well as introducing new fruits and other productions of

remote countries. Yet he found time to compose many elegant Persian poems and a collection of Turki compositions, which are mentioned as giving him a high rank among the poets of his own country.[e] Baber died in 1530, when on the point of carrying his arms beyond Behar. But his schemes of conquest were fulfilled or exceeded by his successors, each of whom became known in Europe by the title, Great Mogul (Mughal).[b]

Humayun, eldest son of Baber, succeeded to the throne of his father, but was not long suffered to enjoy it in peace. His brother Kamran, in the government of Kabul, formed a resolution of seizing upon the Punjab; and Humayun was fain to confer upon him the government of all the country from the Indus to Persia, on condition of his holding it as a dependency. A conspiracy was formed in favour of Muhammed, a prince of the race of Timur; and Bahadur, king of Guzerat, was excited to hostilities by the protection Humayun afforded to the Rana of Chitor. Bahadur was unequal to his enterprise; the war against him was pushed with activity and vigour, and he lost entirely the kingdom of Guzerat. From Guzerat Humayun marched to the eastern provinces, and reduced Chunar. Having gained the passes he then entered Bengal, the government of which had recently been usurped, and its sovereign expelled by Shir the Afghan regent of Behar. After a negotiation, it was agreed that the government of Behar and Bengal should be conferred upon Shir, on his paying a slight tribute in acknowledgment of dependence. The chance of finding the camp of the emperor unguarded, under the negligence inspired by the prospect of peace, was one among the motives which led Shir to open the negotiation. The perfidy succeeded; and Humayun, having lost his army, was constrained to fly. He fled from one place to another, subject at times to the greatest hardships; and was at last obliged to quit the kingdom, and seek an asylum in Persia, where he was hospitably and honourably entertained. His misfortunes excited the compassion of a favourite sister of the king, and of several of his councillors. At their instigation an army of ten thousand horse was intrusted to Humayun [by means of which he eventually succeeded in recovering his father's dominions of Kabul, Kandahar, and Badakshan].

Immediately after his victory, Shir assumed the imperial title Shah, and exerted himself with great activity in reducing the provinces to his obedience.[f] Shir Shah is hardly treated with justice by the usual historian, according to W. Crooke,[l] who credits him with forestalling many of Akbar's broad ideals. Keene[m] says that "No government, not even the British, has shown so much wisdom as this Pathan." He was killed accidentally by an explosion during a siege in 1545; his son Islam Shah proved a cruel monarch who undid his father's work in the course of a nine years' reign and led the way to Humayun's restoration.[a]

Though now in possession of part of his ancient dominions, though aware of the distraction which prevailed in the rest, and invited by the inhabitants of Agra and Delhi, Humayun paused at the thought of invading Hindustan. At first he was able to raise an army of only fifteen thousand horse. With that he began to advance towards the Indus, where he was joined by his veterans from Kandahar. [He was opposed by Sekunder, a nephew of Shir and for the time master of Hindustan] and a great battle was fought under the walls of Sirhind, in which the young Akbar, son of Humayun, showed remarkable spirit and resolution. Sekunder, being routed, fled to the mountains of Sewalik. Humayun re-entered Delhi, but was not destined to a long enjoyment of the power which he had regained. As he was supporting himself by his staff on the marble stairs of his palace, the staff slipped, and the emperor

fell from the top to the bottom. He was taken up insensible, and expired in a few days in the year 1556, the fifty-first of his age.

THE GREAT AKBAR, "GUARDIAN OF MANKIND" (1556–1605 A.D.)

Akbar, the son of Humayun, though not quite fourteen years of age, was placed on his father's throne. Bairam, a man of talents, but of a severe, or rather of a cruel disposition, was appointed regent during the minority; which, in so unsettled and turbulent an empire, was not likely to be attended with general submission and peace. The first object of the new government was to exterminate the party of the late pretended emperor, Sekunder; and for this purpose an army, with the young sovereign at its head, marched towards the mountains. Sekunder fled; and the rainy season coming on, the army retired into quarters.

In the mean time the governor, who had been left by Humayun in the command of Budakshan, assumed independence; and presumed so far upon the weakness of the new government as to march against Kabul. The city stood a siege of four months; but at last submitted, and acknowledged the authority of the invader.

This calamity arrived not alone. Himu, the vizir of Sekunder's predecessor, retained a part of the eastern provinces, and now marched to the centre of the empire with a formidable army. He took Agra. He took Delhi. The contending parties arrived in presence of one another in the neighbourhood of Panipat. The Mughals, who had been reinforced on the march, fought with great constancy, and the enemy were thrown into disorder.

When the battle ended, Himu was brought into the presence of Akbar, almost expiring with his wounds. Bairam, addressing the king, told him it would be a meritorious action to kill that dangerous infidel with his own hands. Akbar, in compliance with the advice of his minister, drew his sword, but only touching with it gently the head of his gallant captive, burst into tears. This movement of generous compassion was answered by the minister with a look of stern disapprobation; and with one blow of his sabre he struck the head of the prisoner to the ground.

This important victory restored tranquillity to the principal part of Akbar's dominions. The overbearing pretensions of an imperious, though useful servant, and the spirit of a high-minded, though generous sovereign, could not long be reconciled. Mutual jealousies and discontents arose. When the royal ear was found open to accusations against the harsh and domineering Bairam, courtiers were not wanting to fill it. He was secretly charged with designs hostile to the person and government of the shah; and the mind of Akbar, though firm, was not unmoved by imputations against the man he disliked, however destitute of facts to support them. After some irresolution and apprehension, a proclamation was issued to announce that Akbar had taken upon himself the government; and that henceforth no mandates but his were to be obeyed. Bairam attempted arms, but met with no support; and, driven to his last resource, implored the clemency of his master. Akbar hastened to assure him of forgiveness, and invited him to his presence. Bairam, desiring leave to repair to Mecca, received a splendid retinue and allowance; but in his passage through Guzerat an Afghan chief, whose father he had formerly slain in battle, pretending salutation, stabbed him with a dagger, and killed him on the spot.†

Akbar stands among the pitifully small number of those sovereigns who,

not fearing to wield the sword, have used their power as a protection for religious freedom and the freedom of thought. His efforts to protect his subjects from discriminating injustices and from many a hardship — notably the burning of widows (suttee or sati) — brought him the title from posterity, the Guardian of Mankind; a more glorious title never was devised.[a]

W. Crooke thus estimates this monarch: "The life of Akbar is the history of India during his long reign of forty-nine years, and his personality stands high, even when compared with his great contemporaries — Elizabeth of England and Philip II of Spain. In his courage and strength, his love of sport, and knightly exercises, he was curiously like another notable prince of the same age — Henry IV of Navarre. He was only thirteen when, with the aid of the gallant Bairam Khan, he crumpled up the Afghan host, on the historic field of Panipat."[l]



TOMB OF AKBAR AT SECUNDRA

When his rule was thus established, the later life of Akbar falls, as Keene has shown, into three periods: "During the first, which lasted about fifteen years, he was much occupied with war, field sports, and building; and the men by whom he was ultimately influenced were still at that time young, like himself. Opinions were forming; territorial and administrative operations were in hand. About 1576 began a second period, marked by the arrival of certain Shiahs and other persons of heretical opinions from Persia, and the growth of their influence over Akbar. At the same time the emperor, now in the maturity of his intellect, turned his attention to the Hindus, and to the amelioration and establishing of the revenue system, by which they were so much affected. This period lasted for about fifteen years, and was followed by that sadder period when, as must happen, except under exceptional circumstances, men in power grow old without having found competent successors. In such conditions originality drivels into cant, and caution withers into decay. One by one the reformers, a few years since so full of hope and vigour, drop into senility, or, more fortunate, into the tomb. No one is left but some lover of letters who, wiser than the rest, retires betimes into the shade to prepare the record of departed greatness."[m]

The charge which Akbar had taken on himself seemed beyond the strength of a youth of eighteen; but the young king was possessed of more than usual advantages, both from nature and education.

He was born in the midst of hardships, and brought up in captivity. His courage was exercised in his father's wars, and his prudence, called forth by the delicacy of his situation during the ascendancy of Bairam. He was engaging in his manners, well formed in his person, excelled in all exercises of strength and agility, and showed exuberant courage even in his amusements, as in taming unbroken horses and elephants, and in rash encounters with tigers and other wild beasts. Yet with this disposition and a passionate love of glory he founded his hopes of fame at least as much on the wisdom and liberality of his government as on its military success. It required all his great qualities to maintain him in the situation in which he was placed.

Of all the dynasties that had yet ruled in India, that of Timur was the weakest and the most insecure in its foundations. Its only adherents were a body of adventurers, whose sole bond of union was their common advantage during success. The weakness arising from this want of natural support had been shown in the easy expulsion of Humayun, and was still felt in the early part of the reign of his son.

It was probably by these considerations, joined to a generous and candid nature, that Akbar was led to form the noble design of putting himself at the head of the whole Indian nation, and forming the inhabitants of that vast territory, without distinction of race or religion, into one community. This policy was steadily pursued throughout his reign. He admitted Hindus to every degree of power, and Mussulmans of every party to the highest stations in the service, according to their rank and merit; until, as far as his dominions extended, they were filled with a loyal and united people. But these were the fruits of time; and the first calls on Akbar's attention were of an urgent nature: (1) to establish his authority over his chiefs; (2) to recover the dominions of the crown; (3) to restore, in the internal administration of them, that order which had been lost amidst so many revolutions.

It is to his internal policy that Akbar owes his place in that highest order of princes, whose reigns have been a blessing to mankind; and that policy shows itself in different shapes, as it affects religion or civil government. Akbar's tolerant spirit was displayed early in his reign, and appears to have been entirely independent of any doubts on the divine origin of the Mohammedan faith. It led him however to listen, without prejudice, to the doctrines of other religions, and involved him in enmity with the bigoted members of his own; and must thus have contributed to shake his early belief, and to dispose him to question the infallible authority of the Koran. The political advantages of a new religion, which should take in all classes of his subjects, could not fail, moreover, to occur to him. The blame of corrupting Akbar's orthodoxy is thrown by all Mussulman writers on Feizi and his brother Abul Fazl. These eminent persons were the sons of a learned man named Mobarik, who was probably a native of Nagor, and who, at one time, taught a college or school of law and divinity at Agra. He was at first a Sunni, but turned Shia; and afterwards took to reading the philosophical works of ancients, and became a freethinker, or, according to his enemies, an atheist. So great a persecution was raised against him on this account, that he was constrained to give up his school, and fly with his family from Agra. His sons conformed, in all respects, to the Mohammedan religion; though it is probable that they never were deeply imbued with attachment to the sect. Feizi was the first Mussulman that applied himself to a diligent study of Hindu literature and science.

Along with Feizi and Abul Fazl, there were many other learned men of

all religions about the court; and it was the delight of Akbar to assemble them, and sit for whole nights assisting at their philosophical discussions. Some specimens of the discussions at those meetings (probably imaginary ones) are given in the *Dabistan*, a learned Persian work on the various religions of Asia. Notwithstanding the adulation of his courtiers, and some expressions in the formulæ of his own religion, Akbar never seems to have entertained the least intention of laying claims to supernatural illumination. His fundamental doctrine was, that there were no prophets; his appeal on all occasions was to human reason; and his right to interfere at all with religion was grounded on his duty as civil magistrate. He took the precaution, on promulgating his innovations to obtain the legal opinions of the principal Mohammedan lawyers that the king was the head of the church and had a right to govern it according to his own judgment, and to decide all disputes among its members; and, in his new confession of faith, it was declared that "There is no god but God, and that Akbar is his caliph."

In the propagation of his opinions, Akbar confined himself to persuasion, and made little progress except among the people about his court and a few learned men; but his measures were much stronger in abrogating the obligations of the Mussulman religion, which, till now, had been enforced by law. Prayers, fasts, alms, pilgrimages, and public worship were left optional: the prohibition of unclean animals, that of the moderate use of wine, and that of gaming with dice were taken off; and circumcision was not permitted until the age of twelve, when the person to undergo it could judge the propriety of the rite.

Some of the other measures adopted seemed to go beyond indifference, and to show a wish to discountenance the Mohammedan religion. The era of the Hegira and the Arabian months were changed for a solar year, dating from the vernal equinox nearest the king's accession, and divided into months named after those of ancient Persia. The study of the Arabic language was discouraged: Arabian names (as Muhammed, Ali, etc.) were disused. Even wearing the beard, a practice enjoined by the Koran, was so offensive to Akbar, that he would scarcely admit a person to his presence who conformed to it. This last prohibition gave peculiar disgust to the Mohammedans, as did a regulation introducing on certain occasions the Persian custom of prostrating (or kissing the ground, as it was called) before the king; a mark of respect regarded by the Mohammedans as exclusively appropriated to the Deity.

As the Hindus had not been supported by the government, Akbar had less occasion to interfere with them; and, indeed, from the tolerant and inoffensive character of their religion, he seems to have had little inclination. He, however, forbade trials by ordeal, and marriages before the age of puberty, and the slaughter of animals for sacrifice. He also permitted widows to marry a second time, contrary to the Hindu law; above all, he positively prohibited the burning of Hindu widows against their will, and took effectual precautions to ascertain that their resolution was free and uninfluenced. On one occasion, hearing that the rajah of Jodpur was about to force his son's widow to the pyre, he mounted his horse and rode to the spot to prevent the intended sacrifice.

In the seventh year of his reign he abolished the *jezia* or capitation tax on infidels; an odious impost which served to keep up animosity between people of the predominant faith and those under them. Another humane edict, issued still earlier, (1561), though not limited to any one class, was,

in practice, mainly beneficial to the Hindus: it was a prohibition against making slaves of persons taken in war.

Akbar's revenue system, though so celebrated for the benefits it conferred on India, presented no new invention. It only carried the previous system into effect with greater precision and correctness: it was, in fact, only a continuation of a plan commenced by Shir Shah, whose short reign did not admit of his extending it to all parts of his kingdom. The objects of it were: (1) to obtain a correct measurement of the land; (2) to ascertain the amount of the produce of each *bigah* of land, and to fix the proportion of that amount that each ought to pay to the government; (3) to settle an equivalent for the proportion so fixed, in money. When Akbar made these improvements respecting the land tax, he abolished a vast number of vexatious taxes and fees to officers.



Sentinel God Sira

The result of these measures was to reduce the amount of the public demand considerably, but to diminish the defalcation in realising it; so that the profit to the state remained nearly the same, while the pressure on individuals was much lessened. Abul Fazl even asserts that the assessment was lighter than that of Shir Shah, although he professed to take only one-fourth of the produce, while Akbar took one-third. The author of the reform was rajah Todar Mal, by whose name it is still called everywhere.

Amidst the reforms of other departments, Akbar did not forget his army. We have no means of guessing the number of the troops. Abul Fazl[i] says the local militia of the provinces amounted to 4,400,000; but this is probably an exaggerated account of those bound by their tenure to give a limited service in certain cases: probably few could be called on for more than a day or two to beat the woods for a hunting party; and many, no doubt, belonged to hill rajahs and tribes who never served at all.

The same methodical system was carried through all branches of Akbar's service. The *Ayeni Akberi* (Regulations of Akbar) by Abul Fazl, from which the above account of the civil and military arrangements is mostly taken, contains a minute description of the establishment and regulations of every department, from the mint and the treasury down to the fruit, perfumery, and flower offices, the kitchen and the kennel. The whole presents an astonishing picture of magnificence and good order; where unwieldy numbers are managed without disturbance, and economy is attended to in the midst of profusion. Akbar, according to Ferishta,[k] had never less than five thousand elephants and twelve thousand stable horses, one thousand hunting leopards, besides vast hunting and hawking establishments, etc.

The greatest displays of his grandeur were at the annual feasts of the vernal equinox, and the king's birthday. They lasted for several days, during which there was a general fair and many processions and other pompous shows. The king's usual place was in a rich tent, in the midst of awnings to keep off the sun. At least two acres, according to Hawkins as quoted by Purchas, *i* were thus spread with silk and gold carpets and hangings, as rich as velvet, embroidered with gold, pearl and precious stones, could make them. The nobility had similar pavilions, where they received visits from each other, and sometimes from the king; dresses, jewels, horses, and elephants were bestowed on the nobility; the king was weighed in golden scales against silver, gold, perfumes, and other substances, in succession, which were distributed among the spectators.

In the midst of all this splendour, Akbar appeared with as much simplicity as dignity. He is thus described by two European eye-witnesses, quoted by Purchas.*j* After remarking that he had less show or state than other Asiatic princes, and that he stood or sat below the throne to administer justice, they say, "He is affable and majestical, merciful, and severe; skilful in mechanical arts, as making guns, casting ordnance, etc.; of sparing diet, sleeps but three hours a day, curiously industrious, affable to the vulgar, seeming to grace them and their presents with more respective ceremonies than the grandees; loved and feared of his own, terrible to his enemies."*e*

Notwithstanding the virtues of Akbar's administration, the spirit of rebellion, inherent in the principles of Indian despotism, left him hardly a moment's tranquillity, during the whole course of a long and prosperous reign. Hussun revolted in Ajmir, and gained at first a victory over the imperial troops who were sent to oppose him. Hakim, brother of Akbar, a weak man, the governor of Kabul, began to act as an independent prince. A slave of his, approaching the king while marching with his troops, let fly an arrow which wounded him in the shoulder. Akbar, whom neither exertion nor danger dismayed, opposed himself to his enemies with an activity which often repaired the deficiencies of prudence. It would be tedious to follow minutely a series of expeditions, so much the same, to subdue one rebellious chieftain after another.

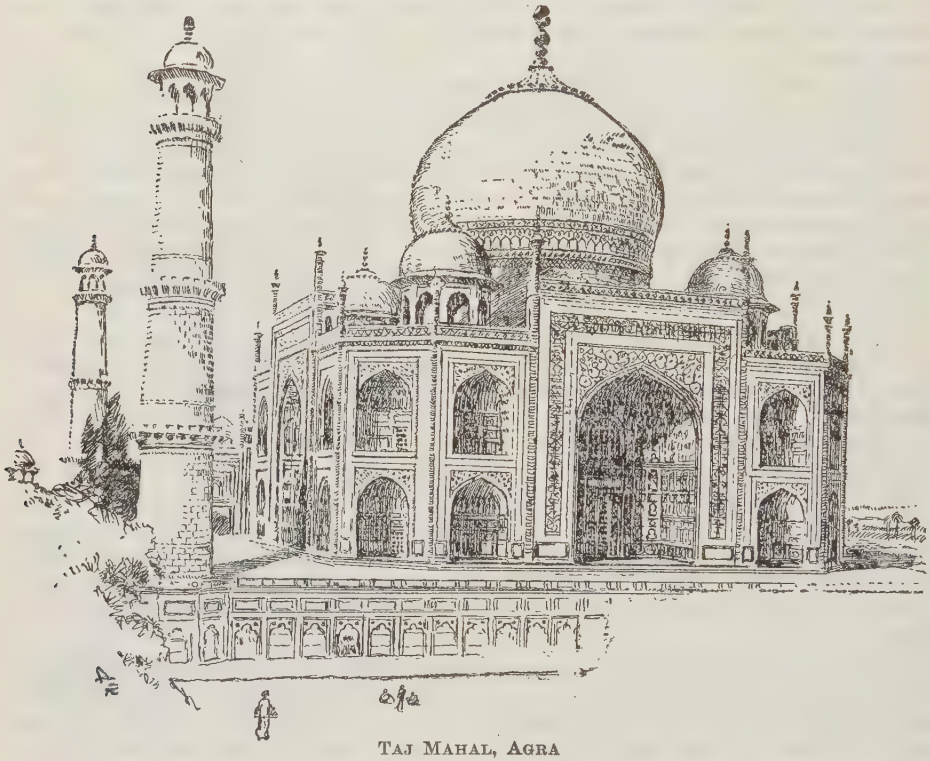
The province of Bengal paid a nominal submission to the throne of Delhi, but during several reigns had been virtually independent. After the other provinces of the empire were reduced to more substantial obedience, it was not likely that grounds of quarrel would long fail to be laid between Akbar and the king of Bengal. [That province like Guzerat in 1580 and Kashmir in 1586 was also added to Akbar's dominions.]

Next his brother, in Kabul, marched against Lahore. Akbar never allowed disobedience in the upper provinces to gain strength by duration. He hastened to Lahore, overcame his brother, followed him close to Kabul, and received a message from the vanquished prince, imploring forgiveness. Akbar, with his usual generosity, which was often inconsiderate and cost him dear, replaced him in his government. Soon after this, the governor of Kandahar, a province which hitherto had paid but a nominal submission to the Mughal throne, unable to defend himself against his rebellious brothers, and the Usbegs, who had now rendered themselves masters of Transoxania and Bactria, and were formidable neighbours to the northern provinces of Hindustan, offered to deliver up his government to Akbar; and received that of Multan in exchange.

Akbar, who now beheld himself master, from the mountains of Persia, and Tatary, to the confines of the Deccan, began to cast the eyes of ambition on

that contiguous land. He gave directions to his governors, in the provinces nearest the Deccan, to prepare as numerous armies as possible; and to omit no opportunity of extending the empire. He despatched ambassadors to the kingdoms of the Deccan, more with a design to collect information, than to settle disputes. And at last a great army, under Mirza,[1] the son of Bairam, marched in execution of this project of unprovoked aggression and unprincipled ambition.*f*

This expedition resulted in a long war and the conquest of Berar, which



TAJ MAHAL, AGRA

was incorporated in Akbar's dominions. It was the last addition to the Mughal Empire made before the death of the emperor, which took place in 1605.*a*

SELIM AND SHAH JAHAN (1605–1658 A.D.)

After Akbar's death there appear in the empire of the great Mughal of Delhi the same phenomena as are observable in the other eastern realms, at Constantinople and Ispahan — revolt and civil war, harem intrigues, family ties destroyed, the rule of women and the influences of favourites, debauchery and prodigality, crime and sensuality.. All these evils appeared even under Akbar's son Selim, who assumed the title Jahangir, that is Conqueror of the World. In his day the fair Nur Mahal (Light of the Harem), whom Jahangir

[1] Mirza was his title; his name was Abdul Ruheem, but he was commonly called Mirza Khan: he was also entitled Khan-khanan.

had won as David won the wife of Uriah, ruled both court and empire. [It was during this reign that the sovereign of Delhi received the first embassy despatched thither from the power which was to replace that of the great mughals.]

Jahangir's son and successor (reigned 1627–1658) who styled himself Shah Jahan (King of the World) was a great lover of display. His great peacock throne is said to have been worth more than six millions sterling. His magnificent palace in Delhi and the mausoleum [known as the Taj Mahal], which he built at Agra to the memory of his wife, are reckoned amongst the wonders of the world.[g] Crooke says of him: "The wealth and magnificence of this famous monarch are part of the world's history. In his early days he was a keen soldier; but he was three parts a Hindu, and to this was due the support of the Rajputs in the early part of his career. In his time that persecution of the Hindus, which was fated to cause the ruin of the dynasty, recommenced. Jahangir seems to have treated their religion with contemptuous toleration. His own belief was too vague to encourage iconoclasm. But in 1632, the year after the death of Mumtaz Mahal, Shah Jahan embarked in active persecution. The chronicler writes: 'It had been brought to the notice of his majesty that during the late reign many idol temples had been begun, but remained unfinished, at Benares, the great stronghold of infidelity. The infidels were now desirous of completing them. His majesty gave orders that at Benares, and throughout his dominions in every place, all temples that had been begun should be cast down. It was now reported from the province of Allahabad, that seventy-six temples had been destroyed in the district of Benares.' This evil example was followed with disastrous results by his bigoted successor. The popular idea is that Shah Jahan was always absorbed in the pleasures of the harem, and neglected the duties of administration; this is certainly incorrect." [l]

But his reign was clouded by domestic troubles. As in France during the reign of Louis le Débonnaire, so even during the lifetime of Shah Jahan a fratricidal war broke out between his four sons. The three youngest, Suja, Aurangzeb, and Morad, grudged the eldest, Dara, the succession which his father intended him. They declared themselves independent in the governments which had been assigned to them and assumed the titles of kings. Shah Jahan himself was conquered by their arms and ended his life as a prisoner. After long conflicts the crafty and treacherous Aurangzeb won the imperial seat at Delhi, after having caused his eldest brother to be put to death and the two others to be shut up in prison.[g]

It was in 1658 that Aurangzeb proclaimed himself emperor, and he swayed the sceptre of the great Mughal for nearly fifty years during an epoch which constitutes the apogee of the dynasty's power and which was followed by its swift decay. We must here pause to give some account of that southern portion of India whose conquest Akbar, as we have seen, had already begun more than half a century before.[a]

EARLY DYNASTIES IN SOUTHERN INDIA: MADURA; THE DECCAN

The earliest local traditions agree in dividing the extreme south into four provinces, Kerala, Pandya, Chola, and Chera, which together made up the country of Dravida, occupied by Tamil-speaking races. Of these kingdoms the greatest was that of Pandya, with its capital of Madura, the foundation of which is assigned on high authority to the fourth century, B.C. The local *purana*, or chronicle of Madura, gives a list of two Pandyan dynasties, the

first of which has seventy-three kings, the second forty-three. Parakrama, the last king of the second dynasty, was overthrown by the Mohammedan invader Malik Kafur, in 1324; but the Mussulmans never established their power in the extreme south, and a series of Hindu lines ruled at Madura into the eighteenth century.

No other Dravidian kingdom can boast such a continuous succession as that of Madura. The chronicles enumerate fifty Chera kings, and no less than sixty-six Chola kings, as well as many minor dynasties which ruled at various periods over fractions of the south. Little confidence, however, can be placed in Hindu genealogies, and the early history of the Dravidian races yet remains to be deciphered from mouldering palm leaves and the more trustworthy inscriptions on copper and stone.

Authentic history begins with the Hindu Empire of Vijayanagar or Narsingha, which exercised an ill-defined sovereignty over the entire south from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries. The foundation of the city of Vijayanagar is assigned to the year 1118, and to an eponymous hero, Raja Vijaya, the fifth of his line. Its extensive ruins are still to be traced on the right bank of the Tungabhadra river within the Madras district of Bellary. The city itself has not been inhabited since it was sacked by the Mohammedans in 1565, but vast remains still exist of temples, fortifications, tanks, and bridges, haunted by beasts of prey and venomous reptiles. The empire of Vijayanagar represents the last stand made by the national faith in India against conquering Islam. For at least three centuries its sway over the south was undisputed, and its rajahs waged wars and concluded treaties of peace with the sultans of the Deccan on equal terms.

The earliest of the Mohammedan dynasties in the Deccan was that founded by Ala-ud-din in 1347 or 1357, which has received the name of the Bahmani dynasty from the supposed Brahman descent of its founder. Towards the close of the fourteenth century the Bahmani Empire fell to pieces, and five independent kingdoms divided the Deccan among them. These were (1) the Adil Shahi dynasty, with its capital at Bijapur, founded in 1489 by a son of Murad II, sultan of the Ottomans; (2) the Kutab Shahi dynasty, with its capital at Golconda, founded in 1512 by a Turkoman adventurer; (3) the Nizam Shahi dynasty, with its capital at Ahmadnagar, founded in 1490 by a Brahman renegade, from the Vijayanagar court; (4) the Imad Shahi dynasty of Berar, with its capital at Ellichpur, founded in 1484, also by a Hindu from Vijayanagar; (5) the Barid Shahi dynasty, with its capital at Bidar, founded about 1492 by one who is variously described as a Turk and a Georgian slave.

It is, of course, impossible here to trace in detail the history of these several dynasties. In 1565 they combined against the Hindu rajah of Vijayanagar, who was defeated and slain in the decisive battle of Talikota. But, though the city was sacked and the supremacy of Vijayanagar forever destroyed, the Mohammedan victors did not themselves advance into the south. The Naiks or feudatories of Vijayanagar everywhere asserted their independence. From them are descended the well-known Palegars (Polygars) of the south, and also the present rajah of Mysore. One of the blood-royal of Vijayanagar fled to Chandragiri, and founded a line which exercised a prerogative of its former sovereignty by granting the site of Madras to the English in 1639. Another scion claiming the same high descent lingers to the present day near the ruins of Vijayanagar, and is known as the rajah of Anagundi, a feudatory of the nizam of Hyderabad. Despite frequent internal strife, the sultans of the Deccan retained their independence until conquered by the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb, in the latter half of the seventeenth century.

THE REIGN OF AURANGZEB (1658–1707 A.D.)

Aurangzeb's long reign, from 1658 to 1707, may be regarded as representing both the culminating point of Mughal power and the beginning of its decay. Unattractive as his character was, it contained at least some elements of greatness. None of his successors on the throne was anything higher than a debauchee or a puppet. He was the first to conquer the independent sultans of the Deccan, and to extend his authority to the extreme south. But even during his lifetime two new Hindu nationalities were being formed in the Marhattas [or Mahrattas] and the Sikhs; while immediately after his death the nawabs of the Deccan, of Oudh, and of Bengal raised themselves to practical independence. Aurangzeb had enlarged the empire, but he had not strengthened its foundations. During the reign of his father Shah Jahan he had been the viceroy of the Deccan, or rather of the northern portion only, which had been annexed to the Mughal Empire since the reign of Akbar. His early ambition was to conquer the Mohammedan kings of Bijapur and Golconda, who, since the downfall of Vijayanagar, had been practically supreme over the south. This object was not accomplished without many tedious campaigns, in which Sivaji, the founder of the Mahratta confederacy, first comes upon the scene. In name Sivaji was a feudatory of the house of Bijapur, on whose behalf he held the rock forts of his native Ghats; but in fact he found his opportunity in playing off the Mohammedan powers against one another, and in rivalling Aurangzeb himself in the art of treachery.[d]

SIR HENRY LAWRENCE ON SIVAJI

Few conquerors have effected so much with equal means. Long disowned by his father, and unaided by the local chiefs, until by his own stripling arm he had rendered himself independent, he died the recognised ruler of a territory fifty thousand square miles in area; his name was dreaded from Surat to Tanjore, and in every quarter between those remote points his bands had levied contributions and tribute. The Mohammedan yoke was now forever broken in Maharashthra. The long-dormant military spirit of the people was aroused, to be quelled only in another disruption of that system on which it had risen. The genius of Sivaji emancipated the Mahrattas: succeeding chiefs, by neglecting the policy which had aggrandised their founder and adopting an organisation which they could never perfectly master, precipitated the state to a second downfall.

Personally brave, Sivaji never fought when he could fly, or when stratagem or treachery could effect his object: but whatever was his design, he weighed it deliberately, gained the most accurate information on all necessary points and then, when least expected, pounced upon his prey. The heavy and slow-moving Mughals must have been sadly puzzled at encountering such a foe. Many stories are told of the terror his very name inspired. He was equally feared as a soldier, a marauder, and an assassin. His own dagger, or those of his emissaries, could reach where his troops could not penetrate; no distance or precaution could keep his prey from him. It must be remembered that it was not with the chiefs that Sivaji commenced operations, but with the despised and half-starving peasantry. It was when Sivaji had gained a name, and had himself become a chief, that chiefs joined his standard. It is ever so in India. There is always ample material abroad to feed the wildest flame of insurrection; but not until it has assumed a head will those who have a stake in the land join it. They will attack, they will riot, they will plot; but seldom,

unless in instances of great infatuation, when misled by false prophets, will the chiefs of the land join an insurrectionary move, so long as their own *izzut* has not been touched.

During Sivaji's whole career, he cannot be said to have enjoyed or rather suffered one single year of peace. He seems from the outset to have declared perpetual hostility against all who had anything to lose. His pacifications, or rather truces, were but breathing spaces, to enable him to recruit or collect a means, or to leave him unshackled to direct his whole force in another quarter. Aurangzeb played into Sivaji's hands by his timid and suspicious policy. The emperor was incessantly changing his commanders, and feared to trust any one of his sons or generals with means sufficient to quell the Deccan insurrections, lest the power, so deputed, should be used, as he himself had used it, to the usurpation of the throne. Thus distrusted, his children and officers managed the war with Sivaji, as with Bijapur and Golconda, for their own aggrandisement. They fought as little as they could, yet they plundered and received bribes as much as possible.

There was thus much in the times and there was more in the condition and feeling of the country favourable to Sivaji. His cause was, and appeared to be, that of the people. They had long groaned beneath a Mohammedan yoke, and some openly, all secretly, hailed a liberator of their own blood, caste, and country. It was this strong feeling in his favour that enabled him to procure the excellent intelligence for which he was noted; his spies were in every quarter. The Mohammedan government in India had, in short, lost its tact, elasticity, and vigour; luxury had sapped the Moslem strength, and deadened their one solitary virtue. Their hardihood declined, and with it their empire fell. Sivaji was first to take advantage of the imperial decay, and his example was soon followed in every quarter of India.

Sivaji early established a strict military system. Horse and foot of all ranks were hardy, active, and abstemious. Camp equipage was unknown among them, a single blanket, in addition to their light coarse vestments, completed their wardrobe; and a small bag of parched grain sufficed for their commissariat supplies. Thus furnished, the infantry would for days and days thread the defiles and jungles of their wild country, and, by paths known only to themselves, appear where least expected; while the cavalry, supplied with small saddle-bags to hold such grain or plunder as they might pick up, swept the country at the rate of fifty, sixty, and even eighty miles within twenty-four hours. The grand secret of Mahratta hardihood was that chiefs and officers shared equally in the privations of their men. During Sivaji's life all the plunder was public property. It was brought at stated periods to his darbar, where the man who had taken it was praised, rewarded, or promoted.

> "Then lands were fairly proportioned;
> Then spoils were fairly sold:
> The Burgees were like brothers
> In the brave days of old."

Sivaji had sense enough to perceive how much he would personally gain by the punctual payment of his army. All accounts were closed annually: assignments were given for balances on collectors, but never on villages. Cows, cultivators, and women were exempt from plunder. Rich Mohammedans and Hindus in their service were favourite game. Towns and villages were systematically sacked, and where money or valuables were not forthcoming, Sivaji would take promissory notes from the local authorities. He shed no unnecessary blood; he was not cruel for cruelty's sake, but on these

occasions of plunder he mercilessly slaughtered and tortured all who were supposed to have concealed treasure. An Englishman, captured by Sivaji at Surat, reported that he found the marauder, surrounded by executioners, cutting off heads and limbs. The mountain fortresses were the keystones of his power. His treasure, plunder, and family safe, he could freely move wherever an opening offered.

It is only justice to state that this extraordinary man, while devastating other lands, was not unmindful of the duty he owed to his own subjects. In his conquered territory, and where the inhabitants had compounded for security, he was kind, considerate, and consequently popular. On the whole, we may pronounce the founder of the Mahratta Empire to have been the man of his day in India — greater than any of the Mahratta kings who succeeded him, and unrivalled since, even by Hyder Ali or Ranjit Singh. Sivaji could not only conquer and destroy, but he could legislate and build up. There is a germ of civil organisation in his arrangement; and had he lived the ordinary period of man's life, he might have left to his successors a united and well-established principality. He died suddenly, and with him his empire may be said to have expired.

Sivaji left immense treasure. The amount has been variously estimated; but always in millions of pounds sterling. Heaped together in his coffers at Rajjurh were the dollars of Spain, the sequins of Venice, the pagodas of the Carnatic, and all the various gold mohurs of the different quarters of India, with innumerable kinds of rupees of every shape and stamp. But all his spoil, the harvest of more than thirty years of crime and blood, of restless nights, of ceaseless and unseasonable marches, did not bring peace to the owner, nor save his son from a fearful death; it did not preserve his successors from the prison his own hands had prepared, nor his people from being split into factions that soon sealed their own destruction.[h]

THE GLORY OF AURANGZEB

The loss of Sivaji was, for the time at least, irreparable to the Mahrattas. Though never subdued, they were defeated and dispersed, and compelled to take shelter in their hill forts or impervious jungles. On the whole, it is probable that there never yet had been a time in Hindustan when the whole peninsula was so nearly brought beneath the supreme dominion of one man.

The power of Aurangzeb and the magnificence of the court of Delhi are described by more than one intelligent European traveller. "In riches and resources," says Tavernier,[n] "the great Mughal is in Asia what the king of France is in Europe. When I took leave of his majesty on the 1st of November, 1665, he was pleased to desire that I should stay, and see the festivals in honour of his birth day. On this occasion the emperor is weighed in state, and if he is found to weigh more than on the preceding year there are great public rejoicings. The grandees of the empire, the viceroys of the provinces, and the ladies of the court came to make their offerings, which, in precious stones, gold and silver, rich carpets and brocades, elephants, camels, and horses, amounted when I was present to upwards of thirty millions of our livres. The tents are of red velvet, embroidered with gold, so heavy that the poles which support them are as thick as the masts of ships, and some of them from thirty-five to forty feet in height. The great Mughal has seven splendid thrones; one covered with diamonds, others with rubies, with emeralds, and with pearls. The value of the one most precious (called the peacock throne) is estimated by the royal treasurers at a number of lacs of rupees equivalent to

above one hundred and sixty millions of livres. While the emperor is on his throne fifteen horses stand ready caparisoned on his right and as many on his left, the bridles of each horse enriched with precious stones, and some great jewel dependent from his neck. Elephants are trained to kneel down before the throne, and do his majesty reverence with their trunks; and the emperor's favourite elephant costs five hundred rupees of monthly expense, being fed on good meat with abundance of sugar, and having brandy to drink. When the emperor rides abroad on his elephant he is followed by a great number of his *omrahs*, or nobles, on horseback — and the meanest of these *omrahs* commands two thousand cavalry." [b]

LAST YEARS OF AURANGZEB

It was in 1680 that Sivaji died, and his son and successor, Sambhaji, was betrayed to Aurangzeb and put to death. The rising Mahratta power was thus for a time checked, and the Mughal armies were set free to operate in the eastern Deccan. In 1686 the city of Bijapur was taken by Aurangzeb in person, and in the following year Golconda also fell. No independent power then remained in the south, though the numerous local chieftains, known as *palegars* and *naiks*, never formally submitted to the Mughal Empire. During the early years of his reign Aurangzeb had fixed his capital at Delhi, while he kept his dethroned father, Shah Jahan, in close confinement at Agra. In 1682 he set out with his army on his victorious march into the Deccan, and from that time until his death in 1707 he never again returned to Delhi.

In this camp life Aurangzeb may be taken as representative of one aspect of the Mughal rule, which has been picturesquely described by European travellers of that day. They agree in depicting the emperor as a peripatetic sovereign, and the empire as held together by its military highways no less than by the strength of its armies. The great road running across the north of the peninsula, from Dacca in the east to Lahore in the west, is generally attributed to the Afghan usurper, Shir Shah. The other roads branching out southward from Agra, to Surat and Burhanpur and Golconda, were undoubtedly the work of Mughal times. Each of these roads was laid out with avenues of trees, with wells of water, and with frequent *sarais* or rest-houses. Constant communication between the capital and remote cities was maintained by a system of foot-runners, whose aggregate speed is said to have surpassed that of a horse. Commerce was conducted by means of a caste of bullock-drivers, whose occupation in India is hardly yet extinct.

THE DECLINE OF THE MUGHAL AND THE MOHAMMEDAN POWERS (1707–1857 A.D.)

On the death of Aurangzeb, in 1707, the decline of the Mughal Empire set in with extraordinary rapidity. Ten emperors after Aurangzeb are enumerated in the chronicles, but none of them has left any mark on history. His son and successor was Bahadur Shah, who reigned only five years. Then followed in order three sons of Bahadur Shah, whose united reigns occupy only five years more. In 1739 Nadir Shah of Persia, the sixth and last of the great Mohammedan conquerors of India, swept like a whirlwind over Hindustan, and sacked the imperial city of Delhi.

Thenceforth the great Mughal became a mere name, though the hereditary succession continued unbroken down to our own day. Real power had passed into the hands of Mohammedan courtiers and Mahratta generals, both of

whom were then carving for themselves kingdoms out of the dismembered empire, until at last British authority placed itself supreme over all. From the time of Aurangzeb no Mussulman, however powerful, dared to assume the title of sultan or emperor, with the single exception of Tipu's brief paroxysm of madness.

The name of *nawab*, corrupted by Europeans into "nabob," appears to be an invention of the mughals to express delegated authority, and as such it is the highest title conferred upon Mohammedans at the present day, as *maharaja* is the highest title conferred upon Hindus. At first nawabs were found only in important cities, such as Surat and Dacca, with the special function of administering civil justice; criminal justice was in the hands of the *kotwal*. The corresponding officials at that time in a large tract of country were the *subahdar* and the *faujdar*. But the title of *subahdar*, or viceroy, gradually dropped into desuetude, as the paramount power was shaken off, and nawab became a territorial title with some distinguishing adjunct.

During the troubled period of intrigue and assassination that followed on the death of Aurangzeb, two Mohammedan foreigners rose to high positions as courtiers and generals, and succeeded in transmitting their power to their sons. The one was Chin Kulich Khan, also called Asof Jah, and still more commonly Nizam-ul-Mulk, who was of Turkoman origin, and belonging to the Sunni sect. His independence at Hyderabad in the Deccan dates from 1712. The other was Saadat Ali Khan, a Persian, and therefore a Shia, who was appointed subahdar or nawab of Oudh in 1720. Thenceforth these two important provinces paid no more tribute to Delhi, though their hereditary rulers continued to seek formal recognition from the emperor on their succession. The Mahrattas were in possession of the entire west and great part of the centre of the peninsula; while the rich and unwarlike province of Bengal, though governed by an hereditary line of nawabs founded by Murshid Kuli Khan in 1704, still continued to pour its wealth into the imperial treasury.

The central authority never recovered from the invasion of Nadir Shah in 1739, who carried off plunder variously estimated at from eight to thirty millions sterling. The Mahrattas closed round Delhi from the south, and the Afghans from the west. The victory of Panipat, won by Ahmad Shah Durani over the united Mahratta confederacy in 1761, gave the Mohammedan one more chance to rule. But Ahmad Shah had no ambition to found a dynasty of his own, nor were the British in Bengal yet ready for territorial conquest. Shah Alam, the lineal heir of the mughal line, was thus permitted to ascend the throne of Delhi, where he lived during the great part of a long life as a puppet in the hands of Mahadaji Sindhia. He was succeeded by Akbar II, who lived similarly under the shadow of British protection. Last of all came Bahadur Shah, who atoned for his association with the mutineers in 1857 by banishment to Burmah.

Thus ended the Mughal line, after a history which covers three hundred and thirty years. Mohammedan rule remodelled the revenue system, and has left behind forty millions of Mussulmans in British India.[d]





CHAPTER II

THE EUROPEAN EMPIRE IN INDIA: THE RISE OF CLIVE

[1498–1774 A.D.]

PORTUGUESE AND DUTCH SETTLEMENTS

At about the same period that the Mughals were founding their empire along the Ganges the Portuguese discovered the passage of the Cape of Good Hope. Vasco da Gama and his brave companions stepped on the Indian shore at Calicut in the month of May, 1498. Seldom have truth and poetry been so closely combined; the achievement of that voyage by Vasco da Gama is the greatest feat of the Portuguese in arms; the celebration of that voyage by Luiz de Camoens is their greatest feat in letters. The valour of their captains overcame the resistance of the native chiefs, and made good their settlements from the coast of Malabar to the Gulf of Persia.[b]

The story of the valour, cruelty, and greed of their warriors, governors, and merchants, and their full century of monopoly of the trade from 1500 to 1600, has been told with such fulness in the history of Portugal, Chapters II and III, that it need not be recounted here further than to emphasise the importance in Indian history of such names as Vasco da Gama, Cabral, Almeida, Pacheco, the great Albuquerque, Silveira, Mascarenhas, and Da Cunha.[a]

The Dutch were the first European nation to break through the Portuguese monopoly. During the sixteenth century Bruges, Antwerp, and Amsterdam became successively the great emporia whence Indian produce, imported by the Portuguese, was distributed to Germany and even to England. At first the Dutch, following in the track of the English, attempted to find their way to India by sailing round the north coasts of Europe and Asia. William Barents is honourably known as the leader of three of these arctic expeditions, in the last of which he perished. The first Dutchman to double the Cape of Good Hope was Cornelius Houtman, who reached Sumatra and Bantam in 1596.

Forthwith private companies for trade with the East were formed in many parts of the United Provinces, but in 1602 they were all amalgamated by the states general into The Dutch East India Company. Within a few years the

Dutch had established factories on the continent of India, in Ceylon, in Sumatra, on the Persian Gulf, and on the Red Sea, besides having obtained exclusive possession of the Moluccas. In 1618 they laid the foundation of the city of Batavia in Java, to be the seat of the supreme government of the Dutch possessions in the East Indies, which had previously been at Amboyna. At about the same time they discovered the coast of Australia, and in North America founded the city of New Amsterdam, or Manhattan, now New York. During the seventeenth century the Dutch maritime power was the first in the world.

The massacre of Amboyna in 1623 led the English East India Company to retire from the eastern seas to the continent of India, and thus, though indirectly, contributed to the foundation of the British Indian empire. The long naval wars and bloody battles between the English and the Dutch within the narrow seas were not terminated until William of Orange united the two crowns in 1689.

In the Far East the Dutch ruled without a rival, and gradually expelled the Portuguese from almost all their territorial possessions. In 1635 they occupied Formosa; in 1640 they took Malacca — a blow from which the Portuguese never recovered; in 1651 they founded a colony at the Cape of Good Hope, as a half-way station to the East; in 1658 they captured Jaffnapatam, the first stronghold of the Portuguese in Ceylon; in 1664 they wrested from the Portuguese all their earlier settlements on the pepper-bearing coast of Malabar.

The rapid and signal downfall of the Dutch colonial empire is to be explained by its short-sighted commercial policy. It was deliberately based upon a monopoly of the trade in spices, and remained from first to last destitute of the true imperial spirit. Like the Phœnicians of old, the Dutch stopped short of no acts of cruelty towards their rivals in commerce; and, like the Phœnicians, they failed to introduce a respect for their own higher civilisation among the natives with whom they came in contact. The knell of Dutch supremacy was sounded by Clive, when in 1758 he attacked the Dutch at Chinsura both by land and water, and forced them to an ignominious capitulation. In the great French war from 1781 to 1811 England wrested from Holland every one of her colonies, though Java was restored in 1816 and Sumatra in exchange for Malacca in 1824.

The earliest English attempts to reach India were made by the Northwest Passage. In 1553 the ill-fated Sir Hugh Willoughby attempted to force a passage along the north of Europe and Asia, the successful accomplishment of which was reserved for a Swedish savant of the nineteenth century. Sir Hugh perished miserably, but his second in command, Chancellor, reached an harbour on the White Sea, now Archangel. Thence he penetrated by land to the court of the grand duke of Moscow, and laid the foundation of "the Russia company for carrying on the overland trade between India, Persia, Bokhara, and Moscow."

Many subsequent attempts were made by the Northwest Passage from 1576 to 1616, which have left on our modern maps the imperishable names of Frobisher, Davis, Hudson, and Baffin. Meanwhile, in 1577, Sir Francis Drake had circumnavigated the globe, and on his way home had touched at Ternate one of the Moluccas, the king of which island agreed to supply the English nation with all the cloves it produced.

The first Englishman who actually visited India was Thomas Stephens, in 1579 — unless there be any foundation for the statement of William of Malmesbury,[d] that in the year 833 Sighelmus of Sherborne, being sent by

King Alfred to Rome with presents to the pope, proceeded from thence to the East Indies to visit the tomb of St. Thomas at Mylapore (Mailapur, also called Saint Thomé, a suburb of Madras), and brought back with him a quantity of jewels and spices. Stephens was educated at New College, Oxford, and was rector of the Jesuits' College in Salsette. His letters to his father are said to have roused great enthusiasm in England to trade directly with India.

In 1583 three English merchants, Ralph Fitch, James Newberry, and Leedes, went out to India overland as mercantile adventurers. The jealous Portuguese threw them into prison at Ormuz, and again at Goa. At length Newberry settled down as a shopkeeper at Goa, Leedes entered the service of the great Mughal, and Fitch, after a lengthened peregrination in Ceylon, Bengal, Pegu, Siam, Malacca, and other parts of the East Indies, returned to England.

The defeat of the Invincible Armada in 1588, at which time the crowns of Spain and Portugal were united, gave a fresh stimulus to maritime enterprise in England; and the successful voyage of Cornelius Houtman in 1596 showed the way round the Cape of Good Hope into waters hitherto monopolised by the Portuguese.

THE ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY FOUNDED (1600 A.D.)

The foundation of the English East India Company was on this wise: "In 1599 the Dutch, who had now firmly established their trade in the east, having raised the price of pepper against us from 3*s.* per pound to 6*s.* and 8*s.*, the merchants of London held a meeting on the 22nd of September at Founders' Hall, with the lord mayor in the chair, and agreed to form an association for the purpose of trading directly with India. Queen Elizabeth also sent Sir John Mildenhall by Constantinople to the great Mughal to apply for privileges for the English company, for which she was then preparing a charter, and on the 31st of December, 1600, the English East India Company was incorporated by royal charter under the title of The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies."

The original company had only one hundred and twenty-five shareholders, and a capital of £70,000, which was raised to £400,000 in 1612, when voyages were first undertaken on the joint-stock account. Courten's association, known also as the Assada Merchants, from a factory founded by them in Madagascar, was established in 1635, but after a period of internecine rivalry united with the London Company in 1650. In 1655 the Company of Merchant Adventurers obtained a charter from Cromwell to trade with India, but united with the original company two years later. A more formidable rival subsequently appeared in the English company, or General Societ trading to the East Indies, which was incorporated under powerful patronage in 1698, with a capital of £2,000,000 sterling.

According to Evelyn,*j* in his *Diary* for March 5th, 1698, "the old East India Company lost their business against the new company by ten votes in parliament, so many of their friends being absent, going to see a tiger baited by dogs." However, a compromise was speedily effected through the arbitration of Lord Godolphin in 1702, and the London and the English companies were finally amalgamated in 1709, under the style of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies. At the same time the company advanced a loan to the state of £3,190,000 at 3 per cent. interest, in consideration of the exclusive privilege to trade to all places between the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan.

The early voyages of the company, from 1600 to 1612, are distinguished as the "separate voyages," twelve in number. The subscribers individually bore the expenses of each voyage, and reaped the whole profits. With the exception of the fourth, all these separate voyages were highly prosperous, the profits hardly ever falling below 100 per cent. After 1612 the voyages were conducted on the joint-stock account.[1]

During the civil wars the company shared in the decline of every other branch of trade and industry. But soon after the accession of Charles II they obtained a new charter, which not only confirmed their ancient privileges but vested in them authority, through their agents in India, to make peace and war with any prince or people not being Christians, and to seize within their limits and send home as prisoners, any Englishmen found without a licence. It may well be supposed that in the hands of any exclusive company this last privilege was not likely to lie dormant. Thus, on one occasion, when one of their governors had been urged to enforce the penalties against interlopers with the utmost rigour, and had replied that unhappily the laws of England would not let him proceed so far as might be wished — Sir Josiah Child, as chairman of the court of directors, wrote back in anger as follows: "We expect that our orders are to be your rules, and not the laws of England, which are a heap of nonsense, compiled by a few ignorant country gentlemen, who hardly know how to make laws for the good of their own families much less for the regulating of companies and foreign commerce."

ENGLISH COLLISIONS WITH THE PORTUGUESE AND THE DUTCH

After the grant of the first charter by Queen Elizabeth and the growth of the company's trade in India, their two main factories were fixed at Surat and Bantam. Surat was then the principal sea-port of the Mughal Empire, where the Mohammedan pilgrims were wont to assemble for their voyages towards Mecca. Bantam, from its position in the island of Java, commanded the best part of the spice trade. But at Surat the company's servants were harassed by the hostility of the Portuguese, as at Bantam by the hostility of the Dutch.

To such heights did these differences rise that in 1622 the English assisted the Persians in the recovery of Ormuz from the Portuguese, and in 1623 the Dutch committed the outrage termed the Massacre of Amboyna — putting to death, after a trial and confession of guilt extorted by torture, Captain Towerson and nine other Englishmen, on a charge of conspiracy. In the final result many years afterwards the factories both at Bantam and Surat were relinquished by the company. Other and newer settlements of theirs had, meanwhile, grown into importance.

In 1640 the English obtained permission from a Hindu prince in the Carnatic to purchase the ground adjoining the Portuguese settlement of St. Thomé, on which they proceeded to raise Fort St. George and the town of Madras. "At the Company's first beginning to build a fort" — thus writes the Agency — "there were only the French *padre's* and about six fishermen's houses!" But in a very few years Madras had become a thriving town. About twenty years afterwards, on the marriage of Charles II to Catherine of Braganza, the town and island of Bombay were ceded to the king of England as a part of the infanta's dowry. For some time the Portuguese governor continued to evade the grant, alleging that the patent of his majesty was not in accordance with the customs of Portugal; he was compelled to yield; but the possession being found on trial to cost more than it produced, it was given

up by King Charles to the East India Company, and became one of their principal stations.

Considering the beauty and richness of Bengal, a proverb was current among the Europeans that there are a hundred gates for entering and not one for leaving it. The Dutch, the Portuguese, and the English had established their factories at or near the town of Hooghly [Hugli] on one of the branches — also called Hooghly — of the Ganges. But during the reign of James II the imprudence of some of the company's servants, and the seizure of a Mughal junk had highly incensed the native powers. The English found it necessary to leave Hooghly, and drop twenty-five miles down the river to the village of Sutanati. Some petty hostilities ensued, not only in Bengal but along the coasts of India; several small factories of the company were taken and plundered, nor did they speed well in their endeavours either for defence or reprisal.

It was about this period that their settlement at Surat was finally transferred to Bombay. So much irritated was Aurangzeb at the reports of these hostilities that he issued orders for the total expulsion of the company's servants from his dominions, but he was appeased by the humble apologies of the English traders, and the earnest intercession of the Hindu, to whom this commerce was a source of profit. The English might even have resumed their factory at Hooghly, but preferred their new station at Sutanati, and in 1698 obtained from the Mughal, on payment of an annual rent, a grant of the land on which it stood. Then, without delay, they began to construct for its defence a citadel, named Fort William, under whose shelter there grew by degrees from a mean village the great town of Calcutta — the capital of modern India.

Thus before the accession of the house of Hanover these three main stations — Fort William, Fort St. George, and Bombay — had been erected into presidencies or central posts of government, each independent of the rest. Each was governed by a president and a council of nine or twelve members, appointed by the court of directors in England. Each was surrounded with fortifications, and guarded by a small force, partly European and partly native, in the service of the company. The Europeans were either recruits enlisted in England or strollers and deserters from other services in India. Among these the descendants of the old settlers, especially the Portuguese, were called Topasses — from the *tope* or hat which they wore instead of turban. The natives, as yet ill-armed and ill-trained, were known by the name of sepoys — a corruption from the Indian word *sipahi*, a soldier. But the territory of the English scarcely extended out of sight of their towns, nor had their military preparations any other object than the unmolested enjoyment of their trade. Far from aiming at conquest and aggrandisement, they had often to tremble for their homes. So late as 1742 the Mahratta Ditch was dug round a part of Calcutta, to protect the city from an inroad of the fierce race of Sivaji.

THE FRENCH SETTLEMENTS: LA BOURDONNAIS AND DUPLEIX

Even before the commencement of the eighteenth century, it might be said that all rivalry had ceased in India between the company's servants and the Dutch or Portuguese. The latter, besides their treaties of close alliance with England, had utterly declined from their ancient greatness and renown. The Dutch directed by far their principal attention to their possessions in Java and the adjoining islands. But another still more formidable power had already struck root on the Indian soil.

[1744 A.D.]

The French under Louis XIV had established an East India Company [1] in emulation of the English; like them, they had obtained a settlement on the Hooghly river — at Chandernagor, above Calcutta; like them, they had built a fort on the coast of the Carnatic, about eighty miles south of Madras, which they called Pondicherry. In Malabar and Khandesh they had no settlement to vie with Bombay; but on the other hand they had colonised two fertile islands in the Indian Ocean — the one formerly a Dutch possession, and called Mauritius, from Prince Maurice of Orange; the second, discovered by the Portuguese, with the appellation of Mascarenhas. The first now received the name of Isle de France, and the second of Isle de Bourbon, and both, under the assiduous care of their new masters, rapidly grew in wealth and population. On the whole, the settlements of the French on the Indian coasts and seas were governed by two presidencies — the one at Isle de France, the other at Pondicherry.

It so chanced that at the breaking out of the war between France and England in 1744 both the French presidencies were ruled by men of superior genius. Mahé de la Bourdonnais commanded at Isle de France; a man of Breton blood, full of the generous ardour, of the resolute firmness, which have ever marked that noble race. Since his tenth year he had served in the navy on various voyages from the Baltic to the Indian seas, and he had acquired consummate skill, not only in the direction and pilotage but in the building and equipment of a fleet. Nor was he less skilled in the cares of civil administration. It is to him that Mauritius owes the first dawn of its prosperity. Ever zealous for his country's welfare, he was yet incapable of pursuing it by any other means than those of honour and good faith.

Dupleix was the son of a farmer general, and the heir of a considerable fortune. From early youth he had been employed by the French East India Company, and had gradually risen to the government of Pondicherry and of all the subordinate factories on the continent of Hindustan. During his whole career he had zealously studied the interests of the company without neglecting his own, and the abilities which he had displayed were great and various. The calculations of commerce were not more habitual or more easy to him than the armaments of war or the wiles of diplomacy. With the idea of Indian sovereignty ever active in his mind, he had plunged headlong into all the tangled and obscure intrigues of the native powers. Above all he caballed with the native *nawab* [or *nabob*] or deputed prince of Arcot, or, as sometimes called, of the Carnatic (Arcot being the capital, and Carnatic the country), and with his superior the subahdar or viceroy of the Deccan, more frequently termed the *nizam*.

Beguiled by a childish vanity, he was eager to assume for himself, as they did, the pompous titles of *nawab* and *bahadur*, which, as he pretended, had been conferred upon him by the court of Delhi. His breach of faith on several occasions with his enemies is even less to be condemned than his perfidy to some of his own countrymen and colleagues. But fortunate was it perhaps for the supremacy of England in the East, that two such great commanders as Dupleix and La Bourdonnais should by the fault of the first have become estranged from any effective combination, and have turned their separate energies against each other.

[1 The first French East India Company was founded in 1604; a second in 1611; a third in 1615; Richelieu's in 1642; Colbert's in 1644, and a sixth in 1719, called the "Compagnie des Indes," and formed by the union of the East and West Indian companies with those of Senegal and China. The monopoly was suspended by the king in 1769, and the company abolished by the National Assembly in 1796.]

FRENCH VICTORIES OVER THE ENGLISH (1746 A.D.)

On the declaration of war in 1744 an English squadron under Commodore Barnet had been sent to the Indian seas. La Bourdonnais, exerting his scanty means with indefatigable perseverance, succeeded in fitting out nine ships, but nearly all leaky and unsound, and he embarked upwards of three thousand men, but of these there were four hundred invalids and seven hundred Kaffirs or Lascars. On the 6th of July, 1746, the two fleets engaged near Fort St. David, but the battle began and ended in a distant cannonade. Next morning the English stood out to sea, while the French directed their course to Pondicherry. The object of La Bourdonnais was the capture of Madras, and he made a requisition on Dupleix for some stores and sixty pieces of artillery. But the jealous mind of Dupleix could ill brook contributing to his rival's success. He refused the stores, allowed only thirty cannon of inferior calibre, and sent on board water so bad as to produce a dysentery in the fleet.

Not disheartened, however, by these unexpected difficulties, La Bourdonnais appeared off Madras in September, 1746, and proceeded to disembark his motley force. The city, though at this period rich and populous, was ill-defended; one division, called the Black Town, only covered by a common wall; the other, the White Town, or Fort St. George, begirt with a rampart and bastions, but these very slight and faulty in construction. There were but three hundred Englishmen in the colony, and of them only two hundred were soldiers. Under such circumstances no effective resistance could be expected; nevertheless the garrison sustained a bombardment during three days, and obtained at last an honourable capitulation. It was agreed that the English should be prisoners of war upon parole, and that the town should remain in possession of the French until it should be ransomed, La Bourdonnais giving his promise that the ransom required should be fair and moderate. The sum was fixed some time afterwards between the French commander and the English council at 440,000*l*. On these terms the invaders marched in; the keys were delivered by the governor at the gate, and the French colours were displayed from Fort St. George. Not a single Frenchman had been killed during the siege, and only four or five English from the explosion of a bomb.

Dupleix could not restrain his resentment when he heard the terms of the capitulation. To his views of sovereignty in India it was essential that the English should be expelled the country, and Madras be either retained or rased to the ground. Accordingly when La Bourdonnais again disembarked at Pondicherry with the spoils of the conquered town, a long and fierce altercation arose between the rival chiefs.

These differences with Dupleix prevented La Bourdonnais from pursuing as he had designed, his expedition against the other British settlements in India. All his proposals for a union of counsels and resources were scornfully rejected by Dupleix, who had now no other object than to rid himself of an aspiring colleague. For this object he stooped at length to deliberate falsehood. He gave a solemn promise to fulfil the capitulation of Madras, on the faith of which La Bourdonnais consented to re-embark, leaving a part of his fleet with Dupleix, and steering with the rest to Achin in quest of some English ships. Not succeeding in the search he returned to the Mauritius, and from thence to France, to answer for his conduct. On his voyage home he was taken by the English, and conveyed to London, but was there received with respect and dismissed on parole.

At Paris, on the contrary, he found himself preceded by the perfidious

insinuations of his rival. He was thrown into the Bastille, his fortune plundered, his papers seized, and his will torn open. He was secluded from his wife and children, and even debarred the use of pen and ink for his defence. When after many months' suspense he was examined before a royal commission he heard his services denied, his integrity questioned, and the decline of commerce resulting from the war urged as his reproach. "Will you explain," asked of him one of the East Indian Directors, "how it happened that under your management your own private affairs have thriven so well and those of the Company so ill?"

"Because," answered La Bourdonnais without hesitation, "I managed my own affairs according to my own judgment, and I managed the Company's according to your instructions!" After many harassing inquiries, and three years' detention, his innocence was publicly acknowledged; but his long imprisonment had broken his health, or rather, perhaps, his heart; he lingered for some time in a painful illness, and in 1754 expired. The government, wise and just too late, granted a pension to his widow.

THE AMBITIONS AND SUCCESSES OF DUPLEIX

Only seven days after La Bourdonnais had sailed from Pondicherry, Dupleix, in utter defiance of his recent promise, obtained a warrant from his council annulling the capitulation of Madras. Thus, so far from restoring the city within a few weeks, on payment of the stipulated sum, the principal inhabitants were brought under a guard to Pondicherry, and paraded in triumph through the streets. Such conduct had, at least, the advantage of absolving them from the obligation of their previous parole, and several of them, assuming Hindu attire or other disguises, made their way from Pondicherry to Fort St. David, the two settlements being less than twenty miles asunder. Among those who thus escaped was young Robert Clive, then a merchant's clerk, afterwards a conqueror and statesman.

It was not long ere some troops were sent out by Dupleix (Dupleix himself was no warrior) for the reduction of Fort St. David; but the nawab of Arcot, to whom the cession of Madras had been promised, being now disappointed in his hopes and filled with resentment, joined his forces to the English, and the invaders were repulsed with loss. Not discouraged, Dupleix opened a new negotiation with the nawab, who, on some fresh lures held out to him, consented to desert the English, and again embrace the French interest. Thus, in March, 1747, Dupleix could under better auspices resume his expedition against Fort St. David, and his soldiers were advancing, as they thought, to a certain conquest, when a number of ships were descried in the offing as about to anchor in the roads. These were no sooner recognised as English than the French relinquished their design, and hastened back to Pondicherry.

The English fleet, thus opportune in its appearance, was commanded by Admiral Griffin, who had been sent from England with two men-of-war to strengthen the Bengal squadron. In the next ensuing months further reinforcements, both naval and military, were brought at different times by Admiral Boscawen and Major Lawrence; the former taking the chief command at sea, and the second on shore. So large was this accession of force as to turn at once, and heavily, the scale against the French. It became possible nay, even, as it seemed, not difficult, to retaliate the loss of Madras by the capture of Pondicherry. With this view the English took the field in August, 1748, having in readiness two thousand seven hundred European troops, one

thousand sailors who had been taught the manual exercise during the voyage, and two thousand sepoys in the service of the company.

At the news of this armament, the greatest perhaps from modern Europe which India had yet seen, the nawab of Arcot hastened to change sides once more, and declare himself an English ally; he even promised the succour of two thousand horse, but only sent three hundred. Dupleix, on his part, could muster eighteen hundred Europeans and three thousand sepoys, but his dispositions were by far the more skilful and able. He knew how to inspire his men with military ardour, while the English were dispirited by the want of practice in their commanders, wasted by sickness, and harassed by rains which had begun three weeks before the usual season. At length they found it necessary to raise the siege, after thirty-one days of open trenches, and the loss of one thousand men. The French governor, in his usual boastful strain, immediately proclaimed his triumph by letters to all the chief subahdars of India, and even to the great Mughal.

Such was the state of affairs in India when the tidings came that a peace had been signed at Aix-la-Chapelle [Aachen], and that a restitution of conquests had been stipulated. It became necesssary for Dupleix to yield Madras to the English, which he did with extreme reluctance and after long delay. On this occasion of recovering Madras, the English also took possession of St. Thomé, which the natives had conquered from the Portuguese.

The rival settlements of Pondicherry and Madras, though now debarred from any further direct hostility, were not long in assailing each other indirectly, as auxiliaries in the contests of the native princes. A new scene was rapidly opening to the ambition of Dupleix. The nizam, or viceroy of the Deccan under the Mughal, had lately died, and been succeeded by his son, Nasir Jang, but one of his grandsons, Muzaffar Jang, had claimed the vacant throne. At the same time in the dependent province of the Carnatic, Chanda Sahib, son-in-law of a former nawab, appeared as a competitor to the reigning prince, Anwaru-din.

Dupleix eagerly seized the opportunity to enhance his own importance, by establishing through his aid a viceroy of the Deccan and a nawab of the Carnatic. He promised his support to the two pretenders, who had combined their interests and their armies, and who were now reinforced with two thousand sepoys and several hundred Europeans. Nor did they want skilful officers from Pondicherry; one, above all, the marquis de Bussy, showed himself no less able in the field than Dupleix was in council. In August, 1749, a battle ensued beneath the fort of Ambur, when the discipline of the French auxiliaries turned the tide of victory, and when the veteran and subtle nawab, Anwaru-din, was slain. His capital, Arcot, and the greater part of his dominions fell into the hands of the conquerors.

His son, Muhammed Ali, with the wreck of his army, fled to Trichinopoli, and endeavoured to maintain himself, assuming the title of nawab of Arcot, and acknowledged as such by the English; but their zeal in his behalf was faint and languid, and, moreover, they were at this juncture entangled with some insignificant operations in Tanjore. Dupleix, on the contrary, was all activity and ardour. Even on learning that his confederate, Muzaffar Jang, had suffered a reverse of fortune and was a prisoner in the camp of Nasir Jang he did not slacken either in warfare or negotiation. When, at length, in December, 1750, the army which he had set in motion came in sight of Nasir Jang's, the Indian prince viewed its scanty numbers with scorn. But a conspiracy had been formed by the French among his own followers; one of them aimed a carabine as Nasir Jang rode up on his elephant, and the Indian

prince fell dead on the plain. His head was then severed from his body, and carried on a pole before the tent of Muzaffar Jang, who, freed from his fetters, was by the whole united army hailed as the nizam.

The exultation of Dupleix knew no bounds. On the spot where Nasir Jang had fallen he began to build a town with the pompous title of Dupleix Fathabad — the City of the Victory of Dupleix — and in the midst of that town he laid the foundation of a stately pillar, whose four sides were to bear inscriptions proclaiming in four different languages the triumph of his arms. With the same vainglorious spirit he resolved to celebrate, at the seat of his own government, the installation of the new nizam. On the day of that ceremony he might have passed for an Asiatic potentate as he entered the town in the same palanquin with his ally, and in the garb of a Mohammedan amir, with which the prince himself had clothed him. He accepted, or assumed, the government, under the Mughal, of all the country along the eastern coast between the river Kistna and Cape Comorin; a country little less in extent than France itself.

No petition was granted by the nizam unless signed by the hand of Dupleix; no money was henceforth to be current in the Carnatic except from the mint of Pondicherry. "Send me reinforcements," wrote Bussy to his chief, "and in one year more the emperor shall tremble at the name of Dupleix!" But the French governor soon discovered that his own vanity had been a fatal bar in the way of his ambition. His rivals at Fort St. George and Fort St. David took an alarm at his lofty titles which they might not have felt so soon as his extended power.

It appeared on this occasion, to the heads of the English factory, that, although the contest for the Deccan had been decided by the fall of Nasir Jang, they might still advantageously take part in the contest for the Carnatic. Accordingly they sent several hundred men under Captain Gingens to reinforce their confederate, Muhammed Ali; but these troops were put to flight at Volkondah, and compelled to take shelter with Muhammed Ali in his last stronghold of Trichinopoli. There he was soon besieged and closely pressed by the army of Chanda Sahib, and the auxiliaries of Dupleix. If the place should fall it was clear that the French would gain the mastery over all the provinces adjoining Fort St. George and Fort St. David, and would at the first opportunity renew their attack upon those settlements. On the other hand, the English were at this time ill prepared for any further active hostilities; their only officer of experience, Major Lawrence, had gone home, and the garrisons remaining for their own defence were extremely small. There seemed almost equal danger in remaining passive or in boldly advancing. These doubts were solved, these perils overcome, by the energy of one man — Robert Clive.

THE RISE OF ROBERT CLIVE

The father of Clive was a gentleman of old family but small estate, residing near Market Drayton in Shropshire. There Robert, his eldest son, was born in 1725. From early childhood the boy showed a most daring and turbulent spirit. At various schools to which he was sent he appears to have been idle and intractable. Even in after life he was never remarkable for scholarship; and his friendly biographer, Malcolm,[e] admits that wide as was his influence over the native tribes of India, he was little, if at all, acquainted with their languages. His father was soon offended at his waywardness and neglect of his studies, and instead of a profession at home, obtained for him

a writership in the East India Company's service, and in the presidency of Madras.

There is no doubt that the climate at Madras was unfavourable to his health, and his duty at the desk ill-suited to his temper. But worse than all other discomfort was his own constitutional and morbid melancholy — a melancholy which may yet be traced in the expression of his portraits, and which, afterwards heightened as it were by bodily disease and mental irritation, closed the career of this great chief by the act of his own hand before he had attained the age of fifty years. As a writer at Madras he twice one day snapped a pistol at his own head. Finding it miss fire, he calmly waited until his room was entered by an acquaintance, whom he requested to fire the pistol out of the window. The gentleman did so, and the pistol went off. At this proof that it had been rightly loaded Clive sprang up with the exclamation, "Surely then I am reserved for something!" and relinquished his design.

We have already found occasion to relate how Clive was led a prisoner from Fort St. George to Pondicherry, and how he effected his escape from Pondicherry to Fort St. David.

From this time forward, however, the undaunted spirit of Clive found a nobler scope against the public enemy. During the petty hostilities which ensued — when the merchants' clerks were almost compelled in self-defence to turn soldiers — the name of Ensign or Lieutenant Clive is often, and always honourably, mentioned, and during the intervals of these hostilities he returned to his ledgers and accounts; but on the emergency produced by the successes of Dupleix, the siege of Trichinopoli, and the departure of Major Lawrence, he accepted a captain's commission, and bade adieu to trade. With no military education, with so little military experience, this young man of twenty-five shone forth not only, as might have been foreseen, a most courageous, but a most skilful and accomplished commander.

At this crisis he discerned that although it was not possible to afford relief to Trichinopoli a diversion might still be effected by a well-timed surprise of Arcot, thus compelling Chanda Sahib to send a large detachment from his army. The heads of the presidency on whom he strenuously urged his views not only approved the design, but accepted the offer of his own services for its execution. Accordingly, in August, 1751, Captain Clive marched from Madras at the head of only three hundred sepoys and two hundred Europeans. Scanty as seems this force, it could only be formed by reducing the garrison at Fort St. David to one hundred and the garrison of Madras to fifty men; and of the eight officers under Clive, six had never before been in action, and four were merchants' clerks who, incited by his example, took up the sword to follow him. A few days' march brought the little band within ten miles of Arcot, and within sight of the outposts of the garrison. There a violent storm of thunder, lightning, and rain arose, through which, however, Clive undauntedly pushed forward. Slight as seems this incident it became attended with important results, for the garrison, apprised by their outposts of the behaviour of the English, were seized with a superstitious panic, as though their opponents were in league with the heavens, and they fled precipitately not only from the city but from the citadel. Thus Clive, without having struck a blow, marched through the streets amidst a concourse of a hundred thousand spectators, and took quiet possession of the citadel or fort. In that stronghold the Arcot merchants had, for security, deposited effects to the value of 50,000*l.*, which Clive punctually restored to the owners; and this politic act of honesty conciliated many of the principal inhabitants to the English interest.

Clive, learning that the fugitive garrison had been reinforced and had taken post in the neighbourhood, made several sallies against them; in the last he surprised them at night, and scattered or put them to the sword. But his principal business was to prepare against the siege which he expected, by collecting provisions and strengthening the works of the fort. As he had foretold, his appearance at Arcot effected a diversion at Trichinopoli. Chanda Sahib immediately detached four thousand men from his army, who were joined by two thousand natives from Vellore, by one hundred and fifty Europeans from Pondicherry, and by the remains of the fugitive garrison. Altogether, the force thus directed against Arcot exceeded ten thousand men, and was commanded by Raja Sahib, a son of Chanda Sahib.

The fort in which the English were now besieged was, notwithstanding some hasty repairs, in great measure ruinous; with the parapet low and slightly built, with several of the towers decayed, with the ditch in some parts fordable, in others dry, and in some choked up with fallen rubbish. But Clive undauntedly maintained, day after day, such feeble bulwarks against such overwhelming numbers. Nor did he neglect, amidst other more substantial means of defence, to play upon the fears and fancies of his superstitious enemy.

After several weeks' siege, however, the besiegers, scanty and ill-served as was their artillery, had succeeded in making more than one practicable breach in the walls. Some succour to the garrison was attempted from Madras, but in vain. Another resource, however, remained to Clive. He found means to despatch a messenger through the enemy's lines to Murari Rao, a Mahratta chieftain, who had received a subsidy to assist Muhammed Ali, and who lay encamped with six thousand men on the hills of Mysore. He sent down a detachment of his troops from the hills.

Raja Sahib, when he learned that the Mahrattas were approaching, perceived that he had no time to lose. He sent a flag of truce to the garrison promising a large sum of money if Clive would surrender, and denouncing instant death if Clive awaited a storm; but he found his offers and his threats received with equal disdain. Exasperated at the scornful answer, he made every preparation for a desperate attack on the morrow. It was the 14th of November, the fiftieth day of the siege, and the anniversary of the festival in commemoration of that martyr of early Islam, Hosein, when, according to the creed of the Mohammedans of India any one who falls in battle against unbelievers is wafted at once into the highest region of paradise. But every assault was repulsed with heavy loss. In the first part of the night their fire was renewed, but at two in the morning it ceased, and at the return of daylight it appeared that they had raised the siege, and were already out of sight, leaving four hundred men dead upon the ground, with all their ammunition and artillery.

Elated at this result of his exertions, Clive was not slow in sallying forth and combining his little garrison with the detachment from Murari Rao, and with some reinforcements from Europe which had lately landed at Madras. Thus strengthened, he sought out Raja Sahib, and gave him battle near the town of Arni. On this occasion he beheld for the first time in action — happily for him, ranged on his own side — the activity and bravery of the Mahrattas. On the other hand, Raja Sahib, though the greater part of his own troops were dispersed, had been reinforced from Pondicherry with three hundred Europeans and nearly three thousand sepoys. The issue of the battle, however, was a complete victory for Clive, the enemy's military chest, containing a hundred thousand rupees, fell into the hands of his Mahrattas;

and not less than six hundred of the French sepoys, dispirited by their failure came over with their arms and consented to serve in the English ranks.

Clive next proceeded against the great *pagoda* or Hindu temple of Conjeveram, into which the French had thrown a garrison, and, entering the place, after three days' cannonade, found the French garrison escaped by night and the English officers unhurt.

Notwithstanding these events, Raja Sahib was not disheartened. In January, 1752, finding that Clive had marched to Fort St. David, he suddenly collected a body of his own troops and of his French auxiliaries and pushed forwards to Madras. Clive was recalled in haste from the south, and again encountered Raja Sahib with complete success. From the scene of action he marched back in triumph to Fort St. David, passing on his way near the newly raised City of the Victory of Dupleix, and the foundation of the pompous pillar. Clive directed that these monuments of premature exultation should be rased to the ground.



An Image of Buddha

At Trichinopoli the effect of Clive's earliest successes had been to turn the siege into a languid blockade. At this period, however, Major Lawrence returned from Europe.

The expedition to Trichinopoli, led by Lawrence and Clive, was crowned with triumphant success. In the result the French besiegers of Muhammed Ali were themselves besieged in the island of Srirangam in the river Kaveri, and were compelled to lay down their arms. Chanda Sahib himself surrendered to a native chief named Manakji, who took an oath for his safety on his own sabre and poniard — the most sacred of all oaths to an Indian soldier — but who, nevertheless, shortly afterwards put his prisoner to death.[1]

THE LAST DAYS OF DUPLEIX

It might have been expected that such successes — and above all the murder of one of the competitors — would finally decide the conquest for the government of the Carnatic. But immediately after his victory Muhammed Ali had become involved in dissensions with his allies, the Mahrattas and Mysoreans, to whom he had promised, without ever really intending, the cession of Trichinopoli. These bickerings gave fresh life and spirit to Dupleix. Although he found his recent policy disapproved by his employers in Europe, although he received from them only reproofs instead of supplies, although the recruits sent out to him were according to his own description, no other than "boys, shoe-blacks, and robbers," he yet clung to his own schemes with unconquerable perseverance. He laboured to train and discipline his recruits; and, in the want of other funds, he advanced for the public service not less than 140,000*l.* of his own money. Dupleix now resumed hostilities — again attempted Arcot, and again besieged Trichinopoli. Notwithstanding all his exertions, the warfare proved weak and languid, and was far from enabling the French to recover their lost ground.

[1 Colonel Malleson is of opinion that Major Lawrence connived at this act.]

Clive had for some time continued to distinguish himself in the desultory operations which followed the surrender of Srirangam. He had reduced in succession the two important forts of Kovlaon and Chingleput. But his health was beginning to fail beneath the burning sun of India; his return to England had become essential to his recovery, and he embarked at Madras early in the year 1753, immediately after his marriage to Miss Margaret Maskelyne. He found himself received at home with well-earned approbation and rewards. The court of directors at one of their public dinners drank the health of the young captain by the name of "General Clive," and, not satisfied with this convivial compliment, voted him the gift of a sword set with diamonds.

Far different were the feelings which the directors of the French East India Company entertained towards Dupleix. They looked with slight interest on the struggles for the Carnatic, and thought the failure of their dividends an unanswerable argument against the policy of their governor. A negotiation for the adjustment of all differences was carried on for some time in London between them and their English rivals. At length they determined to send over M. Godeheu as their commissioner to India, with full powers to conclude a peace and to supersede Dupleix. Godeheu landed at Pondicherry in August, 1754, and hastened to sign with the chiefs of the English presidency a provisional treaty, to be confirmed or annulled in Europe, according to which the French party yielded nearly all the points at issue and virtually acknowledged Muhammed Ali as nawab of the Carnatic.

Dupleix, who looked on this pacification with unavailing grief and anger, had even before its final conclusion embarked for France. There he found neither reward for the services he had rendered nor even repayment for the sums he had advanced. Where was now that proud and wily satrap so lately bedecked with pompous titles and glittering with the gold of Trichinopoli or the diamonds of Golconda? Had any curious travellers at the time sought an answer to that question they might have found the fallen statesman reduced, as is told us by himself, to the most deplorable indigence — compiling in some garret another fruitless memorial, or waiting for many a weary hour in some under-secretary's antechamber. For several years he pursued most unavailingly his claims and his complaints, until in 1763 he expired, sick at heart and broken in fortunes, like his rival and his victim, La Bourdonnais.[b]

COLONEL MALLESON'S ESTIMATE OF DUPLEIX

"It is impossible to deny to Dupleix the possession of some of the greatest qualities with which man has ever been endowed. He was a great administrator, a diplomatist of the highest order, a splendid organiser, a man who possessed supremely the power of influencing others. He had an intellect quick and subtle, yet large and capable of grasping; an energy that nothing could abate; a persistence, a determination, that were proof against every shock of fortune. He possessed a noble, generous, and sympathising nature; he was utterly incapable of envy or jealousy; and was endowed besides with that equanimity of temper that enabled him to bear the greatest reverses, the most cruel injustice towards himself, with resignation and composure. He was not indeed a general. He did not possess a taste for leading armies into the field. Yet he showed on many occasions — notably on the occasion of the siege of Pondicherry by Boscawen — that he could not only stand fire, but could defeat by his unassisted and natural skill all the efforts of the enemy."[g]

CLIVE'S RETURN AS GOVERNOR (1756 A.D.)

Within two years the health of Clive grew strong in his native air, and his spirit began to pine for active service. On the other hand, experience of his merits, and apprehension of a war with France, rendered both the king's ministers and the East India Company eager to employ him. From the former he received the rank of lieutenant colonel in the army, from the latter the office of governor of Fort St. David. Landing at Bombay with some troops in November, 1755, he found there Admiral Watson and a British squadron. There was little at that time on the coast of Coromandel to demand the exertions of these two commanders, and they thought the opportunity tempting to reduce in conjunction a formidable nest of pirates, about two degrees south of Bombay. Their spoils, valued at £120,000, were shared as prize-money between the naval and military captors.

Having performed this service in February, 1756, Clive pursued his voyage to Fort St. David, and took the charge of his government on the 20th of June — the very day when the nawab of Bengal was storming Fort William. In fact a crisis had now occurred on the shores of the Hooghly, threatening the utmost danger, and calling for the utmost exertion.

SIRAJ-UD-DAULA

The viceroys of Bengal, like the viceroys of the Deccan, retained only a nominal dependence on the Mughal Empire. From their capital, Murshidabad (Moorshedabad) — "a city," says Clive, "as extensive, populous, and rich as the city of London" — they sent forth absolute and uncontrolled decrees over the wide provinces of Bengal, Orissa, and Behar, ill-disguised by the mockery of homage to that empty phantom "the Kings of Kings" at Delhi. The old nawab, Ali Vardi Khan, had died in April, 1756, and been succeeded by his grandson, Siraj-ud-Daula (Surajah Dowlah), a youth only nineteen years of age. Siraj-ud-Daula combined in no small degree a ferocious temper with a feeble understanding. The torture of birds and beasts had been the pastime of his childhood, and the sufferings of his fellow-creatures became the sport of his riper years. His favourite companions were buffoons and flatterers, with whom he indulged in every kind of debauchery, amongst others, the immoderate use of ardent spirits. Towards the Europeans, and the English especially, he looked with ignorant aversion, and still more ignorant contempt. He was often heard to say that he did not believe there were ten thousand men in all Europe.

Differences were not slow to arise between such a prince as Siraj-ud-Daula and his neighbours, the British in Bengal. He seized the British factory at Kasimbazar, the port of Murshidabad upon the river, and he retained the chiefs of that settlement as his prisoners. Siraj-ud-Daula had heard much of the wealth at Calcutta; that wealth he was determined to secure; and he soon appeared before the gates at the head of a numerous army.

THE BLACK HOLE OF CALCUTTA (1756 A.D.)

The defences of Calcutta, notwithstanding the wrath which they had stirred in the nawab, were at this time slight and inconsiderable. For a garrison there were less than two hundred Europeans, and scarcely more than one thousand natives, hastily trained as militia, and armed with matchlocks.

No example of spirit was set them by their chiefs. On the contrary, the gov-

ernor, Mr. Drake, and the commanding officer, Captain Minchin, being struck with a disgraceful panic, embarked in a boat and escaped down the Hooghly.

Under these circumstances a civilian, Mr. Holwell, though not the senior servant of the company, was by the general voice called to the direction of affairs. At this time the nawab's artillery was already thundering at the walls, yet under every disadvantage Mr. Holwell protracted for two days longer the defence of the fort. When at length, on the evening of the 20th of June, all resistance had ceased, the nawab seated himself in the great hall of the factory, and received the congratulations of his courtiers on his prowess. Soon after he sent for Mr. Holwell, to whom he expressed much resentment at the presumption of the English in daring to defend their fort, and much dissatisfaction at his having found so small a sum — only 50,000 rupees — in their treasury. On the whole, however, he seemed more gracious than his character gave reason to expect, and he promised, "on the word of a soldier," as he said, that the lives of his prisoners should be spared.

Thus dismissed by the tyrant, and led back to the other captives, Mr. Holwell cheered them with the promise of their safety. We are told how, relieved from their terrors and unconscious of their doom, they laughed and jested amongst themselves. But their joy and their jesting were of short duration. They had been left at the disposal of the officers of the guard, who determined to secure them for the night in the common dungeon of the fort — a dungeon known to the English by the name of the Black Hole — its size only eighteen feet by fourteen; its airholes only two small windows, and these overhung by a low veranda. Into this cell — hitherto designed and employed for the confinement of some half dozen malefactors at a time — it was now resolved to thrust a hundred and forty-five European men and one Englishwoman, some of them suffering from recent wounds, and this in the night of the Indian summer-solstice, when the fiercest heat was raging! Into this cell accordingly the unhappy prisoners, in spite of their expostulations, were driven at the point of the sabre, the last, from the throng and narrow space, being pressed in with considerable difficulty, and the doors being then by main force closed and locked behind them.[b]

Nothing in history or fiction [says Macaulay], not even the story which Ugolino told in the sea of everlasting ice, after he had wiped his bloody lips on the scalp of his murderer, approaches the horrors which were recounted by the few survivors of that night. They cried for mercy. They strove to burst the door. Holwell, who even in that extremity retained some presence of mind, offered large bribes to the gaolers. But the answer was that nothing could be done without the nawab's orders, that the nawab was asleep, and that he would be angry if anybody woke him.

Then the prisoners went mad with despair. They trampled each other down; fought for the places at the windows; fought for the pittance of water with which the cruel mercy of the murderers mocked their agonies; raved, prayed, blasphemed; implored the guards to fire among them. The gaolers in the meantime held lights to the bars, and shouted with laughter at the frantic struggles of their victims. At length the tumult died away in low gaspings and moanings. The day broke. The nawab had slept off his debauch, and permitted the door to be opened. But it was some time before the soldiers could make a lane for the survivors by piling up on each side the heaps of corpses on which the burning climate had already begun to do its loathsome work.

When at length a passage was made, twenty-three ghastly figures, such as their own mothers would not have known, staggered one by one out of the

charnel-house. A pit was instantly dug. The dead bodies, a hundred and twenty-three in number, were flung into it promiscuously and covered up.

But these things which after the lapse of years cannot be told or read without horror, awakened neither remorse nor pity in the bosom of the savage nawab. He inflicted no punishment on the murderers. He showed no tenderness to the survivors. Some of them, indeed, from whom nothing was to be gained, were suffered to depart; but those from whom it was thought that anything could be extorted were treated with execrable cruelty. Holwell, unable to walk, was carried before the tyrant, who reproached him, threatened him, and sent him up the country in irons, together with some other gentlemen who were suspected of knowing more than they chose to tell about the treasures of the company. These persons, still bowed down by the sufferings of that great agony, were lodged in miserable sheds, and fed only with grain and water, till at length the intercessions of the female relations of the nawab procured their release. One Englishwoman had survived that night. She was placed in the harem of the prince at Murshidabad.[h]

ENGLISH ALLIANCE WITH THE NAWAB

At Calcutta meanwhile Siraj-ud-Daula was lending a ready ear to the praises of his courtiers, who assured him that his reduction of the British settlement was the most heroic and glorious achievement performed in India since the days of Timur. In memory of the Divine blessing (for so he deemed it) he ordered that on his arms Calcutta should thenceforward bear the name of *Alinagar* — "the Port of God." Another edict declared that no Englishman should ever again presume to set foot within the territory. Then, leaving a garrison of three thousand men in Calcutta, and levying large sums, by way of contribution, from the Dutch at Chinsura and the French at Chandarnagar, Siraj-ud-Daula returned in triumph to his capital.

It was not till the 16th of August that tidings of the events of Calcutta reached Madras. Measures were then in progress for sending a detachment into the Deccan to counteract the influence of Bussy. But all other considerations were overborne by the cry for vengeance against Siraj-ud-Daula, and the necessity of an expedition to Bengal. It happened fortunately that Admiral Watson and his squadron had returned from the western coast and were now at anchor in the roads. It happened also, from the projected march to the Deccan, that the land-forces were at this period combined, and ready for action. The presidency summoned Clive from Fort St. David, and appointed him chief of the intended expedition.

THE BRITISH IN INDIA

On the whole the force entrusted to Clive amounted to nine hundred Europeans, and fifteen hundred sepoys. The powers granted him were to be in all military matters independent of the members of the council of Calcutta; but his instructions were positive and peremptory, to return at all events and under any circumstances by the month of April next, about which time a French expedition was expected on the coast of Coromandel.

The armament of Clive and Watson having been delayed two months by quarrels at Madras, and two more by contrary winds at sea, did not enter the Hooghly until the middle of December, and then they pushed forward against Calcutta. The scanty garrison left by Siraj-ud-Daula ventured to sally forth, but was easily routed with the loss of one hundred and fifty men. Calcutta,

after one or two random discharges from the wall, was quietly abandoned to the English, who thus on the 2nd of January, 1757, again became masters of the place. Nay, more, after this first success, Clive and Watson advanced against the town of Hooghly, which they stormed and sacked with little loss. This was the first opportunity of distinction to Captain Coote, afterwards Sir Eyro.

At these tidings, Siraj-ud-Daula, much irritated, but also in some degree alarmed, marched back from Murshidabad at the head of forty thousand men. By this time intelligence had reached India of the declaration of war between France and England, and the nawab proposed to the French at Chandarnagar that they should join him with their whole force, amounting to several hundred Europeans. But the memory of their reverses on the coast of Coromandel was still present in their minds, and they not only rejected the nawab's overture, but made an overture of their own to the English for a treaty of neutrality. As, however, the French at Chandarnagar did not, like the English at Calcutta, form a separate presidency, but were dependent on the government of Pondicherry, they had not in truth the powers to conclude the treaty they proposed, and for this and other reasons it was finally rejected by the British chiefs.

During this time Siraj-ud-Daula had advanced close upon Fort William, at the head of his large but ill-disciplined and irregular army. Clive, considering the disparity of numbers, resolved to surprise the enemy in a night attack. The loss of the English in the action which ensued was no less than one hundred sepoys and one hundred and twenty Europeans — a great proportion of their little army.

Yet if the object of Clive had been mainly to show the superiority of the Europeans in warfare, and to strike terror into the mind of the nawab, that object was fully attained. Siraj-ud-Daula passed from an ignorant contempt of the English to a kind of timid awe. He agreed to grant them the confirmation of their previous privileges — the right to fortify Calcutta in any manner they pleased — the exemption of all merchandise under their passes from fees and tolls — and the restoration of or compensation for all such of their plundered effects as had been carried to the nawab's account.

Three days after a peace had been signed on these conditions the new-born friendship of the nawab for the English, joined to some fear of a northward invasion from the Afghans, led him so far as to propose another article for an intimate alliance, offensive and defensive. It seemed ignominious, and a stain on the honour of England, to conclude such a treaty, or indeed any treaty, with the author of the atrocities of the Black Hole, while those atrocities remained without the slightest satisfaction, requital, or apology. But, as Clive had previously complained, the gentlemen at Calcutta were then callous to every feeling but that of their own losses. "Believe me," says Clive [in a letter to the governor of Madras], "they are bad subjects, and rotten at heart. The riches of Peru and Mexico should not induce me to live among them." Nevertheless it must be observed that whatever may have been Clive's feelings on this occasion he showed himself to the full as eager and forward as any of the merchants in pressing the conclusion of the treaty of alliance. Among the chiefs none but Admiral Watson opposed it, and it was signed and ratified on the 12th of February, the same day that it was offered.

This new and strange alliance seemed to the English at Calcutta to afford them a most favourable opportunity for assailing their rivals at Chandarnagar. Clive wrote to the nawab applying for permission, and received an evasive

answer, which he thought fit to construe as assent. Operations were immediately commenced; Clive directing them by land, and Watson by water. The French made a gallant resistance, but were soon overpowered and compelled to surrender the settlement, on which occasion above four hundred European soldiers became prisoners of war.

The nawab, who by this time had gone back to his capital, was most highly exasperated on learning of the attack upon Chandarnagar, which he had never really intended to allow. It produced another complete revolution in his sentiments. His former hatred against the English returned, but not his former contempt. On the contrary, he now felt the necessity of strengthening himself by foreign alliances against them, and with that view he entered into correspondence with Bussy in the Deccan. His letters pressed that officer to march to his assistance against the Englishman, *Sabut Jung*, "The daring in war" — a well-earned title, by which Clive is to this day known among the natives of India. Copies of these letters fell into the hands of the English, and left them no doubt as to the hostile designs of the nawab.

CLIVE'S DUPLICITY TOWARDS OMICHUND

With this conviction strongly rooted in his mind, and the danger to Bengal full before his eyes, the bold spirit of Clive determined to set aside of his own authority the instructions commanding his immediate return to Madras. He entered eagerly into the conspiracy forming at Murshidabad to depose Siraj-ud-Daula, and to place on the throne the general of the forces, Mir Jafar. It may readily be supposed that in these negotiations Mir Jafar was liberal, nay lavish, in his promises of compensation to the company, and rewards to their soldiers. Still more essential was the engagement into which he entered, that on the approach of an English force, he would join their standard with a large body of his troops.

In these negotiations between the native conspirators and the English chiefs, the principal agent next to Mr. Watts was a wealthy Hindu merchant of the name of Omichund. A long previous residence at Calcutta had made him well acquainted with English forms and manners, while it had lost him none of the craft and subtlety that seemed almost the birthright of a Bengal. As the time for action drew near, he began to feel — not scruples at the treachery — not even the apprehensions as to the success — but doubts whether his own interests had been sufficiently secured. He went to Mr. Watts and threatened to disclose the whole conspiracy to Siraj-ud-Daula unless it were stipulated that he should receive thirty lacs of rupees, or 300,000*l.*, as a reward for his services — which stipulation he insisted on seeing added as an article in the treaty pending between Mir Jafar and the English. Mr. Watts, in great alarm for his own life, soothed Omichund with general assurances, while he referred the question as speedily as possible to the members of the select committee at Calcutta.

The committee were equally unwilling to grant and afraid to refuse the exorbitant claim of Omichund. But an expedient was suggested by Clive. Two treaties were drawn up; the one on white paper intended to be real and valid and containing no reference to Omichund, the other on red paper with a stipulation in his favour, but designed as fictitious and merely with the object to deceive him. The members of the committee, like Clive, put their names without hesitation to both treaties; but Admiral Watson, with higher spirit, would only sign the real one. It was foreseen that the omission of such a

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name would rouse the suspicion of Omichund, and in this emergency Clive directed another person to counterfeit the admiral's signature.

For his share in these transactions Clive was many years afterwards taunted to his face in the house of commons. Unable to deny he endeavoured to defend his conduct. "It was," he said, "a matter of true policy and of justice to deceive so great a villain as Omichund." The villainy of Omichund, however, appears mainly this — that for the treachery which the English encouraged and abetted he claimed a larger reward than the English were willing to pay. But even admitting to the fullest extent the guilt of the Hindu intriguer, this does not suffice to vindicate the British chief; this does not prove that it was justifiable, as he alleges, to deceive the deceiver, and to foil an Asiatic by his own Asiatic arts. Such expedients as fictitious treaties and counterfeited signatures are not to be cleared by any refinements of ingenuity, or any considerations of state advantage, and they must forever remain a blot on the brilliant laurels of Clive.

Omichund having thus been successfully imposed upon, and the conspiracy being now sufficiently matured, Mr. Watts made his escape from Murshidabad, and Clive set his army in motion from Calcutta. He had under his command three thousand men, all excellent troops, and one third Europeans.

Siraj-ud-Daula proceeded to assemble near the village of Plassey his whole force amounting to fifteen thousand cavalry, and thirty-five thousand foot. Nor was it merely in numbers of men that he surpassed the English; while Clive brought only eight field pieces and two howitzers, Siraj-ud-Daula had above forty pieces of cannon of the largest size, each drawn by forty or fifty yoke of white oxen, and each with an elephant behind, trained to assist in pushing it over difficult ground. Forty Frenchmen in the nawab's pay directed some smaller guns. The greater part of the foot were armed with matchlocks, the rest with various weapons — pikes, swords, arrows, and even rockets.

The nawab, distrustful of Mir Jafar, had before he left the capital exacted from him an oath of fidelity upon the Koran. Either a respect for this oath, or, what is far more probable, a doubt as to the issue of the war, seemed to weigh with Mir Jafar; he did not perform his engagement to the English, of joining them with his division at the appointed place of meeting, but kept aloof, sending them only evasive answers or general assurances. The troops were led across the river; and at one o'clock in the morning of the memorable 23rd of June, 1757, they reached the mango-grove of Plassey. The mingling sounds of drums, clarions, and cymbals convinced them that they were now within a mile of the nawab's camp. For the remainder of that night Clive took up his quarters in a small hunting-house belonging to the nawab, but could not sleep; while his soldiers, less concerned than their general, stretched themselves to rest beneath the adjoining trees.

BATTLE OF PLASSEY (1757 A.D.)

At sunrise Clive ascended the roof of the hunting-house, and surveyed with a steadfast eye the rich array and the spreading numbers of his enemy. He saw them advance from several sides, as if to enclose him, but they halted at some distance.[b]

The battle commenced with a cannonade in which the artillery of the nawab did scarcely any execution, while the few field-pieces of the English produced great effect. Several of the most distinguished officers in Siraj-ud-Daula's service fell. Disorder began to spread through his ranks. His own terror increased every moment. One of the conspirators urged on him the expedi-

ency of retreating. The insidious advice, agreeing as it did with what his own terrors suggested, was readily received. He ordered his army to fall back, and this order decided his fate. Clive snatched the moment, and ordered his troops to advance. The confused and dispirited multitude gave way before the onset of disciplined valour. No mob attacked by regular soldiers was ever more completely routed. The little band of Frenchmen, who alone ventured to confront the English, were swept down the stream of fugitives. In an hour the forces of Siraj-ud-Daula were dispersed, never to reassemble. Only five hundred of the vanquished were slain. But their camp, their guns, their baggage, innumerable waggons, innumerable cattle, remained in the power of the conquerors. With the loss of twenty-two soldiers killed and fifty wounded, Clive had scattered an army of near sixty thousand men, and subdued an empire larger and more populous than Great Britain.[h]

Of this battle it may be said that it was gained against a disparity of force nearly such as the Spaniards encountered in Mexico and Peru. But there is a difference highly honourable to the English. The natives of Mexico and Peru were wholly ignorant of gunpowder, and viewed the Spaniards with their fire-arms as demi-gods, wielding the lightning and thunder of the heavens. The natives of India, on the contrary, were well acquainted with the natives of Europe; they looked on them with no superstitious awe; and however unskilful in the use of artillery, they were at least not surprised at its effects. From the day of Plassey dates the British supremacy above them. From that day they began to feel that none of the things on which they had heretofore relied — not their tenfold or twentyfold numbers — their blaze of rockets — the long array of their elephants — the massy weight of their ordnance — their subterfuges and their wiles — would enable them to stand firm against the energy and discipline of the island-strangers. They began to feel that even their own strength would become an instrument to their subjugation; that even their own countrymen, when, under the name of sepoys, trained in European discipline, and animated by European spirit, had been at Plassey, and would be again, the mainstay and right arm of the British power.

On the morning after the battle Mir Jafar appeared at the English camp, far from confident of a good reception since his recent conduct. As he alighted from his elephant the guard drew out, and rested their arms to do him honour; but Mir Jafar, not knowing the drift of this compliment, started back in great alarm. Clive, however, speedily came forward, embraced his trembling friend, and hailed him nawab of Bengal, Orissa, and Behar. It was agreed between them that Mir Jafar should immediately push forward with his division to Murshidabad, and that Clive and his English should follow more at leisure. But they neither expected nor found the slightest further resistance.

Even before the day of Plassey was decided Siraj-ud-Daula had mounted a camel, and ignominiously fled from the field. He was seized and brought back in chains to the palace of Murshidabad — to the very presence chamber, once his own, now that of Mir Jafar. The fallen prince, still more abject in spirit than in fortunes, flung himself down before his triumphant subject, and with an agony of tears implored his life. It is said that Mir Jafar was touched with some compassion, and merely directed that his prisoner should be led away; but his son Meeran, a youth no less ferocious and cruel than Siraj-ud-Daula himself, gave the guards orders that he should be despatched in his cell. Barely sufficient respite was granted him, at his own urgent entreaty, to make his ablutions and to say his prayers. Next morning the

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mangled remains were exposed to the city on an elephant, and then carried to the tomb of Ali Vardi, while Mir Jafar excused himself to the English for the deed of blood committed without their knowledge and consent.

The installation of Mir Jafar, as nawab of Bengal, was performed with great solemnity. Clive himself led his friend to the *masnad*, or seat of honour, and, according to the Indian custom, presented him with a plate full of gold rupees; he then, through an interpreter, addressed the native chiefs, exhorting them to be joyful that fortune had given them so good a prince. Nor did the new nawab fail to bestow on his allies marks as splendid and more substantial of his favour. It was agreed, according to the previous stipulation, that the English should have the entire property of the land within the Mahratta ditch, and for six hundred yards beyond it, and also the *zamindari*, or feudal tenure on payment of rent, of all the country between Calcutta and the sea.

The money granted them in compensation for their losses, and in donatives to the fleet, the army, and the committee, amounted to no less than 2,750,000*l*., although, as the wealth of Siraj-ud-Daula proved far less than was expected, it was not found possible to pay the whole of this sum at once. Clive accepted for his own share a gift of above 200,000*l*. When, some years afterward, before a committee of the house of commons, he was accused for taking so much, he defended himself by saying that he might, if he had pleased, have taken much more. "When I recollect," he said, "entering the nawab's treasury at Murshidabad, with heaps of gold and silver to the right and left, and these crowned with jewels" — here he added an oath, and violently struck his hand to his head — "at this moment do I stand astonished at my own moderation!"

A painful office remained — to tell Omichund that notwithstanding the promise in his favour, he should have no share in all this wealth. As interpreter and spokesman for that purpose the British chief employed Mr. Scrafton, a civil servant of the company. A meeting having been held at the house of one of the principal bankers of Murshidabad, Clive, at its conclusion, said to Mr. Scrafton: "It is now time to undeceive Omichund." Mr. Scrafton, as if ashamed of the task, performed it in the fewest and shortest words. "Omichund, the red paper is a trick; you are to have nothing." At this announcement the unhappy dupe staggered back as from a blow; he fainted away, and was borne by an attendant to his house, where, on recovering from his swoon, he remained for many hours silent and abstracted, and then began to show symptoms of imbecility. Some days afterwards he visited Clive, who received him kindly, advised him, for change of scene, to undertake a pilgrimage to some one of the Indian shrines, and was willing, on his return, to employ him again in public business. But the intellect of Omichund had been wholly unhinged, and he expired not many months from this period in a state of second childhood.

CLIVE RETURNS AGAIN TO ENGLAND (1760 A.D.)

The return of Clive to Calcutta was attended with general rejoicing and applause, and from this time forward, during several years, he was, in truth, master of Bengal. The East India directors had, indeed, formed a most unwise scheme for conducting the government of Calcutta, by a system of rotation, but at the news of the victory of Plassey they gladly conferred the office of governor on Clive. As a statesman he displayed scarcely less ability than as a soldier. It was his energy as both which upheld the feeble character

and the tottering throne of Mir Jafar. Thus, when, in 1759, Shah Alam, the eldest son of the emperor of Delhi, succeeded in collecting a large army of adventurers, and marched down upon Behar, the terrified nawab was eager to purchase peace by the cession of a province or the payment of a tribute.

Far different were the views of the British chief. With a little army, comprising less than five hundred Europeans, he undauntedly marched to the aid of his ally; and such were now the terrors of his name that at his approach the mighty host of Shah Alam melted away; the siege of Patna was raised, and the war ended without a blow. In gratitude for this great service Mir Jafar bestowed upon Clive a splendid *jagir*, or domain, producing, according to Clive's own computation, an income of 27,000*l*. a year.

At nearly the same period Clive was directing from afar hostilities in the districts known in the Carnatic by the name of the Northern Circars, a tract of coast extending from the mouth of the Kistna to the pagoda of Juggernaut. These districts had been invaded by Bussy from the Deccan, and on his departure a French force, commanded by the marquis de Conflans, had been left for their defence. On the other hand, Clive sent thither a large detachment, under Colonel Forde, an officer trained under his own eye. The result was complete success; the French were worsted in a pitched engagement, and the English reduced Masulipatam against a garrison superior in numbers to themselves.

Towards the close of the same year, 1759, the English in Bengal were threatened with danger, equally great and unforeseen, from the Dutch in Java. Although peace prevailed between the two nations the Dutch could not view without jealousy the success and renown of their commercial rivals; they entered into secret negotiations with Mir Jafar, who, with the usual fickleness of Asiatics, had become desirous of deserting the English alliance; and they sent into the Hooghly an armament of seven large ships and fourteen hundred soldiers. If Clive suffered the Dutch ships to pass up the river and the Dutch troops to join the nawab's, the English might be overpowered and driven from Bengal. If he attempted to stop them, there was the risk of kindling a war between the two nations, or on the other hand, of being disavowed by the authorities in England, and consigned to disgrace and ruin. Nor were other personal motives wanting to dissuade Clive from action. At this very period he had entrusted a large share of his fortune to the Dutch East India Company, for speedy remittance to Europe.

Nevertheless in this emergency Clive showed himself, as ever, firm, resolute, unwavering. He was informed that the Dutch had landed their troops and committed various acts of violence, and a letter was addressed to him by Colonel Forde, stating, that if he had an order of council he could now attack the invaders with a fair prospect of destroying them. Clive was playing at cards in the evening when he received this letter, and without leaving the table he wrote an answer in pencil: "Dear Forde, fight them immediately. I will send you the order of council to-morrow." Accordingly the Dutch were attacked both by land and water, and notwithstanding their superiority of force in both, they were defeated. Of their seven ships every one fell into the hands of the English.

Only a few weeks after these events, in February 1760, Clive, who was suffering from ill-health, embarked for England. "With him it appeared" (to use the strong language of a contemporary)," that the soul was departing from the body of the government of Bengal." At home he was rewarded with an Irish peerage, as Lord Clive, baron of Plassey, and speedily obtained

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a seat in the English house of commons. During his second residence in India, a period of less than five years, he had acquired a fortune amounting at the very lowest computation to 40,000*l.* a year. Several of the transactions in which he had engaged for the public advantage or his own seem repugnant to justice and good faith.

Those who explore his character with minute attention may moreover detect, not merely some great faults, but some little foibles. Thus, although he was plain and free from all ostentation in the field, he might be thought in society fonder of fine clothes than becomes a hero. But with every drawback or deduction which can fairly be made from his character, there will still remain very much to call forth praise and inspire admiration. He was indeed, as Chatham once called him, "a heaven-born general," who, with no military training, had shown consummate military genius. With nearly as little study of politics he displayed nearly as great abilities for government. Energy — which, perhaps, of all human qualities is the one most conducive to success — energy and fearlessness were peculiarly his own. Whatever gratitude Spain owes to her Cortes, or Portugal to her Albuquerque, this — and in its results more than this — is due from England to Clive.

THE ARRIVAL OF COUNT LALLY (1758 A.D.); FRENCH SUCCESSES

The Carnatic had meanwhile been the scene of important transactions. The declaration of war between France and England found the chiefs both at Pondicherry and Madras ill-prepared for any expedition of importance, and engaging in none but desultory and feeble hostilities. The English set fire to Wandewash; the French, in retaliation, to Conjeveram. The latter, under Auteuil, besieged Trichinopoli; the former, under Captain Calliaud, relieved the place. But the attention of both parties was intently fixed on a great armament which France had announced the intention of despatching to the Indian seas; comprising nearly twelve hundred regular troops, and commanded by Lieutenant-General Count de Lally. This officer had sprung from an Irish family which had followed James II into exile; his true name being Lally of Tully-dale, since Gallicised to Tollendal. A soldier from his earliest years, he had highly distinguished himself both at Dettingen and Fontenoy; in December 1745 he had warmly pressed the expedition against England from Dunkirk, and had been appointed one of its chiefs. Brave, active, and zealous, he was well qualified for military service; but a hasty temper and a caustic wit too frequently offended his inferiors, and marred his exertions.

The armament of Lally was delayed by various causes, both in its departure and on its voyage, and it was not till near the close of April, 1758, that it cast anchor before Pondicherry. Almost immediately on its arrival the French squadron, which was commanded by the count d'Aché, was engaged by the British, but the battle proved indecisive. In August another naval engagement, equally indecisive, ensued. The count d'Aché, satisfied with this result, and with having landed the troops, then sailed back to the Mauritius.

Lally, who had brought out a commission as governor-general of the French in India, displayed from the first hour of his landing the impetuosity of his temper. His instructions prescribed the siege of Fort St. David, and he sent forth a body of troops for that object on the very same night that he arrived. The troops hurriedly despatched, without provisions or guides, arrived before Fort St. David wayworn and hungry, and ill-disposed for action. In a few days, however, they were quickened by large reinforcements and by the

presence of Lally. The works of the siege were now vigorously pushed forward; a part in them all being urged by compulsion on the reluctant and scrupulous natives.

"In India," says Orme,[f] "even the lower castes have their distinction, insomuch that the coolie, who carries a burden on his head, will not carry it on his shoulder. Distinctions likewise prevail amongst the soldiery, for the man who rides will not cut the grass that is to feed his horse; nor at this time would the sepoy dig the trench which was to protect him from a cannon-ball." Such prejudices were now derided and set at nought by Lally. Thus he carried his immediate object, but thus also he forfeited forever all claim to the attachment and regard of the native population. According to Mill,[e] "the consternation created by such an act was greater than if he had set fire to the town, and butchered every man whom it contained."

At this juncture Fort St. David was the strongest that the East India Company possessed, and it held a sufficient garrison; but the commanding officer was far from able, and part of the men are represented as drunken and disorderly. So early as the 2nd of June terms of surrender, by no means honourable to themselves, were proposed by the besieged, and on the evening of the same day were accepted by the besiegers. Lally, in pursuance of the instructions which he had brought from France, immediately rased the fortifications to the ground, nor have they ever been rebuilt. Thus the name of Fort St. David — up to that time so conspicuous in the annals of the company — henceforth no longer appears.

Elated with this conquest, Lally pursued his warfare; he failed in an expedition against Tanjore, but succeeded in an expedition against Arcot. His aspiring views extended to the siege of Madras, and to the extinction of the British name in the Carnatic. For this great object he mustered every man at his disposal, even recalling Bussy from the Deccan, which had so long been the scene of that officer's active and able exertions. His want of money was no small obstacle in the way of his designs; to supply it he again offended the natives by plundering a pagoda of its wealth; and in a more praiseworthy spirit subscribed largely from his own private funds, exhorting his subordinates to follow his example. But he had already made nearly all of them his personal enemies by his haughty reproaches and his bitter jests. Thus, for example, when he found his council less alert than they might have been in providing the beasts of burden he required, he exclaimed that he could not do better than harness to his waggons the members of council themselves! All his letters at this period were filled with invectives of no common asperity.

In December, 1758, Lally appeared before Madras, at the head of twenty-seven hundred European and four thousand native troops. The English had already, in expectation of a siege, called in nearly all their garrisons and outposts, and could muster within their walls four thousand soldiers, of whom 1,800 were of European race. The French had no difficulty in making themselves masters of the Black Town; but this, from the large stores of arrack it contained, proved rather an obstacle to their further progress, as augmenting the insubordination of the men. On the other hand, the English steadily continued the defence of Fort St. George. When, after nearly two months' investment, a breach had been effected by Lally's batteries, his principal officers declared that it was not accessible, adding their opinion that a prolongation of the siege would be merely a wanton waste of human lives. The sepoys had deserted in great numbers, and some of the Europeans threatened to follow their example.

ENGLISH NAVAL SUCCESSES

On the 16th of February 1759, Admiral Pocock and his squadron, which had sailed to Bombay several months before, returned with some fresh troops on board. The French, apprehensive of a combined attack upon them, commenced that very night their march to Arcot, leaving behind their sick and wounded, fifty-two pieces of artillery, and a hundred and fifty barrels of gunpowder.

After this great reverse to the French arms, and the return of their chief to Pondicherry, hostilities languished for some time between the rival nations. But in the autumn there ensued another naval engagement, from another voyage of D'Aché to this coast. On the 2nd of September his squadron was encountered by Pocock's; the English having nine ships of the line and the French eleven, with a great superiority both in guns and men. The result, however, as on the two last occasions, was by no means decisive; the loss of men was nearly equal on both sides, and the English suffered the most damage in their ships. D'Aché immediately proceeded to disembark a few men and a little money at Pondicherry, and then, notwithstanding the vehement remonstrances of the governor and council, returned with his squadron to the islands.

At nearly the same period the English at Madras were cheered with the tidings that Eyre Coote had been promoted in England to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and was coming over at the head of the king's 84th regiment and other reinforcements. Major Brereton, who meanwhile commanded in the field, appears to have been desirous of distinguishing himself before the arrival of his chief. Thus he attempted to reduce the fort of Wandewash by three divisions in a night-attack, but signally failed, with the loss of two hundred men. So indignant was Brereton himself at his repulse that, on seeing the crowd of English fugitives, he drew his sword and ran the first man he met through the body! Orme *i* adds: "Unfortunately the man was one of the bravest in the army, so that this example carried little influence."

Colonel Eyre Coote, with the last division of his force, landed at Madras on the 27th of October, 1759. Born in 1726, Coote was now in the prime of life, with none of those infirmities of body or mind which clouded over his later years, and obscured the lustre of his fame. One of his earliest measures on reaching the Carnatic was to retrieve the recent check to the British arms, by a more regular and skilful attack on Wandewash. In this enterprise Major Brereton did good service at the head of a division, and the fort was carried with little loss on the last day of November.

At this news Lally took the field. His dissensions with the civil service still continued, and his want of money to pay the troops had already produced more than one mutiny among them. He had, however, obtained as auxiliaries a body of Mahrattas, and he had under his command the sagacious and experienced Bussy, but, unhappily for himself, was jealous of his influence and distrustful of his counsels. Bussy strongly urged the imprudence of attempting to recover Wandewash, in the face of the English army. Lally, however, thought the honour of his arms at stake, and persevered in the design.

At nearly the commencement of the battle, January 22nd, 1760, the French horse, led on by Lally in person, was thrown into disorder by two English pieces of artillery, and was driven back to the encampment. Lally hastened to put himself at the head of the foot soldiers, and cheered them on to the charge. The battle now became general, and fiercely contested among the Europeans, but ere long began to declare in favour of Coote — a result hastened by the accidental explosion of a tumbril in the French ranks.

Bussy, attempting to rally the fugitives, and fighting with undaunted spirit at the head of a handful of men that still adhered to him, was surrounded and made prisoner sword in hand. The day was now decided. The French, notwithstanding the efforts of Lally, gave way in all directions from the field. In the battle or pursuit their loss was estimated at nearly six hundred men; the English had one hundred and ninety killed and wounded. It deserves notice that the brunt of the conflict had fallen entirely on the Europeans of both armies, the native troops taking no part in it since the first cannonade.

The joy this day at Madras, says a contemporary, could only be compared to that at Calcutta on the news of Plassey. In truth, as the one victory gained Bengal for the British, so did the other the Carnatic. It is remarkable, however, in all these operations by or against Lally, how little weight the native powers threw into either scale. Arcot, Trincomalee, Devicota, Cuddalore, and several other places fell successively into Coote's hands.

END OF THE FRENCH POWER IN INDIA

The net was now closing round Pondicherry itself. Through the boundary hedge of thorns and prickly plants, which, as in many other Indian towns, encompassed its outer defences, the inhabitants could discern the hostile army encamped, and ready for the siege. The departure of D'Aché's squadron had left the English undisputed masters of the sea, and scarce any further supplies, either by land or water, could reach the beleaguered city. The French valour, the rainy season, and a most violent storm in the roads, interposed, however, considerable obstacles in the way of Coote. Nor was discord, which raged so fiercely within the walls of Pondicherry, altogether absent from the English camp. In consequence of orders from home, given in ignorance of the late events, a dispute as to the chief command arose between Colonel Coote and Colonel Monson. At one period Coote had already relinquished his post, and was preparing to embark for Bengal; but Monson receiving a severe wound, and becoming for a time disabled, the leadership happily reverted to the victor of Wandewash.

In the night between the 8th and 9th of December four English batteries opened against the walls of Pondicherry. The besieged were firm and resolute in their defence, fighting every foot of ground, and making more than one successful sally. Before the middle of January, there only remained sufficient provisions for two days. In this extremity Lally and his council sent deputies to capitulate, and failing to obtain more favourable terms, were compelled to surrender at discretion. Accordingly, on the 16th of January, 1761, the English marched into the place. Great civilities passed between the chiefs; Coote dining that day at Lally's table; but Lally and his French, still amounting to above two thousand, remained prisoners of war. "All," says Orme,[1] "wore the face of famine, fatigue, or disease."

Almost immediately after the surrender a dispute arose among the victors for the possession of the place. Coote and his officers claimed it for the king; Pigot and the other civilians from Madras claimed it for the company. The quarrel grew high, until at length Pigot declared, that unless his pretensions were admitted he should refuse to supply funds for the subsistence of the troops. This threat barred all further argument. In return for the destruction of Fort St. David, and in pursuance of orders from home, Pigot took measures for rasing to the ground the fortifications of Pondicherry, nay, even all the buildings that stood within them.

Thus ended the French power in India. For although Pondicherry was

restored to them by the peace of 1763, and although the stipulation in that peace against their raising fortresses or maintaining troops applies only to Bengal, yet even in the Carnatic they could never again attain their former influence nor recover their lost ground; and the extinction of their East India Company speedily ensued.

THE FATE OF LALLY

This result, however mortifying to French ambition, has been acknowledged by French writers as a just retribution on that company, and on the government of Louis XV, for their cruel oppression of almost every great commander who had served them faithfully in India. The closing scenes of La Bourdonnais and of Dupleix have been already described; there remains to tell the still more tragic fate of Lally. On arriving a prisoner in England and hearing of the charges brought against him in France, he wrote to Pitt, soliciting that he might return on his parole, and confront his accusers, and with this request the British minister complied. But no sooner was Lally at Paris than he was thrown into the Bastille, where he remained fifteen months without even a preliminary examination. When at length his trial did come on before the parliament of Paris, it was pressed with the utmost acrimony, both by the crown and East India Company; and a legal quibble on the term "high treason" enabled his judges to sentence him to death. When informed of their decision, "Is this," he passionately cried, "the reward of forty-five years' service!" and snatching up a compass with which he had been drawing maps during his imprisonment, he struck it at his breast. His hand, however, was held back by some person near him; and that same afternoon, the 9th of May, 1766, he was dragged along to public execution in a dung-cart, with a gag between his lips, and beheaded on the Place de Grève. Such was the end of a veteran, who had fought and bled for his adopted country, seldom, indeed, with prudence and discretion, but always with courage and honour.

ENGLISH CONFLICTS WITH THE NATIVES

By the downfall of the Portuguese, the Dutch, and, above all, the French power in India, a wide and still-extending scope was left to that of England. The best chance of supremacy to the native states had lain in resisting Europeans by Europeans — in setting the skill and energy of one northern race against another. Single-handed they fell one by one — some dropping from their own rottenness, like fruit from a tree, others resisting fiercely, but without avail.

The British had struck down their European rivals at Pondicherry, at Chandarnagar, and at Chinsura. They had shot high above their titular liege-lords in the Deccan and Bengal. Of Bengal, indeed, they were in truth the masters, since Mir Jafar, as their tool and instrument, sat enthroned on the masnad of that province. On the other hand they had no longer a chief of genius and of energy to guide them. The principal authority since the departure of Clive had devolved on Henry Vansittart, a man of good intentions, but of moderate capacity. Thus the discipline of the victors was relaxed by their own successes. Thus their rapine ceased to be checked by a strong hand. Almost every Englishman in Bengal began to look upon speedy enrichment as his right, and upon the subservient natives as his prey.

Nor was it long ere a growing difference sprung up between them and

their new nawab. So early as the autumn of 1760, Mir Jafar was found to engage in cabals against the company. He was surounded in his palace at the dead of night, compelled to resign the government, and then, at his own request, permitted to retire to Fort William, under the protection of the British flag; while his son-in-law, Mir Kasim, was in his stead proclaimed the viceroy of Bengal.

According to a compact made beforehand with the English, Mir Kasim forthwith yielded to them, as the price of their assistance, both an amount of treasure and an increase of territory. But his temper, which was bold and active, and by no means scrupulous, chafed at these sacrifices. Still less could he brook the oft-repeated acts of insolence and rapine of the *gomastahs* — the native factors or agents in the British pay. Ere long, therefore, he took some measures to shake off his subjection. He removed his court from Murshidabad to Monghyr, two hundred miles further from Calcutta. He increased and disciplined his troops. He imprisoned or disgraced every man of note in his dominions who had ever shown attachment to the English. He began to enforce against the private traders the revenue laws, from which they claimed exemption.

Angry disputes arose above all with the numerous English factory at Patna. Vansittart repaired to Monghyr in the hope to avert hostilities. He concluded a treaty, agreeing that his countrymen should pay the inland duties to the amount of 9 per cent.; and not refusing on that occasion a present to himself of seven lacs of rupees from Mir Kasim. But the council of Calcutta voted the terms dishonourable. As a last effort to avert hostilities, another deputation was sent from Calcutta to Monghyr. At its head was Amyatt, one of the principal members of the council. Not only, however, did these gentlemen wholly fail in their mission, but while passing the city of Murshidabad on their way back, they were inhumanly murdered by a body of Kasim's own troops. After such an outrage, peace was no longer possible. Thus, in the summer of 1763, war again commenced, the council of Calcutta resolving to depose Mir Kasim, and proclaiming the restoration of Mir Jafar.

MASSACRE OF PATNA

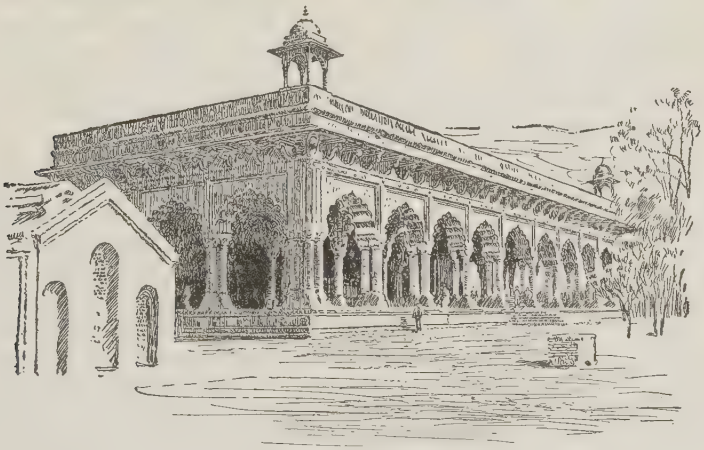
The British forces that took the field in this campaign amounted at first to scarcely more than six hundred Europeans, and twelve hundred sepoys. With these, however, their commander, Major Adams, obtained rapid and great successes. He drove the enemy from their strongholds, entered Murshidabad, gained a battle on the plains of Geriah, and, after a nine days' siege, reduced Monghyr. Nothing was left to Mir Kasim but Patna, and even Patna he perceived that he should not be able to maintain. Accordingly, he prepared for flight to the dominions of his powerful neighbour, Sujah-ud-Daula, the nawab of Oudh.

But first he wreaked his vengeance on the English by an act of savage barbarity, second in its horrors only to those of the Black Hole. His prisoners of the factory at Patna exceeded one hundred and fifty persons. They were comprised of many peaceful traders and one infant. All these the tyrant indiscriminately doomed to death — the massacre of Patna, as it has ever since been termed. For his purpose Mir Kasim found a congenial instrument in one Sombre, otherwise Sumroo, a Frenchman by birth, and a deserter from the European service. This wretch gave his victims a significant though trivial token of their coming doom by sending, in the first place, to seize and

carry off all their knives and forks, which might have been weapons in their hands.

Next day, the 5th of October, in the evening, was the time of slaughter. Then the prison-house was surrounded by Sumroo and his band. Then the butchery of the prisoners was begun. It is said that they made all the resistance in their power, by throwing bottles and stones at their murderers. But of course, in vain. Some were cut to pieces with sabres, others shot down with musketry, and then barbarously mutilated. In both cases, the mangled limbs were flung into two wells, which were afterwards filled up with stones. Of the whole number of intended victims, only one was spared; a surgeon known to the nawab, and William Fullarton by name.

The reduction of Patna by the English, which speedily followed the atrocious act within its walls, completed their conquest of Bengal. Under their auspices, Mir Jafar was once more proclaimed as nawab throughout the



HALL OF PUBLIC AUDIENCE, DELHI

province. But, meanwhile, the thrusting forth of Mir Kasim — the dispossession by an European force of one of the native princes — seemed to the latter an act far more atrocious than the massacre of Patna. It gained favour for the exile at the court of Oudh, and the court of Oudh was then among the most powerful in India. Sujah-ud-Daula, besides the resources of his own vast province, could wield at his pleasure the authority, slender though it might be, that yet adhered to the imperial name. The titular emperor of Delhi, Shah Alam, had taken refuge with him, and had named him his vizir. Shah Alam, in real truth, was an exile and a wanderer, his very capital, Delhi, being held against him by Mahratta invaders, and half laid in ruins by their fury; but amidst every privation, in the eyes of the people he was still the great Mughal.

BATTLE OF BAXAR (1764 A.D.)

Thus combining, the three princes advanced at the head of an army well provided with artillery, and which numbered fifty thousand men. On the other side, the English with their utmost exertions could bring into the field no more than eight thousand sepoys and twelve hundred Europeans. Their commander, Major Adams, having died, his place was filled by Major, after-

wards Sir Hector, Munro. But such in their ranks was the state of insubordination, nay, even mutiny, that the new chief found it necessary to make a most severe example of the ringleaders. He began by directing four-and-twenty native soldiers to be blown from the mouth of cannon. On this occasion, a touching incident occurred. When the orders were first given to tie four of these men to the guns from which they were to be blown, four others of the soldiers stepped forward and demanded the priority of suffering as a right, they said, which belonged to men who had always been first in the post of danger; and the claim thus preferred was allowed.

A captain Williams who was an eye-witness of the scene observes, as quoted by Malcolm:[e] "I belonged on this occasion to a detachment of marines. They were hardened fellows, and some of them had been of the execution party that shot Admiral Byng; yet they could not refrain from tears at the fate and conduct of these gallant grenadier sepoys."

Having thus in some measure, as he hoped, awed the disaffected, Munro led his troops to Baxar, a position above Patna, more than one hundred miles higher up the Ganges. There, in October, 1764, he was attacked by the army of Oudh. The battle was fierce, but ended in a brilliant victory to the English; the enemy leaving one hundred and thirty pieces of cannon and four thousand dead upon the field.

On the day after the battle, Shah Alam, having with some followers made his escape from the army of his own vizir, drew near to the English camp. So long as he had been dependent on the darbar of Oudh, the English had shown little willingness to acknowledge his authority, but no sooner did he join their ranks and appear a ready instrument in their hands, than he became to them at once the rightful sovereign of Hindustan. They concluded a treaty with him, he undertaking to yield them certain districts, and they to put him in possession of Allahabad and the other states of the nawab of Oudh.

The battle of Baxar, though so great a victory, did not decide the war. Major Munro failed in two attempts to storm the hill-fort of Chunar on the Ganges — a fort in which all the treasures of Kasim were thought to be contained; and Sujah-ud-Daula obtained the aid of Holkar, a powerful Mahratta chief. Nevertheless he sent to sue for peace. But Munro refused all terms unless both Kasim and Sumroo were first given up to punishment.

Sujah-ud-Daula refused to surrender the two exiles, but proposed an expedient altogether worthy of an Asiatic prince, that he would give secret orders for the assassination of Sumroo, in the presence of any person whom the English general might send to witness the deed. That expedient being of course rejected, the war was resumed. A new tide of successes poured in upon the English. Early in 1765 they reduced the fortress of Chunar, scattered far and wide the force of the enemy, and entered in triumph the great city of Allahabad.

Through all these last years of strife it is gratifying to observe not merely the valour but also the mercy and forbearance of the English, owned, at least in private, by their enemies. The skill of Oriental scholars has laid open to us the records of a Mussulman historian, Gholam Hossein,[i] of that period — the eye-witness, in some part, of the scenes which he describes: "It must be acknowledged," says he, "to the honour of those strangers, that as their conduct in war and in battle is worthy of admiration, so, on the other hand, nothing is more modest and more becoming than their behaviour to an enemy. Whether in the heat of action, or in the pride of success and victory, these people seem to act entirely according to the rules observed by our ancient chiefs and heroes." But at the same time, and, no doubt, with equal truth, this

historian cannot forbear lamenting the grievous suffering and misrule endured by the helpless Bengals after the departure of Lord Clive. "Oh God!" thus in another passage citing the Koran, he concludes: "Oh God! come to the assistance of thy afflicted servants, and deliver them from the oppressions they bear!"

DISCORDS AND INTRIGUES IN ENGLAND

Meanwhile the transactions in India which followed the departure of Clive had produced no slight amount of discord and cabals in England. These were heightened by the want of any strong and well-framed authority in either country for Eastern affairs. In India, whether at Calcutta, at Madras, or at Bombay, the governor was entitled to no more than one voice in the council, with the advantage, should the numbers be found equal, of a second, or the casting vote. Moreover, the three presidencies being as yet upon an equal footing and with no central seat of power, were constant rivals, each envious of the other's successes, each believing that undue favour was accorded to the rest. In England, the whole body of twenty-four directors was renewed by annual election. On such occasions, and indeed on many others, the India House became the scene of the most violent debates, and the keenest party struggles. There were parties formed on every sub-division of selfish interests; the party of Bombay, the party of Madras, the party of Bengal, the party of Sulivan, the party of Lord Clive. Greater than all these, perhaps, in point of numbers, was the party anxious only for the high rate and the punctual payment of their dividends. Nor were these cabals altogether unconnected with the greater parties in the state. Sulivan, the paramount director until the appearance of Clive, was supported by Lord Bute. Clive at that time was a follower of Pitt. Thus no one incentive to violence and rancour was wanting from these contests at the India House.

At that time every share of 500*l.* conferred a vote, and the manufactory of fictitious votes was carried on to a gigantic scale. Clive, according to his own account, spent in this manner no less a sum than 100,000*l.* It was not until 1765 that this evil practice was arrested by an act of parliament, which required that each proprietor, before he voted, should take an oath that the stock entered in his name was really and in truth his own, and had been so for the last twelve months.

Sulivan looked mainly to commerce, and Clive mainly to empire. At last, an open breach ensued between them. In 1763 Clive made a desperately fought attempt to oust Sulivan, and Sulivan's friends, from the direction. He failed; and the new directors revenged themselves by confiscating, contrary to law, the jagir or domain which had been bestowed upon him by Mir Jafar. It became necessary for Clive to seek relief by a bill in the court of Chancery.

Such was the petty warfare raging at the India House, when ship after ship from Bengal brought news of the growing disorganisation of the British power, of misrule and plunder by its servants, of renewed hostilities with the native princes. It began to be felt on all sides that the crisis called for Clive — that he alone could order the confusion and allay the storm. So strong was this feeling in his favour as to carry everything before it. At a meeting of the proprietors, held early in the spring of 1764, they proposed to the directors the immediate restitution of the disputed jagir, and the appointment of Lord Clive as both governor and commander-in-chief of Bengal.

The directors found themselves, though most unwillingly, compelled to

appoint Lord Clive to both the offices desired. It was now within a month of the annual elections. Not only the chairman, but also the deputy-chairman, was chosen from among Clive's friends. The new board of directors, moreover, conferred upon him extraordinary powers. Aided by a committee of persons of his own naming, he was made, unlike the other governors, independent of his council. Clive embarked with the full purpose to use his powers most firmly — to curb and to crush at once the abuses which prevailed.

CLIVE'S LAST ADMINISTRATION

In May, 1765, after a long protracted passage, Clive landed at Calcutta. There he found another, a recent and glaring instance of the abuses which he came to quell. Mir Jafar had lately died, and a question had arisen respecting his inheritance. One party at his court declared for his base-born son, and another for his legitimate but infant grandson. Both parties appealed to the council at Calcutta, but the council viewed it only as a matter of bargain and sale. They found it easier to make terms with the illegitimate pretender. He was proclaimed nawab of the province, while they received from him, and divided among themselves, the sum of 140,000*l*. Such a course was directly in the teeth of recent orders from home, binding the servants of the company for the future to accept no presents from the native princes.

No time was lost by Lord Clive in assembling the council, showing them the full powers of his committee, and announcing his peremptory will. To Sujah-ud-Daula, who continued to bear the rank and title of vizir, he gave back the greater part of Oudh. He reserved only two districts of Korah and Allahabad as an imperial domain for Shah Alam, to whom it was also agreed that the company should make from their revenues an annual payment of twenty-six lacs of rupees. On the other hand, he obtained from the fallen emperor a deed, conferring on the English company the sole right of administration throughout the provinces of Bengal, Orissa, and Behar. In this transaction, as in almost every other in India during the same period, it is striking how wide was the interval between nominal authority and effective power. Here we find the heir of Aurangzeb treated with as though still supreme, as though able at his pleasure to bestow upon the Europeans, or to withhold from them, the exercise of sovereignty in three great provinces. Yet at this very time, so low had his fortunes fallen, as to leave him destitute of even the common trappings or appurtenances of high state. During the solemn ceremony of the investiture, it was an English dining-table, covered over, that formed the imperial throne! Such was the prince, of whom the English in India continued to call themselves the vassals, whose coin they struck at their mint, whose titles they bore upon their public seal.

In this transaction there was no objection raised by the young nawab. With him, as with most Asiatic despots, the contingent future was but an empty name; and his desire to obtain a fixed and regular income, no longer to be embezzled or diverted by his ministers, overbalanced every other consideration in his feeble mind. As Lord Clive writes to Mr. Verelst: "He received the proposal of having a sum of money for himself and his household at his will with infinite pleasure, and the only reflection he made upon leaving me was: 'Thank God! I shall now have as many dancing girls as I please!'"

Clive now exacted from the civil servants of the company a written covenant, pledging them to accept no future presents from the native princes. Many murmured, some resigned, but no one dared to disobey. Another

[1766 A.D.]

measure which Clive considered most essential, and found most difficult, but which he succeeded in enforcing, was to debar the men in high places from private trade, granting them, as some compensation, a share in the salt monopoly. With respect to the military officers, Clive announced his intention to deprive them of the large dole or additional allowance, which, under the name of *double batta*, had been granted them by Mir Jafar after the battle of Plassey, but which, as Clive had always explained to them, could not, in all probability, be continued by the company. In fact, the court of directors had issued the most positive orders that the double batta should be discontinued.

In abolishing their double batta Clive had to encounter not remonstrances merely, nor dissatisfaction, but even mutiny. Nearly two hundred officers, combining together, bound themselves by an oath of secrecy, and undertook to fling up their commissions on one and the same day. Thus, while indulgent to the younger and less experienced officers, and willing to receive their tokens of contrition, he ordered the ringleaders into arrest, and sent them down the Ganges for trial at Calcutta. He did not shrink even from the bold measure of cashiering his second in command.

By such firmness was averted the shame of a successful mutiny — a shame which, in Clive's own strong language, all the waters of the Ganges could never wash away.

All this time the conduct of Clive was giving a lofty example of disregard to lucre. He did not spare his own personal resources, and was able some years afterwards to boast in the house of commons that this, his second Indian command, had left him poorer than it found him. His enemies might indeed observe that the virtue of disinterestedness is not so hard to practise when a fortune of forty thousand pounds a year has been already gained. Yet the fact remains that when presents from one of the native princes laid the foundations of his wealth the practice of receiving them was both usual and allowed, and that when it ceased to be at least the latter he stood firm against all temptation. In vain did the rajah of Benares press upon him two diamonds of large size. In vain did the nawab vizir produce a rich casket of jewels and offer a large sum of money. "Lord Clive," thus wrote from India an officer by no means his friend, "might then have added at least half a million to his fortune; and we may further note that the receipt of such gifts might have probably remained a secret since even their refusal was not known until after his decease."

On the whole it may be said that his second command was not less imporant for reform than his first had been for conquest. By this the foundations at least of good government were securely laid. And the results might have been far greater still could Clive nave remained longer at his post. But the burning climate, combined with ceaseless anxiety and toil, had grievously impaired his health. In December, 1766, we find him during several weeks disabled from all writing, and at the close of the ensuing month he found it necessary to embark for England. He left the government to a man of no more than average ability — Verelst; yet under him there still continued the impulse given by a stronger hand.

THE SUCCESSES OF HYDER ALI

At this period the main point of interest changes from the presidency of Bengal to the presidency of Madras. There the English were becoming involved in another war. There they had now, for the first time, to encounter

the most skilful and daring of all the enemies against whom they ever fought in India — Hyder Ali. He was of humble origin, the grandchild of a wandering *fakir* or Mohammedan monk. Most versatile in his talents, Hyder was no less adventurous in his career; by turns a private man devoted to sports of the chase, a captain of freebooters, a partisan chief, a rebel against the rajah of Mysore, and commander-in-chief of the Mysorean army. Of this last position he availed himself to dethrone and supplant his master. Indeed, during his whole course, we seldom find him either restrained by scruples or bound by promises.

One single instance of the kind will suffice to paint his character. A Brahman, Khonde Row by name, at one time his close confederate, but afterwards his enemy, having taken the field against him, was reduced to the point of surrender. The rajah and the ladies of the palace sent a joint message to Hyder, pleading for their friend the Brahman, and inquiring what terms he might expect. "I will not only spare his life," said Hyder, "but I will cherish him like a parroquet." Nevertheless, no sooner was the Brahman in his hands than he was treated with the utmost rigour, and imprisoned for the remainder of his life in an iron cage. When Hyder was thereupon gently reminded of his promise, he answered, that he had literally kept his word, referring in proof to the cage in which the captive was confined, and to the rice and milk allotted for his daily food!



State Elephant at Benares

Pursuing his ambitious schemes, Hyder Ali became not merely the successor of the rajah, but the founder of the kingdom of Mysore. From his palace at Seringapatam, as from a centre, a new energy was infused through the whole of southern India. By various wars and by the dispossession of several smaller princes, he extended his frontiers to the northward, nearly to the river Kistna. His posts on the coast of Malabar, Mangalore especially, gave him the means of founding a marine; and he applied himself with assiduous skill to train and discipline his troops according to the European models. The English at Madras were roused by his ambition, without as yet fully appreciating his genius. We find them at the beginning of 1767 engaged, with little care or forethought, in a confederacy against him with the nizam and the Mahrattas.

Formidable as that confederacy might seem, it was speedily dissipated by the arts of Hyder. At the very outset, a well-timed subsidy bought off the Mahrattas. The nizam showed no better faith; he was only more tardy in his treason. He took the field in concert with a body of English commanded by Colonel Joseph Smith, but soon began to show symptoms of defection, and

at last drew off his troops to join the army of Hyder. A battle ensued near Trincomalee, in September, 1767. Colonel Smith had under him no more than fifteen hundred Europeans and nine thousand sepoys; while the forces combined on the other side were estimated, probably with much exaggeration, at seventy thousand men. Nevertheless, victory, as usual, declared for the English cause.

On the other hand, the troops of Hyder Ali, both then and afterwards, displayed not merely the effects of a braver chief and of a better discipline, but also the energies of a robuster race. The people within the Ghats or hill-passes of southern India, though far below the mountain races of Afghanistan, are yet far superior to the Hindus of the plains. In these, the delicacy of limbs and the softness of muscles must be reckoned among the foremost causes of their failure on a battle-field. In these, the utter want of strength in their bodily organisation is only, on home occasions and for some purposes, redeemed by its suppleness. It has been computed that two English sawyers can perform in one day the work of thirty-two Indians. Yet, as the same authority assures us, see the same men as tumblers, and there are none so extraordinary in the world. Or employ them as messengers, and they will go fifty miles a day for twenty or thirty days without intermission.

The victory at Trincomalee produced as its speedy consequence a treaty of peace with the nizam. Hyder was left alone; but even thus proved fully a match for the English both of Madras and of Bombay. The latter had fitted out a naval armament which, in the course of the winter, reduced his seaport of Mangalore and destroyed his rising fleet. Against these new enemies Hyder, like some wild beast at bay, made a sudden bound. Leaving to the eastward a force sufficient to employ and delude Colonel Joseph Smith, he silently descended the western Ghats, and in May, 1768, at the very time when least expected, appeared before the gates of Mangalore. The English garrison, taken by surprise, hastily re-embarked in boats, relinquishing all their artillery and stores, and leaving also more than two hundred sick and wounded to the mercy of their crafty foe.

Returning to the eastward, Hyder Ali continued to wage the war against Colonel Smith; inferior on any field of battle, but prevailing in wiles and stratagems, in early intelligence, and in rapid marches, he could not be prevented from laying waste the southern plains of the Carnatic, as the territory of one of the staunchest allies of England, Muhammed Ali, the nawab of Arcot.

At length, in the spring of 1769, Hyder Ali became desirous of peace, and resolved to extort it on favourable terms. First, by a dexterous feint he drew off the British forces a hundred and forty miles to the southward of Madras. Then suddenly, at the head of five thousand horsemen, Hyder himself appeared at St. Thomas' Mount, within ten miles of that city. The terrified members of the council were little inclined to dispute whatever might be asked by an enemy so near at hand. Happily his terms were not high. A treaty was signed, providing that a mutual restoration of conquests should take place, and that the contracting parties should agree to assist each other in all defensive wars.

In the career of Hyder Ali, this was by no means the first, nor yet the last occasion, on which he showed himself sincerely desirous of alliance with the English. He did not conceal the fact that in order to maintain his power and secure himself he must lean either on them or on the Mahrattas. He would have preferred the first; it was the vacillation and weakness of the council at Madras that drove him to the latter. Finding his overtures of friendship slighted he took his part, as always, decidedly and boldly. He became, even

in the midst of peace, a known and ardent enemy of the English race and name; ever watchful for any opening to assail them; ever ready to league himself against them with the Mahratta chiefs at Poona, or the French governors at Pondicherry.

It was no common enemy whom the Madras traders thus neglected or defied. The vigorous administration of Hyder at his court of Seringapatam, has been closely viewed and well described by more than one European in his service. Like the other Indian princes, he was addicted to licentious pleasure. Unlike them, he was never enslaved by it. Many of his leisure hours were passed in the company of dancing girls. To intoxication likewise he was often prone; and one instance is recorded how in that state he was seen by his whole court to seize and most severely cane his grown-up son, Tipu. It may be added that on common occasions his toilet took up a considerable portion of his time. But no sooner did any peril threaten or any object of ambition rise in view than all such habits of indulgence were promptly cast aside, and Hyder passed whole days and nights untired in his council-chambers, or on horseback with his cavalry. At all times he was most easy of access; freely receiving all those who desired to see him, except only the fakirs; a significant token of the degree of esteem in which he held his grandfather's profession. From all others he quickly drew whatever information he desired; and in dealing with them manifested the keenest insight of their various characters. So far had his education been neglected that he could neither read nor write. He made no later attempt at scholarship, but relied upon the powers of a most retentive memory, and upon a shrewdness hard to be deceived. He might be careless of his people's welfare for their sake, but he anxiously sought it for his own; he knew that to make them prosperous would, beyond all other causes, make him powerful; and thus through the wide extent of the kingdom that he founded, he never failed to guard them from all vague depredation or inferior tyranny.

By such means did he who had first set forth as a freebooter, with one or two score of followers, leave behind him at his peaceful end a well-appointed army of a hundred thousand soldiers, and a treasure of three million sterling. Yet, prosperous as he seemed, Hyder was not happy. It is recorded of one of his attendants, that after watching for some time his short and uneasy slumbers he ventured at his waking to inquire of his dreams. "Believe me, my friend," said Hyder, "my dominion, envied though it may be, is in truth far less desirable than the state of the yogis (the religious mendicants); awake, they see no conspirators; asleep, they dream of no assassins!"

EVIL DAYS FOR THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

In this war with Hyder, the English had lost no great amount of reputation, and of territory they had lost none at all. But as regards their wealth and their resources, they had suffered severely. Supplies, both of men and of money had been required from Bengal to assist the government at Madras; and both had been freely given. In consequence of such a drain, there could not be made the usual investments in goods, nor yet the usual remittances to England. Thus at the very time when the proprietors of the East India Company had begun to wish each other joy on the great reforms effected by Lord Clive, and looked forward to a further increase of their half-yearly dividend, they were told to prepare for its reduction. A panic ensued. Within a few days, in the spring of 1769, India stock fell more than sixty per cent.

At that period, indeed, as for some years before it, nothing could be more

unsteady than the wishes, or more precarious than the prospects, of the great company. Party spirit continued to rage at their elections; the contests between the followers of Sulivan and the followers of Clive being renewed every year with varying success. Each party, when defeated, heaped the grossest imputations on the other, as on the lowest and basest of mankind; and in that respect the public were inclined to give an equal belief to both. In such a state of things the very existence of the company seemed to hang upon the breath of any great man in parliament.

When, in July, 1766, Pitt became prime minister, with the title of Chatham, he entered office with the fixed determination to transfer the government of Great Britain's eastern empire in the hands of the central authorities; but his purpose was baffled, not through any efforts of the East India Company, but through his own mysterious illness; and the men succeeding him in power, though unable to pursue his policy, were reduced merely to stave off the main question or to patch up temporary terms. But they, for their own part, were well satisfied, since the company undertook, meanwhile, to pay to the revenue 400,000*l.* each year. As a further concession, arising from the financial embarrassments of 1769, it was agreed by the directors that commissioners of inquiry, under the name of supervisors, should be sent to India with full powers over the other servants of the company. Three gentlemen of old standing and long service — Vansittart, Scrafton, and Colonel Forde — were selected for this important trust. Accordingly they embarked on their mission towards the close of the same year. But after leaving the Cape of Good Hope the ship in which they sailed, the *Aurora* frigate, was never heard of again: it is supposed to have foundered at sea.

THE GREAT FAMINE OF 1770

It is not improbable that this system of makeshifts might have still continued, and the necessity of any more decisive measures been longer postponed. But in the ensuing year, 1770, a new and more grievous calamity overspread Bengal. The usual rains having failed, there was no water in the tanks, and the rivers shrank into shallows. The rice-fields continued parched and dry, and could not yield their expected produce, while the conflagration of several large granaries completed the work of misery. A terrible famine ensued; a famine such as Europe, during the last few ages, has never known even in its rudest districts, or behind beleaguered walls. Throughout the wide valley of the Ganges, the country places were deserted, and the cities, where alone there might be hope of food, became thronged with starving multitudes, from whom piteous cries were heard.

The common misery united, for the first and only time, the men of the most opposite castes — from the Brahman of lofty lineage down to the humblest of the Niaidees. Even the zenana now gave forth its guarded inmates, who no longer veiled with jealous care, but prostrate and wailing on the ground, implored from the passers-by, if not for themselves, at least for their little children, a handful — only a handful — of rice. Thousands and tens of thousands of human beings died daily in the streets, where the vultures swooped down and the dogs and jackals flocked in quest of their ghastly prey.

In Calcutta alone there were daily employed one hundred men, on the company's account, to pile the dead bodies upon sledges and cars, and throw them into the Ganges. The broad river was itself so far tainted that its fish ceased to be wholesome food. Hogs, ducks and geese, which had likewise

taken part in devouring the carcases, could no longer themselves be safely eaten; and thus, as the famine grew greater, the means of subsistence, even to the Europeans, grew less. It was computed, not in any rhetorical flight, not amidst the horror of the sufferings described, but in a grave despatch written two years afterwards, though even then perhaps with some exaggeration, that through Bengal this dreadful famine had destroyed in many places one-half, and, on the whole, above one-third, of the inhabitants.

These evil tidings from India did not come alone. Conjoined with them were rumours and charges that the distress had been greatly aggravated by the conduct of the company's servants; that at the very outset of the famine they had engrossed all the rice of the country, and that afterwards they slowly doled it out at tenfold the price they had paid. If in truth there were any such cases, there can have been but few. They were in direct contravention of the directors' orders, and of Lord Clive's rules.

Such charges, however, could not fail to make some impression on both the ministry and parliament of England. Even allowing them to be unfounded, there was yet an ample growth of abuses, rank and stubborn, to hew down in the company's affairs. It was felt on all sides that there was more need than ever of investigation — more need and now more leisure also. The government of Lord North had by this time attained some degree of stability, and the nation some degree of repose.

PARLIAMENT INVESTIGATES THE COMPANY; THE REGULATING ACT (1772 A.D.)

Accordingly, in April, 1772, and on the motion of General Burgoyne, there was appointed, by means of ballot, a committee of inquiry, bearing the title of "select," though consisting of no less than thirty-one members. Within six weeks that committee prepared and presented two reports; but the approaching close of the session precluded any further step at that time.

In the spring of 1773 Lord North proposed and carried through against all gainsayers his own measure of reform. This, after it had passed, was commonly called the Regulating Act. In the first place, he granted to the company a loan of 1,500,000*l.* for four years, and relieved them from the annual payment to the state of 400,000*l.* On the other hand, the company was restrained from making any greater dividend than 6 per cent. until the loan should be repaid, or any greater dividend than 8 per cent. until the public should have some participation in the profits. It was then enacted, that instead of annual elections of the whole number of directors at the India House, six should go out of office each year, and none keep their seats longer than four years. At the same time, the qualification for a vote in each proprietor was raised from 500*l.* to 1000*l.*, with more votes in proportion, up to four, to each proprietor of a larger sum.

In India, the act provided that the mayor's court of Calcutta should be restricted in its jurisdiction to petty cases of trade, and that in its place should be constituted a supreme court, to consist of a chief justice, and three puisne judges, appointed by the crown. The governor of Bengal was henceforth to have authority over the other presidencies, as governor-general of India, but was himself to be controlled by his council. In that council, as previously, he was entitled only to a single or, in case of equality, a casting vote. It was proposed that these nominations should be made by parliament, and continue for five years; after which they should revert to the directors, but subject to the approbation of the crown. In the progress

[1773 A.D.]

therefore of the bill through the commons, the members of the new council were expressly named, so as to become a part of the enactment.

Warren Hastings, who a year before had assumed the administration of Bengal, was appointed the first governor-general. Another of the new council, Richard Barwell, was already at his post; the new members to be sent from England were General Clavering, the Hon. Colonel Monson, and Philip Francis.

Another clause of Lord North's bill remitted the drawback on the East India Company's teas — a step little regarded at its outset, but momentous in its consequences. The directors at the time were but little gratified with this boon or any other when compared with the curtailment of their previous powers. They declared in a petition to the house that they would rather forego the loan which they had solicited than endure the conditions which the minister imposed. But their late misgovernment had been such as to render, in parliament at least, their adherents few and their lamentations disregarded.

CENSURE AND SUICIDE OF CLIVE

In the course of these proceedings, both before the committees and within the house, many a shaft was let fly at Lord Clive. Besides the public wrongs of which he stood accused there was also, it may be feared, a feeling of personal envy at work against him. His vast wealth became a more striking mark for calumny when contrasted with the financial embarrassments of the directors in whose service he had gained it. And his profusion, as ever happens, offended far more persons than it pleased.

Under such circumstances the select committee, over which Burgoyne presided, made Clive their more especial object of attack. They drew forth into the light of day several transactions certainly not well formed to bear it, as the forgery of Admiral Watson's signature, and the fraud practised on Omichund. But at the same time they could not shut out the lustre of the great deeds he had performed. Clive himself was unsparingly questioned, and treated with slight regard. As he complains in one of his speeches: "I, their humble servant, the baron of Plassey, have been examined by the Select Committee more like a sheep-stealer than a member of this house!" And he adds, with perfect truth: "I am sure, Sir, if I had any sore places about me they would have been found: they have probed me to the bottom; no lenient plasters have been applied to heal; no, Sir, they were all of the blister kind, prepared with Spanish flies, and other provocatives!"

On this and some other occasions Clive spoke in his own defence in a frank and fearless spirit with great energy of language, and it would seem with great effect upon the house. It was in May, 1773, that the charges against him, till then vague and undefined, were brought forward as a vote of censure by Burgoyne. In the result, the first resolutions of Burgoyne, alleging certain matters of fact that could scarcely be denied, were carried. But the next, which charged Lord Clive by name with having abused his powers, and set an evil example to the servants of the public, did not pass. At length, as the dawn was slowly breaking on the last of these long and stormy, and in many parts confused, debates, the house agreed almost unanimously to some words which Wedderburn moved: "That Robert Lord Clive did at the same time render great and meritorious services to his country."

Such a vote might perhaps be deemed almost a verdict of acquittal. Certainly, at least, it showed a wise reluctance to condemn. It closed the whole

case, and Clive had no further parliamentary attack to fear. But the previous taunts and injuries appear to have sunk deep into his haughty mind. Nor was a life of ease, however splendid, congenial to his active temper. In his sumptuous halls of Claremont, or beneath the stately cedars of his park, he was far less really happy than amidst his former toils and cares, on the tented plains of the Carnatic or in the council-chambers of Bengal. Moreover, through the climate of the tropics, his health was most grievously impaired. He had to undergo sharp and oft-recurring spasms of pain, for which opium only could afford him its treacherous and transitory aid. At length, on November 22nd, 1774, at his house in Berkeley Square, this great man, for such he surely was, fell by his own hand. He was not yet fifty years of age; and the contest in North America was just then beginning to hold forth to him a new career of active exertion — a new chaplet of honourable fame.

To the last, however, he appears to have retained his serene demeanour, and the stern dominion of his will. It so chanced, that a young lady, an attached friend of his family, was then upon a visit at his house in Berkeley Square, and sat, writing a letter, in one of its apartments. Seeing Lord Clive walk through, she called to him to come and mend her pen. Lord Clive obeyed her summons, and taking out his penknife fulfilled her request; after which, passing on to another chamber, he turned the same knife against himself.[b]

LORD MACAULAY'S ESTIMATE OF CLIVE

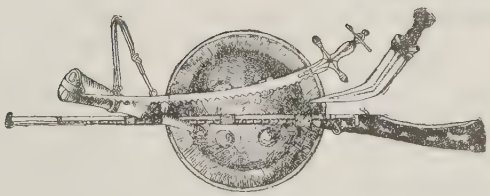
In the awful close of so much prosperity and glory the vulgar saw only a confirmation of all their prejudices; and some men of real piety and genius so far forgot the maxims both of religion and of philosophy as confidently to ascribe the mournful event to the just vengeance of God, and to the horrors of an evil conscience. It is with very different feelings that we contemplate the spectacle of a great mind ruined by the weariness of satiety, by the pangs of wounded honour, by fatal diseases, and more fatal remedies.

Clive committed great faults; but his faults, when weighed against his merits, and viewed in connection with his temptations, do not appear to us to deprive him of his right to an honourable place in the estimation of posterity. From his first visit to India dates the renown of the English arms in the east. Till he appeared his countrymen were despised as mere pedlars, while the French were revered as a people formed for victory and command. His courage and capacity dissolved the charm. With the defence of Arcot commences the long series of oriental triumphs which closes with the fall of Ghazni. Nor must we forget that he was only twenty-five years old when he proved himself ripe for military command. This is a rare if not a singular distinction.

From Clive's second visit to India dates the political ascendancy of the English in that country. His dexterity and resolution realised, in the course of a few months, more than all the gorgeous visions which had floated before the imagination of Dupleix. Such an extent of cultivated territory, such an amount of revenue, such a multitude of subjects, was never added to the dominion of Rome by the most successful proconsul. Nor were such wealthy spoils ever borne under arches of triumph, down the Sacred Way, and through the crowded Forum, to the threshold of Tarpeian Jove. The fame of those who subdued Antiochus and Tigranes grows dim when compared with the splendour of the exploits which the young English adventurer achieved at the head of an army not equal in numbers to one-half of a Roman legion.

[1774 A.D.]

From Clive's third visit to India dates the purity of the administration of our eastern empire. When he landed in Calcutta in 1765, Bengal was regarded as a place to which Englishmen were sent only to get rich, by any means, in the shortest possible time. He first made dauntless and unsparing war on that gigantic system of oppression, extortion, and corruption. In that war he manfully put to hazard his ease, his fame, and his splendid fortune. The same sense of justice which forbids us to conceal or extenuate the faults of his earlier days compels us to admit that those faults were nobly repaired. If the reproach of the company and of its servants has been taken away; if in India the yoke of foreign masters, elsewhere the heaviest of all yokes, has been found lighter than that of any native dynasty; if to that gang of public robbers, which formerly spread terror through the whole plain of Bengal has succeeded a body of functionaries not more highly distinguished by ability and diligence than by integrity, disinterestedness, and public spirit; if we have seen such men as Munro, Elphinstone, and Metcalfe, after leading victorious armies, after making and deposing kings, return, proud of their honourable poverty, from a land which once held out to every greedy factor the hope of boundless wealth, the praise is in no small measure due to Clive. His name stands high on the roll of conquerors. But it is found in a better list, in the list of those who have done and suffered much for the happiness of mankind. To the warrior, history will assign a place in the same rank with Lucullus and Trajan. Nor will she deny to the reformer a share of that veneration with which France cherishes the memory of Turgot, and with which the latest generations of Hindus will contemplate the statue of Lord William Bentinck.[h]





CHAPTER III

WARREN HASTINGS, CORNWALLIS, AND THE WELLESLEYS

[1772–1806 A.D.]

Warren Hastings, the first governor-general of India, was born in 1732. He was sprung from a branch, or rather, as they alleged, the main stem, of the great old house of Hastings, from which in another line the earls of Huntingdon descend. But at the time of Warren's birth his branch was fast decaying; and Daylesford, its ancient seat in Worcestershire, was already sold. It was only through the kindness of a kinsman that he obtained his education at Westminster school; and when that relative died, he was shipped off at seventeen as a writer to Bengal. He was noticed by Lord Clive as a man of promise. Under Mr. Vansittart[1] he had much more opportunity to shine. Thus, through the various gradations of the civil service at that time, he sped with credit and success. Having married, but become a widower, he returned to England in 1765. But four years afterwards he was again sent forth as second in the council of Madras; and early in 1772 he proceeded to a far higher, and, as it proved, more lasting post, as first in the council of Bengal.

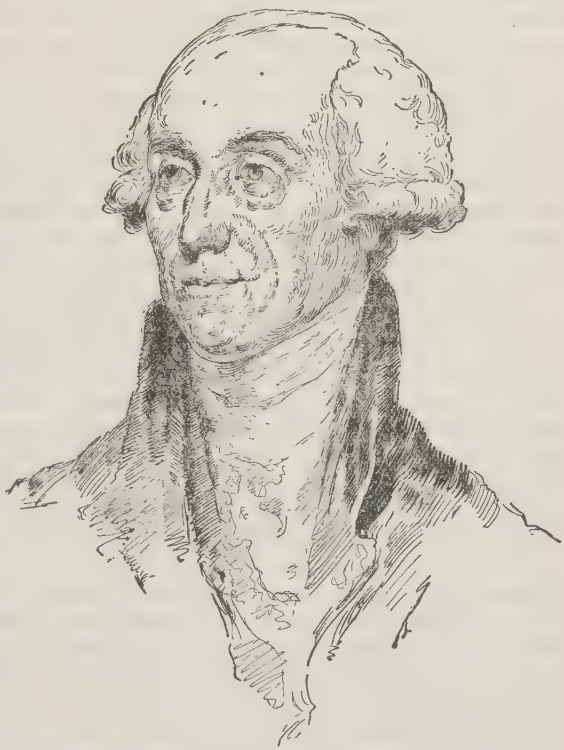
Spare in form and shrunk in features, with a mild voice and with gentle manners, Warren Hastings might seem to a casual observer as wanting in manly firmness. It is remarkable that, on his appointment as governor of Bengal, Lord Clive deemed it right to warn him against this, as he imagined, the weak point of his character. Never was an error more complete.

It may be said of Hastings, that tenacity of purpose was not merely the principal feature of his character, but the key and mainspring of the rest. It made him, on the one hand, consistent and courageous. On the other hand, it gave him a certain hardness and insensibility of heart; it made him,

[1 The period of Vansittart's government has been truly described as the most revolting page in our Indian history.b]

on several great occasions in his long career, callous to the sufferings which his policy inflicted, and careless of the means by which his policy might be pursued. He was firm, it may be added, in all his friendships and attachments, but few men have ever been more rancorous and unforgiving.

It was one among the merits of Hastings, that he had made himself thoroughly acquainted, not only with the literature, but also with the temper and feelings of the nations which he came to rule. Their languages he spoke with ease and fluency; their prejudices, whether of religion or of race, he was ever, unless impelled by some state necessity, studious not to wound. By such means he was at all times, whether in his triumphs or in his hours of danger and distress, a favourite with the native tribes of Hindustan —a favourite, moreover, at a period when in most cases they had little or no sympathy for the island-strangers.



WARREN HASTINGS
(1732-1818)

When in the year 1772 Hastings first assumed the administration of Bengal, he found the whole country weighed down by the effects of the recent famine and depopulation. The greatest praise perhaps of his able rule is the simple fact that scarce any trace of these effects appears in the succeeding years. He enforced a new system in the land revenue founded on leases for five years; a system indeed far from faultless, yet the best, probably, which at that period could be framed. Under that system nearly the same amount of income was collected from the far diminished numbers with less, it would seem, of pressure than before. For the accumulating debt and financial embarrassment of the company more than the common resources seemed to be required. These Hastings strove hard to supply, not always, as will presently be shown, by the most creditable means. At the same time, to the great and manifest advantage of the natives, he put an end to the oppressive tax or duty levied upon marriages. As one of the results of his system of revenue-collection, he established, with signal good effect, district courts for the administration of justice, and district officers to maintain the public peace. Within a few months the provinces were in a great measure cleared of the *dacoits* or gangs of thieves, and other prowling marauders. These and such like measures of reform, or of public policy, were carried through by Hastings amidst numerous objections in his council and incessant calls upon his time.

Among the earliest acts of Hastings in Bengal was one for which, right or wrong, he was in no degree responsible. It arose from the peremptory and positive commands of the directors at home to arrest and try Muhammed Reza Khan, who had now for seven years held his great office at Murshidabad, as naib diwan, or chief minister of the finances. The reports against him of embezzlement and fraud in his high functions appear to have arisen mainly through the intrigues of Nandkumar or Nuncomar his disappointed rival. Muhammed Reza Khan was seized in his bed at midnight by a battalion of sepoys. The same measure was extended to his confederate, Shitab Roy, at that time governor of Behar; a chief who, in the recent wars, had fought with signal bravery upon the English side.

The two prisoners were carried to Calcutta, where after many months of postponement and delay they were brought to trial before a committee over which Hastings himself presided. Nandkumar, with a vengeful rancour, such as no time could soften, no calamities subdue, appeared as the accuser of his ancient rival. But no guilt could be proved to call for any further punishment, nor even to justify the harshness already shown. Both prisoners, therefore, were acquitted and set free; Shitab Roy, moreover, being sent back to hold office in Behar, clothed in a robe of state and mounted on a richly caparisoned elephant, as marks of honour and respect.

Nandkumar throve as little in his hopes of ambition as in his projects of revenge. Hastings had meanwhile been effecting a complete change in the former system. It was not merely that he arrested the minister; he abolished the office. He put an end to the scheme of double government at Murshidabad and at Calcutta, transferring to the latter city and to the servants of the company the entire machinery of state affairs. An empty pageant only was left at the former capital, still decked with the name and honours of nawab. That nawab, the heir of Mir Jafar, was now an infant. On that plea, Hastings took occasion to reduce the yearly allowance granted by the company from 320,000*l.* to half that sum. To alleviate in some degree the disappointment that was gnawing at the heart of Nandkumar, his son Rajah Goordas was appointed treasurer of the young prince's household. The guardianship of the young prince himself was bestowed, not on his own mother, but on another lady of his father's harem — the Munny Begum, by title and name.

External affairs also claimed the early care of Hastings. Shah Alam the emperor, in name at least, of Hindustan, had more than once endeavoured, but in vain, to prevail upon the English to assist him in expelling the Mahrattas. Finding that alone he could not attack these invaders of his patrimony with the smallest prospect of success, he took the opposite part, and threw himself into their arms. He was received at first with every token of respect and homage, and led back in triumph to his ancestral seat of Delhi. Soon, however, a quarrel ensued between them, when he found himself no more than a prisoner and a puppet in the hands of his new allies. They compelled him to sign an edict, transferring to them the districts of Allahabad and Korah, which had been bestowed upon him by Lord Clive. But here Hastings interposed. He determined not merely on resuming the districts of Allabahad and Korah, but on discontinuing all further yearly payments to Shah Alam. Breach of faith on this account became, at a later period, one of the charges brought against him.

The districts of Korah and Allahabad were promptly occupied by English troops. But it was computed that the expenses of maintaining them at so great a distance would exceed the utmost revenue they could bring. It was

therefore the wish of Hastings to yield them for a stipulated sum to the adjacent state of Oudh. He repaired to the city of Benares to confer in person with the nawab vizir. There, in September 1773, a treaty was agreed upon between them; the nawab vizir undertaking to pay for the two districts the sum of fifty lacs of rupees.

ENGLISH TROOPS LENT FOR THE DESTRUCTION OF THE ROHILLAS

But — alas for the fair fame not only of Hastings, but of England! — another and a weightier question was then decided at Benares. The Rohillas, a tribe of Afghan blood, had earlier in that century, and as allies of the Mughal, descended into the plains of Hindustan. They had obtained for their reward that fertile country which lies between the Ganges and the mountains on the western boundary of Oudh. That country bore from them the name of Rohilkhand. It had been earned by their services, and it was flourishing under their dominion. Of late there had sprung up a difference between them and their neighbours of Oudh, with respect to some pecuniary stipulations which the Rohillas contracted and were backward to discharge. On that ground, Sujah-ud-Daula had a plea for war against them.

He applied to the English governor for the aid of English bayonets; and this request came before Hastings at a time when the Bengal treasury was weighed down with heavy debts, and when nevertheless the letters from the court of directors were calling on him in the most earnest terms for large remittances. The Indian prince wanted soldiers, and the English chief wanted money, and on this foundation was the bargain struck between them. In April, 1774, an English brigade under Colonel Champion invaded the Rohilla districts; and in a hard-fought battle gained a decisive victory over the Rohilla troops. Exactly half a century afterwards an English bishop, on his first visitation progress, found the whole scene still fresh in the traditions of the country.

Throughout this conflict, nothing could be more dastardly than the demeanour of the troops of Oudh. They had slunk to the rear of the armies; they had kept aloof from the fight; and it was only after the battle was decided that they came forward to plunder the camp and despoil the dead and dying. Many an indignant murmur was heard from the British ranks: "We have the honour of the day, and these banditti are to have the profit!" Nor was this all. The vizir and his soldiery next applied themselves to wreak their fury on the vanquished, and to lay waste with sword and fire the rich plains of Rohilkhand. No terms whatever had been made by Hastings for the more humane and merciful conduct of the war; and Colonel Champion, in his private letters to the governor, might well avow his fear that, although his countrymen stood free from all participation in these cruel deeds, the mere fact of their having been silent spectators of them would tend, in the minds of the whole Indian people, to the dishonour of the English name.

The case of Hastings as to the Rohillas — a case at the best a bad one — was farther injured by the indiscretion of his friends. Some of them afterwards pleaded for him in the house of commons, that the Rohillas were not among the native possessors of the soil in India, but only an invading tribe of foreign lineage and of recent conquest. With just indignation, Mr. Wilberforce exclaimed, "Why, what are we but the Rohillas of Bengal?" But Hastings himself took better ground. Besides the pecuniary advantages, on which no question could exist, he had political arguments to urge in vindication of his treaty. It was of paramount importance to the British to form

a close alliance with Oudh; and, on forming an alliance with that state, they had a full right to espouse its quarrels. But Lord North, the prime minister at the time of the transaction, said in the house of commons — "as soon as I was apprised of the facts of the Rohilla war, I thought the conduct of Mr. Hastings highly censurable; and I sent to the court of directors, urging them to combine with me for his recall.

HASTINGS UNDER CHARGES; NANDKUMAR PUT OUT OF THE WAY

It was at the close of the Rohilla war, in October, 1774, that there anchored in the Ganges the ship which brought from England the expected members of the council and the judges of the supreme court. Of the three new councillors, Francis was by far the youngest; but his more shining and ardent spirit gave him a great ascendancy over Clavering's and Monson's. He came — there is little risk in affirming — determined to find fault; ready, whatever might befall, to cavil and oppose.

Of the five who met in council, the old servants of the company, Hastings and Barwell, stood together; on the other side were arrayed, as though in military order, the general, the colonel, and the late war-office clerk. Thus they formed a majority upon every question that arose; thus, from the very first they wrested the whole power of the government and all substantial patronage from the hands of Hastings. They ordered the English brigade to march back from Rohilkhand, whatever might be then the condition of that province. They recalled, with every token of disgrace, Mr. Middleton, the confidential friend of Hastings, and by him appointed the resident in Oudh. They insisted that even the most private of Mr. Middleton's letters should be laid before them.

Confident in their absolute majority the three new councillors pursued their course of rashness, or, as Hastings terms it, frenzy. On the decease of Sujah-ud-Daula, and the succession of his son, Asa-ud-Daula, as nawab vizir they passed a preposterous vote that the treaties which had been signed with the former should be considered as personal and as having ended with his life. They unsettled for a time the whole administration, both financial and judicial, of Bengal. Still more mischievous was their meddling in the case of Bombay, then first under the recent act reduced to a subordinate presidency. They rebuked its council, and they reversed its policy; and, in utter ignorance of its affairs, took new measures for entangling it in the differences of the several Mahratta chiefs. Meanwhile their power seemed so unquestionable, and their hostility to Hastings so clear, that many of his personal enemies began to brood over projects of revenge as certain of attainment. Two Englishmen of the name of Fowke came forward to charge him with corruption. The rani, or princess, of Bardwan, with her adopted son, sent in a similar complaint. But foremost of all in rancour as in rank was Nandkumar. He put into the hands of Francis a paper containing several heavy accusations against Hastings; above all, that he had taken a bribe for dismissing without punishment Muhammed Reza Khan; and this paper was produced by Francis at the council-board.

Long and fierce were the discussions that ensued. The governor-general did not shrink from the investigation of his conduct, but he insisted, and surely with perfect right, that the members of the council should form themselves into a committee for that purpose, and after receiving whatever evidence they pleased, transmit it for adjudication either to the supreme court of justice at Calcutta, or to the directors at home. On the other hand the

majority maintained, that even while sitting as a council they might proceed to the trial of their chief. The governor-general rose, declared the meeting dissolved, and left the room with Barwell in his train. The remaining members voted that the meeting was not dissolved, named Clavering as chairman, and called in Nandkumar.

In this state of the transactions, Hastings thought himself entitled to allege that Nandkumar, Mr. Fowke, and some others were guilty of a conspiracy against him. On this ground he began legal proceedings against them in the supreme court. The judges after a long examination of the case directed Nandkumar and Fowke to give bail, and bound over the governor-general to prosecute them.

Of a sudden, however, and only a few weeks afterwards, a more serious blow was aimed at Nandkumar by another hand. He was arrested at the suit of a native merchant named Mohun Persaud, and, like any other man accused of felony, was thrown into the common gaol. The charge against him was that he had forged a bond five years before. On that charge, the supreme court not then existing, he had been brought to trial before the mayor's court of Calcutta, but was released through the authority which at that time Hastings exerted in his favour. The suit had, therefore, been suspended, but not concluded. It was now revived before a higher and more independent tribunal, established expressly with a view to such cases; and it was revived at the very earliest lawful time after the necessary documents had been transferred to the new court. So opportune was this prosecution for the interests of the governor-general, and so suspicious the coincidence of time, that Hastings has ever since been suspected and arraigned as the real mover in the business.[1] Yet, besides the presumption on his side to be drawn from the regular conduct of the suit, there is surely some weight in a fact which many writers have passed over — that in the proceedings before the supreme court, Hastings solemnly deposed, upon his oath, that he had never directly or indirectly countenanced or forwarded the prosecution for forgery against Nandkumar.

The new members of the council showed the utmost resentment at the prosecution, but found themselves wholly powerless to stem it. Their fierce representations to the judges proved in vain. They could only send complimentary messages to Nandkumar in his prison, and grant additional favours to his son. The trial came on, in due time, before a jury composed of Englishmen, when the charge of forgery was established to their entire satisfaction, and a verdict of guilty was returned. One of the judges, Sir Robert Chambers, the friend of Dr. Johnson, had proposed to try the prisoner on an earlier and a milder statute, inflicting no capital penalty; but Chambers is stated to have been convinced by, and most certainly acquiesced in, the arguments against it. The sentence of death on Nandkumar was pronounced by Sir Elijah Impey as the chief, and apparently with the full concurrence of his colleagues. On the 5th of August, 1775, the rajah Nandkumar, at that time seventy years of age and the head of the Brahmans of Bengal, was led forth to the gallows, and hanged; while Clavering and his two friends, with impotent rage, shut themselves up within their houses, and while an immense concourse of Hindus looked on in wonder and affright.

For his share in these proceedings the chief justice has been arraigned even more severely than the governor-general. It was Hastings — thus cries Burke in his ardent and sometimes overflowing zeal — it was Hastings who

[1 That Hastings set this prosecution in motion, no reasonable person can doubt; and it is equally clear that Chief Justice Impey is free from all personal blame. —J. S. COTTON.b]

murdered Nandkumar by the hand of Sir Elijah Impey! The personal friendship which had subsisted between them since their schoolboy days was urged as strong presumption of a guilty compact. For this argument, as levelled at one of the judges, it became convenient to overlook entirely the existence of the other three. Thus Impey, who had but acted jointly, was arraigned alone. At length the surmises and suspicions against him assumed a more definite form. At the close of 1787 a member of the house of commons, Sir Gilbert Elliot, moved for his impeachment mainly on this ground. Then Sir Elijah was permitted to appear at the bar, and to speak in his own defence. He showed, to the perfect satisfaction of by far the greater part of those who heard him, that his behaviour through the trial had been wholly free from blame.

The execution of Nandkumar, although it may not have been connected with any step of Hastings, was certainly auspicious to his interests. The Hindus could make no nice distinctions, such as the case required, between political and judicial authority. They looked only to the one broad fact that one of their chief men had stood forth to accuse the governor-general, and that within a few weeks of his accusation that chief man had died upon the gallows. From that moment all the other natives shrank from any further charges against Hastings. From that moment, in their eyes, he recovered a large portion of his power. But it should be added, in justice to his memory, that throughout his long administration he attracted, in a high degree, their love as well as fear. The English in India also were nearly all upon his side. Hastings, they saw, was familiar with their wants and wishes, and profoundly versed in their affairs. On the other hand they had slight confidence in either Clavering or Monson; and they had quickly taken fire against the war-office clerk [Francis], who, in all respects, ignorant of India, was yet seeking to impose upon it, with peremptory violence, every crotchet of his brain. He had not been many weeks at Calcutta ere he obtained the common surname of "King Francis," or "Francis the First."

The news of the divisions in the council at Calcutta appears to have greatly perplexed the directors at home. For some time they endeavoured, but with little good effect, to hold a middle course. Lord North himself, however, was deeply impressed with the iniquity of the Rohilla war. He regretted, that under the Regulating Act there was no power during the first five years to recall the governor-general without an address to that effect from the company to the crown. At a meeting of the court of proprietors the motion for Hastings' recall was negatived by a majority of upwards of one hundred.

But the vague threats wrought too far upon Hastings' agent in London, Colonel Maclean. He believed his patron in risk of a parliamentary dismissal, or perhaps, a parliamentary censure. He had in his possession a private letter, written by Hastings a year and a half before, in which Hastings announced his resolution of resigning if he should not find his measures supported and approved. In another letter, two months afterwards, Hastings had most clearly revoked that resolution. Nevertheless, Colonel Maclean in October, 1776, thought himself sufficiently empowered to tender to the court of directors the resignation of the governor-general. The directors, eager to be relieved from their embarrassment, made little difficulty. They accepted the resignation, and, with the connivance of the crown, named one of their own body, Mr. Edward Wheler, to the vacant place in the council of Bengal.

But meanwhile the state of that council had wholly changed. In Sep-

tember, 1776, Colonel Monson had died. By his decease, and by the means of his own casting vote, the full powers of government fell back into the hands of the governor-general. With his usual fixedness of purpose he now resumed his former policy and reappointed his old friends. At the same time his mind was brooding over a vast scheme for the complete ascendancy in India of the English name — a system of subsidiary alliance with native princes, and, above all, with the nawab of Oudh and the nizam — a system which it was left to his successors to unfold and to pursue.

Such were the schemes that Hastings was maturing, when, in June, 1777, a packet-ship from England anchored in the Hooghly, and all Calcutta was startled with the news that the governor-general had resigned; that his resignation was accepted; and that the government was transferred to other hands. No man was more astonished at these tidings than the governor-general himself. He declared that Colonel Maclean had far, very far, exceeded his instructions. But he afterwards said, that nevertheless he should have felt himself bound by the acts of his agent, had not General Clavering attempted to seize the government by force.

Clavering sent his Persian interpreter to Hastings with a letter, requiring him to deliver the keys of the fort and treasury. Meanwhile, in another chamber, Hastings took the chair with Barwell by his side, and declared himself determined to maintain his just authority until further orders should arrive. Seeing this, the opposite party agreed, though unwillingly, to his proposal — that they should ask, and should abide by, the opinion of the judges of the supreme court. This was no season for delay; the case being thus referred to the judges, they met the same evening, and continued all night in anxious deliberation. At four the next morning Sir Elijah reported their unanimous judgment, that the resignation of Hastings was invalid, and the assumption of power by Clavering illegal Thus was the governor-general enabled to maintain his ground. On this occasion he justly felt that his all had been at stake.

But Hastings was not content with his success on this occasion. He endeavoured to pursue it with a degree of violence and indiscretion scarcely less than his rival had displayed. He prevailed on Barwell to concur in a resolution that General Clavering, by attempting to usurp the functions of governor-general, had surrendered and resigned both his place in council and his office as commander-in-chief of the Indian forces. Against this flagrant abuse of victory Clavering and Francis remonstrated in vain. Now, in their turn, they appealed to the judges of the supreme court. Sir Elijah Impey, in the name of his brethren, pronounced it as their unanimous decision, that the council had no legal power to remove one of its members or declare his seat vacant.

In this struggle the temper of Clavering — a frank, plain soldier — had been grievously chafed. Only a few weeks afterwards, in August, 1777, he sickened and died. It is said that the last appearance in public of the dying man was, after much solicitation, as a guest at his rival's wedding-feast. Not many days before General Clavering expired, Warren Hastings married Marian Imhoff, ex-wife of a German by birth, a baron by title, a miniature painter by profession.

In the council-chamber of Bengal the decease of General Clavering was nearly balanced by the arrival of Mr. Wheler. The new member took part, in most cases, against the governor-general with Francis. But, besides that he showed himself a far less acrimonious opponent; the power of the casting-vote still left on every question the practical ascendancy in the hands of Hastings.

LORD PIGOT AT MADRAS

From the supreme government of India let us pass to the subordinate-council of Madras. There, though on a smaller scale, dissension had grown to a still more formidable height. Some years since a war had been waged against the petty kingdom of Tanjore. The rajah, one of the Mahratta princes, had been taken prisoner and deposed. The territory had been seized and transferred to the nawab of Arcot. At home the directors, after no small amount of wavering, had disapproved these measures. They despatched peremptory orders to restore, without loss of time, the rajah to his throne. Moreover, they sent out to the chief place at Madras a personal friend of the rajah, the former governor Pigot, who had recently been raised to an Irish peerage. Thus from the first moment of his landing again on Indian ground, Lord Pigot found himself in direct opposition to the leading members of his council. He did, however, proceed to Tanjore and reinstate the rajah. But on his return he saw a formidable combination leagued against him; at its head Muhammed Ali, the nawab of Arcot.

Muhammed Ali, the old ally of the English, and maintained in his dominion by their means, was ever intriguing and caballing with several of the company's servants. They would supply him with money at any sudden call, and well knew how to make such loans most highly advantageous to themselves. Foremost among these usurers stood Mr. Paul Benfield, a man to whom Burke's eloquence has given immortal fame — if fame indeed it should be called! For, as the misdeeds of Verres will live forever in the glowing denunciations of Cicero, so has the genius of Burke poured its imperishable lustre over the whole tortuous track of the Madras money-lenders, and rescued from oblivion the "Debts of the nawab of Arcot."

Paul Benfield was of humble birth and of no patrimony. He had filled a small place in the company's service at a salary of a few hundred pounds a year, and was chiefly conspicuous for keeping the finest carriages and horses at Madras. His ostentatious habits of expense did not seem consistent with any large accumulation of wealth. To the public surprise he now brought forward a claim on the nawab, for money lent to the amount of 162,000*l.* besides another claim on individuals in Tanjore to the amount of 72,000*l.* For the whole of this enormous sum he held assignments on the revenues and standing crops in Tanjore; and he pleaded that his interest ought not to be affected by the reinstatement of the rajah. The nawab, when consulted on the matter, at once admitted and confirmed the claim. In this case Lord Pigot might well suspect collusion. He might also reasonably question the right of the nawab to make any such assignments in Tanjore. The majority of his council, however, were inclined to favour these demands, and there ensued a long train of angry altercations. At length the issue was taken on a side-point of small importance — the desire of Lord Pigot to appoint Mr. Russel, one of his own friends, as resident at Tanjore.

Finding himself out-voted, Lord Pigot first set the dangerous example — so soon to recoil upon himself — of overstepping the bounds of law. He assumed that the governor was an integral part of the council; that he was not bound by the majority against him, and might refuse to carry out any decision in which he had not concurred. The opposite doctrine was maintained, no less vehemently, by the other members. Upon this an arbitrary order from Lord Pigot declared them suspended from their functions; and they, in return, concerted measures for his arrest. The commander of the forces, Sir Robert Fletcher (the same who, in Bengal, had been cashiered),

[1778 A.D.]

was at that time ill; but the second in command, Colonel Stuart, was upon their side. On the 24th of August, 1776, the colonel passed the greater part of the day in company or in business with Lord Pigot; he both breakfasted and dined with him as his familiar friend, and was driving in the carriage with him when, according to the colonel's previous orders, the carriage was surrounded and stopped by troops. His lordship was then informed that he was their prisoner. As such he was forthwith conveyed to St. Thomas' Mount. There he was left in an officer's house, with a battalion of artillery to guard him, while all the powers of government were assumed and administered by his opponents in the council.

In the courts of directors and proprietors there appeared upon this subject the usual fluctuation. There was, however, a better reason for it, in a case where beyond all doubt neither party had been free from blame. At length it was agreed that the members of the council who had concurred in this arrest should be recalled; and on their return they became liable, under resolutions of the house of commons, to a trial and a fine. At the same time a commission was prepared under the company's seal, by which Lord Pigot was restored to his office; but he was directed within one week to give up the government to his successor, and embark for England. By these means it was intended to avoid a triumph, or the appearance of a triumph, to either side. But long before these orders could be received in India, Lord Pigot was beyond the reach of any human sentence. After eight months of confinement he died at St. Thomas' Mount.

Early in 1778 the government of Madras was assumed by Sir Thomas Rumbold. He might avoid dissensions with his council, but on other grounds he incurred, and not unjustly, the censure of the court of directors. In less than three years we find him utterly dismissed from their service.

WAR WITH THE MAHRATTAS (1778–79 A.D.)

For some years the progress of England's eastern empire had not been assailed, or even threatened, by any European enemy. The scene is now about to change. That war which, commencing in North America, troubled not England only but also France and Spain, cast its baleful shadows to the Mexican seas on the one side, and to the shores of Coromandel on the other. Then it was that the experience, the energy, the high statesmanship of Hastings were signally displayed. Then it was, that the value of his services was felt even by his adversaries in Downing Street or Leadenhall. Thus, when the period of five years fixed by the Regulating Act had expired, the governor-general was quietly and without a struggle re-appointed.

At the beginning of 1778 the tidings were already rife among the native races, that yenghi dunia, or New World, as they called America, had broken loose from the country of the Company Sahib. Already might they hear the rising sounds of exultation from the rival settlements of Chandarnagar and Pondicherry. But the first sign or symptom that reached Hastings of French cabals in India came from the Mahratta states. These had grown to greatness in the decline of the Mughal Empire and risen on its ruins, but had since been weakened by dissensions of their own. Among themselves, as in the venerable monarchy from the ruins of which they had sprung, there was a wide line between the real and the rightful exercise of power.

The lineal heir of Sivaji, the true sovereign in name, had become a mere state-prisoner in the palace of Sattara. The actual authority was vested in a great magistrate, or chief of the council, who was called the peshwa, and

who held court with regal state at Poona. Through a strange anomaly that ministerial office descended by hereditary right, and sometimes therefore devolved upon a minor. The peshwa, besides his own or the rajah of Satara's dominions, always claimed, and occasionally exercised a kind of feudal supremacy over the other Mahratta principalities that lay scattered in the wide expanse between the hill forts of Mysore and the waters of the Ganges. First among them were the houses of Sindhia and of Holkar; the Gaikwar, who ruled in Guzerat; and the Bhonsla, or rajah of Berar, a scion of the line of Sivaji. All these Mahratta chiefs, in common with their subjects, held the Brahman faith; in that respect, as in some others, forming a remarkable contrast to the race of the Mohammedan conquerors beside them, as the nizam and the vizir.

The mean origin of the first Mahratta freebooters is denoted even in the hereditary titles of their princes; the Gaikwar, for example, signifies only the cow-herd. It is denoted also by the simple and abstemious habits which they long preserved. A Mussulman historian, Gholam Hossein,[d] the contemporary of Warren Hastings, describes the most powerful Mahratta ruler of his time, as living only on food of the poorest peasant — on black bread made of badjrah, unripe mangoes, and raw red pepper. "Let the reader," says the more refined Mohammedan, "guess the taste of the whole nation by this sample of its chiefs. And although," he adds, "they have come to command kingdoms and to rule over empires, they are still the beggars they have been. Go to any of them, from the lowest clerk to the minister of state, and the first words which you shall hear from them are always these — 'What have you brought for me? — Have you brought anything for me?' and should any man go empty-handed to them, they would strip him of his turban and coat, and then recommend him devoutly to Almighty God!"

Between the chiefs at Poona and the presidency of Bombay there had been in former years some intricate negotiations and some desultory wars. The English had obtained possession of the island of Salsette, which, so lately as 1750, the Mahrattas had wrested from the Portuguese. They had also given shelter to a deposed and exiled peshwa named Ragoba or Raghunath Rao, who still carried on a cabal and kept up a party at home. Such was the posture of affairs when the governor-general was startled by the tidings that a French ship had anchored in one of the Mahratta ports, and that a French agent had set out for Poona. This Frenchman proved to be the chevalier de St. Lubin, an adventurer who had formerly taken some part in the intrigues of the presidency of Madras, and who had now obtained from his own government a clandestine commission to treat with the Mahrattas.

It was reported to Hastings, that already they had agreed to his terms, and consented to yield to the French the port of Choul, on the coast of Malabar. "War is now inevitable," said Hastings to his council; "let us then be the first to strike a blow!" It was resolved, that a division of the Bengal army should be sent across the Jumna, and march through Bundelkhand upon the peshwa's country. Orders were sent to the council of Bombay to enter into a concert of measures with Raghunath Rao, and strive by all means to forward his pretensions. At the same time the governor-general commenced an active negotiation, and sought to form a close alliance with another claimant to a principal place among the Mahratta chiefs — with Bhonsla, the ruler of Berar.

It has been questioned, how far, in these dealings with the Mahrattas, Hastings acted strictly in good faith. Certainly, at least, he is entitled to the praise, at a most difficult crisis, of energy and skill. The news of the

disaster at Saratoga, far from dampening his spirit, only animated his endeavours. "If it be really true" — thus he spoke to his council — "that the British arms and influence have suffered so severe a check in the western world, it is the more incumbent on those who are charged with the interests of Great Britain in the east to exert themselves for the retrieval of the national loss." On the 7th of July a letter from Mr. Baldwin, the consul of England at Cairo, brought the news to Calcutta that in the month of March preceding war had been proclaimed both in London and in Paris. Not an hour did Hastings lose. "On the same day," he says, "we wrote to the governor of Fort St. George, to prepare for the immediate attack of Pondicherry; and we set them an example on the 10th, by the capture of Chandarnagar."

Pondicherry was invested by Sir Hector Munro, at the head of the Madras army. It yielded, after a brave resistance and an engagement off the coast, between the French and English squadrons. Then the French retained nothing in India but Mahe, a small fort and settlement on the coast of Malabar; and this also was reduced by the English from Madras, in the course of the ensuing spring. Meanwhile, in Bengal, the zeal of Hastings had directed the most active measures of defence. The governor-general thus wrote to a private friend — "The French, if they ever attempt the invasion of Bengal, must make their way to it by an alliance with one of the powers of the country; and the only power with which that can be at present effected is the Mahratta." To this Mahratta expedition, therefore, the eyes of Hastings were anxiously turned. At first it was far from prospering.

On climbing the Ghats or passes and entering the Mahrattas' territory, Colonel Egerton was not joined, as Raghunath Rao had encouraged him to hope, by any chief of importance, nor by any considerable number of adherents. On the contrary, he saw around him irregular troops of hostile cavalry, retiring as he advanced, but active and successful in cutting off his supplies. His own movements at this juncture were sufficiently deliberate; only eight miles in eleven days. In January, 1779, he had reached a point within sixteen miles of Poona. There he found an army assembled to oppose him, and the committee-men, losing courage, made up their minds to a retreat. A retreat was begun accordingly that night, and continued until the next afternoon, when, at a place called Wargaum, the English found themselves surrounded and hemmed in. One brave subaltern, Captain Hartley, offered to cut his way through, and to carry back the little army to Bombay, declaring that he could rely upon his men. His superior officers, on the other hand, deemed any such attempt chimerical, and determined to seek their safety in negotiation. The terms required for their unmolested passage were hard indeed, yet hard though they were, could not be disputed unless by arms. It was agreed that all the acquisitions gained by the English from the Mahrattas, since the peace of 1756, should be restored. It was further agreed, that the person of Raghunath Rao should be given up, not indeed to the Poona chiefs, but to Sindhia.

In mitigation of this last ignominious clause we may observe that, even previously, Raghunath Rao, seeing the ill-plight of the English army, and despairing of its safe return by force of arms, had declared his own intention of surrendering himself to Sindhia, as to a mediator and umpire rather than an enemy. Already for some days had he been in correspondence with that chief. The committee felt, therefore, the less scruple in consenting to his surrender when required as a stipulation of their treaty.

Yet, in spite of some such extenuating circumstances, the convention of Wargaum may justly be regarded as the most discreditable to the arms of

England ever framed since they had first appeared on Indian soil. To the English, in all three presidencies, it seemed like a Saratoga in miniature. To the French partisans throughout India it gave a bolder spirit and a louder tone. It combined, if not the whole Mahratta empire, yet several more of the Mahratta chiefs against the English. It revived the hopes, and disclosed the animosity, both of the nizam and Hyder Ali; but on the mind of the governor-general it had no effect. He refused to alter his plans: he refused to recall his troops. On the contrary, he at once directed Goddard to advance.

General Goddard (for to that higher rank was he speedily promoted) justified the confidence of Hastings by his energy and skill. In his campaign of that year and of the following, he, in great measure, retrieved and worthily maintained the honour of the British arms. At one time we see him reduce by storm the fort of Ahmadabad; at another time, by a siege, the city of Bassein. On another occasion he appears gaining a victory over the entire force, forty thousand strong, of Sindhia and Holkar combined. Meanwhile Raghunath Rao had found early means to escape from the hands of Sindhia, and took shelter in Surat. Thus the advantages to the Mahrattas from the day of Wargaum proved fleeting and short-lived.

In a hilly district lying to the south of Agra, and bearing, at that time, the name of Gohud, Hastings waged war upon a smaller scale. With the Hindu prince, or rana, of that district he had concluded an alliance. The rana being, in consequence, attacked by the Mahrattas, applied to his confederates in Bengal; and a small body of troops, under Captain Popham, was sent to his support. Not merely did Captain Popham, with little assistance from the rana, clear Gohud from its invaders, but he carried the war into some of the Mahratta country; he besieged and reduced the city of Lahar; and gained renown throughout the east when he took, by escalade, a rock-fortress which was deemed impregnable — the "castled crag" of Gwalior.

In these and his other military measures Hastings was not left to rely upon his own unassisted judgment. Sir Eyre Coote, invested with a two-fold rank as commander of the forces and as member of the council, arrived at Calcutta in March, 1779. He had no disposition to ally himself with Francis, or intrigue against Hastings; yet he gave nearly as much trouble to the latter as ever had Francis himself. The lapse of almost twenty years since his last successes had not been without effect, either on his body or his mind. He had become less active in his movements, and more fretful in his temper. A love of gain had grown up side by side with his love of glory; and strongly impressed with his own great merits, he was ever prone to deem himself slighted or neglected. It required constant care in Hastings to avoid or to explain away any causes of offence between them.

HASTINGS FIGHTS A DUEL WITH FRANCIS (1780 A.D.)

Early in the year 1780 an engagement was concluded, according to which Francis proposed to desist from systematic opposition, and to acquiesce in all the measures for the prosecution of the Mahratta war, while Hastings undertook to appoint Mr. Fowke, and some other adherents of Francis, to certain lucrative posts. On the faith of this agreement, and with the full consent of Hastings, Barwell embarked for Europe. But only a few weeks afterwards the old dissension at the council-board burst forth anew. The immediate cause was the expedition in Gohud. Hastings alleged that this was only a branch of his Mahratta war; Francis, on the contrary, maintained

that this was a separate object, to which he was not pledged, and which he might freely oppose. The governor-general, on this occasion, lost or laid aside his customary calmness, and in reply to a minute of his rival, placed on record, in council, the following words: "I do not trust to Mr. Francis' promises of candour, convinced that he is incapable of it. I judge of his public conduct by his private, which I have found to be void of truth and honour." When the council broke up, Francis drew the governor-general into another chamber, and read to him a challenge; it was accepted by Hastings, and they met on the day but one after — on the morning of the 17th of August.

Hastings and Francis fired at nearly the same instant; Hastings was unharmed, but Francis was shot through the side. He was conveyed to an adjacent house, where the surgeons found that although his wound was severe his life was not in danger. He recovered, but early in the next December gave up his office and returned to England. In taking that step, Francis did no more than fulfil an intention which, finding his influence wholly declined, he had formed even in the preceding year.

HASTINGS AT ODDS WITH THE SUPREME COURT

Dissension with Francis, however fierce, was no novelty to Hastings. But during the same period he had to wage a painful warfare with a former friend — Sir Elijah Impey. In the Regulating Act of 1773 the limits between the judicial and political powers which it instituted had not been duly defined. Thus it happened, that on several points in practice the supreme court came to clash with the supreme council.

In the beginning of 1780 a suit had been brought against a wealthy landholder, the rajah of Cossijurah, by Cossinaut Baboo his agent at Calcutta, when the judge issued a writ to sequester his lands and goods. For this object an armed band, consisting of sixty men and commanded by a sergeant of the court, was despatched to Cossijurah. The rajah had already fled from his house. Nevertheless it was forcibly entered by the gang of bailiffs; nor did they even shrink from breaking open the zenana, or the women's chambers, ever held sacred in the East amidst the worst barbarities of war. The servants of the rajah stood at the threshold ready to resist, so far as they could resist, what they deemed the dishonour of their master, but some of them were wounded and the rest beaten back and overborne.

When these tidings reached Calcutta the governor-general, supported on this one occasion by his council's unanimous assent, took, as was his duty, effectual measures of redress. A circular was issued to the landholders of Bengal explaining that, unless in certain specified cases, they owed no obedience to the mandates of the supreme court. Upon this, all patience and all prudence departed from Sir Elijah Impey and his brother judges. Even the most violent steps did not seem to them too strong. They cast into prison Mr. North Naylor, the company's attorney, merely because as he was bound to do, he had obeyed the orders of the council. They caused a summons to be served on each member of the council requiring him to appear at their bar, and to answer for his public acts. Hastings and the other members refused to obey the call. The judges pronounced the refusal to be a clear contempt of his majesty's law and of his courts." It is difficult to say to what extremities — scarcely short of civil war — this collision might have grown, had not Cossinaut, no doubt on some secret inducements held out to him by the governor-general, suddenly dropped his actions at law; thus

depriving the judges of all present materials upon which their wrath could build.

The immediate case might thus be dealt with, but a more permanent remedy was needed. With this view, the fertile brain of Hastings devised another scheme. Under the act of 1773 there were certain judicial powers which belonged to the supreme council as a tribunal of appeal from some of the provincial courts, but which the supreme council had neither sufficient time, nor yet sufficient knowledge, to exert. Hastings proposed that these powers should be henceforth vested in a judge appointed by the governor and council, and removable at their pleasure, and that this newly appointed judge should be no other than the chief justice of the supreme court. Such was the scheme which, in September, 1780, Hastings laid before his colleagues in the government, and which, in spite of strenuous opposition from Francis and from Wheler, was carried through. To Francis, who almost immediately afterwards returned to England, there only remained the spiteful satisfaction of spreading far and wide among his friends and the public at home the charge that the chief justice had been bribed from a course of opposition by a new salary of 8,000*l.* a year.

It is true that the council did determine that a salary — not, as was said, of eight thousand, but of five thousand pounds a year — should be attached to the new office. Sir Elijah stated, however, that he should refuse to accept any part of this money until the opinion of the lord chancellor had been asked and obtained from England. There are still extant the regular vouchers of the sums paid to the chief justice in pursuance of the council's order, and paid back by him to the company's account. And in point of fact, neither then nor at any time afterwards was a single rupee of this new salary received for his own use by Sir Elijah Impey.

THE OUTBREAK OF HYDER ALI (1780 A.D.)

The Mahratta campaign, and the altercations with Francis and with Impey, however burthensome to Hastings, were not at this time his only nor yet his greatest care. Another and more pressing danger rose in view. Hyder Ali, the mighty sovereign of Mysore, had observed with much displeasure, the British expedition to Mahe. He saw that the English were now entangled in a difficult war with the Mahrattas, and that a French armament was soon expected on the coast of Coromandel. He drew together an army which amounted, or at least which popular terror magnified, to ninety thousand men. These forces were not wholly wanting in European discipline; they had been trained, in part, by good officers from France, and they drew into the field, with competent artillerymen, one hundred pieces of artillery.

The government of Madras was, almost to the last, unconscious of its danger. The English chiefs were nearly taken by surprise, when, in the height of summer, the horsemen of Mysore, the vanguard of Hyder's army, came dashing down the passes that lead from their wild hills. This was the invasion which some years afterwards was described with so much glowing eloquence by Burke in his speech on the nawab of Arcot's debts, February 28th, 1783. This was the "black cloud that hung for awhile on the declivities of the mountains." This was the "menacing meteor which blackened all the horizon until it suddenly burst and poured down the whole of its contents upon the plains of the Carnatic."

At the approach of Hyder's army, the frontier posts, held by sepoys, sur-

rendered with but slight resistance; and his onward progress was marked by fire and the sword. From the summit of St. Thomas' Mount the people of Madras could see, on the horizon, columns of dark smoke ascend from the burning villages. In the field there were already some not wholly inconsiderable forces. Sir Hector Munro had above five thousand men, and Colonel Baillie above three.

Had Baillie and Munro at once combined their forces, as they might and should, it seems probable, from the much larger number of Europeans in their ranks, that they might have stood firm against all the armies of Mysore. But their torpor, or perhaps their jealousy, delayed them, and thus enabled Hyder to assail them singly, while yet only a few miles asunder. On the 10th of September the troops of Baillie were overwhelmed and cut to pieces. A similar fate might have befallen Munro had he not saved himself by a precipitate retreat towards Mount St. Thomas, first casting his artillery into the tanks, and relinquishing his baggage and stores. Thus only the walled towns remained to the English: all the open country was, or would be, Hyder's.

THE ACTIVITY OF HASTINGS; THE VICTORIES OF EYRE COOTE

A swift-sailing ship, despatched for the express purpose, brought these ill-tidings to Calcutta on the 23rd of the same month. On no occasion, either before or since, were the genius, the energy, the master-spirit of Hastings more signally displayed. In a single day he framed a new system of policy, renouncing his late favourite schemes, and contemplating only the altered state of public affairs. In his own words — "All my hopes of aggrandising the British name and enlarging the interests of the company, gave instant place to the more urgent call to support the existence of both in the Carnatic; nor did I hesitate a moment to abandon my own views for such an object. The Mahratta war has been, and is yet, called mine. Gods knows why. I was forced into it. It began with the acts of others unknown to me. I never professed any other design but to support the presidency of Bombay, if it had succeeded in the plans which it had formed, or to protect and save them if they failed. Perhaps the war with Hyder may be, in like manner, called my war."

On the 25th of September the council met. The governor-general proposed that a treaty not merely of peace but of alliance should be tendered to the Mahrattas, yielding the main points at issue in the war; that every soldier available in Bengal should at once be shipped off to Madras; that fifteen lacs of rupees should without delay be despatched to the same quarter; that Sir Eyre Coote, as alone sufficient, should be requested to assume the chief command against Mysore; and that the powers allowed to the supreme presidency by the act of 1773 should be strained to the utmost, by superseding Mr. Whitehill, the new and incapable governor of Fort St. George.

Hyder Ali, since his great successes over Baillie and Munro, had reduced the fort of Arcot, and was besieging Wandewash and Vellore. But the arrival of the new commander and of the reinforcements from Bengal struck his mind with awe. He raised the siege of both places when, in January, 1781, he saw Coote take the field, though still with most scanty forces and inadequate supplies. Sir Eyre, apprehensive of a rising among the French so lately subdued, next marched south and encamped on the Red Hills of Pondicherry. Later in the season he advanced to Porto Novo, a haven some forty miles further to the southward. There, on the 1st of July, he succeeded in bringing Hyder to a battle. He had only between eight and nine thousand men

opposed to the myriads of Mysore. Yet such was the ascendancy of European valour and European skill, that after six hours of conflict Hyder's forces fled in utter disarray, leaving on the field several thousand dead and wounded, while upon the side of the English the loss scarcely exceeded four hundred men.

The victory at Porto Novo was not left unimproved by Coote. He turned, and with good effect, towards Wandewash, which was again besieged. "Wandewash is safe" — thus he wrote to the government of Madras — "it being the third time in my life I have had the honour to relieve it." Hyder then fell back to what he deemed a lucky spot, as it certainly was a strong position; the very ground on which, in the preceding year, he had defeated Baillie. There, on the 27th of August, he engaged in another battle with Sir Eyre.

In this action, to which a neighbouring village gave its name of Pollilore, the ground was so unfavourable to the English, that Sir Hector Munro, who commanded the first line, could not forbear a remonstrance to his chief. "You talk to me, sir, when you should be doing your duty!" — such was the stern reply; a reply which, rankling in the mind of Munro, caused him to retire from active service to Madras, and from thence next year to England. The results of Pollilore were far less decisive, and purchased by much heavier sacrifice than those of Porto Novo; yet still, at the close, the flight of Hyder from his chosen ground left to Coote, undoubtedly, both the honour and the advantage of the day. The open country was recovered; and the Carnatic was saved.

From Calcutta the governor-general had lost no time in commencing a negotiation for peace with the Mahrattas. But this was long protracted by the number of their chiefs, and the intricacy of the relations between them; and it was not till the spring of 1782 that the treaties were finally concluded at Salbye. Meanwhile, the entire strain of the war, both with Poona and Mysore, fell upon the presidency of Bengal, from which, nevertheless, large remittances were still expected by the directors and proprietors at home. Under these pressing circumstances, Hastings was compelled to seek new sources of supply.[c]

HASTINGS' EXACTIONS IN BENARES AND OUDH

A considerable economy was effected by a reform in the establishment for collecting the land tax. The government monopolies of opium and salt were then for the first time placed upon a remunerative basis. But these reforms were of necessity slow in their beneficial operation. The pressing demands of the military chest had to be satisfied by loans, and in at least one case from the private purse of the governor-general. Ready cash could alone fill up the void; and it was to the hordes of native princes that Hastings' fertile mind at once turned. Cheyte Sing, rajah of Benares, the greatest of the vassal chiefs who had grown rich under the protection of the British rule, lay under the suspicion of disloyalty. The wazir of Oudh had fallen into arrears in the payment due for the maintenance of the company's garrison posted in his dominions, and his administration was in great disorder. In his case the ancestoral hordes were under the control of his mother, the begum of Oudh, into whose hands they had been allowed to pass at the time when Hastings was powerless in council.

Hastings resolved to make a progress up country in order to arrange the affairs of both provinces, and bring back all the treasure that could be squeezed

out of its holders by his personal intervention. When he reached Benares and presented his demands, the rajah rose in insurrection, and the governor-general barely escaped with his life.[1] But the faithful Popham rapidly rallied a force for his defence. The native soldiery were defeated again and again; Cheyte Sing took to flight, and an augmented permanent tribute was imposed upon his successor.[2] The Oudh business was managed with less risk. The wazir consented to everything demanded of him.[b]



Buddhist Tope in Benares

The city and palace of Faizabad, in which the two princesses dwelt, were surrounded and reduced by a body of British troops. Still, however, the begums would not part with any portion of their hidden treasure. The difficulty was how to discover or lay hands upon it without profaning, as the races of the East conceive, the sacred bounds of the zenana. It was resolved to arrest and confine two aged eunuchs, the heads of the household, and the principal ministers of the princesses. These men were cast into prison, and loaded with irons; and on finding them obdurate, an order was issued in January, 1782, that until they yielded they should be debarred from all food. This order, to the shame and opprobrium not only of himself and his employer, but even of the English name in India, bore the signature of Nathaniel Middleton.

[1 He set forth from the city by night, yet not unobserved, the rabble hooting him as he rode along, with a jingling rhyme not yet forgotten in Benares:

"Hat' hee pur howdah, ghore pur jeen,
Juldee bah'r jata Sahib Warren Husteen!"

"Horse, elephant, howdah, set off at full speed,
Ride away my Lord Warren Hastings!"

"It is a nursery rhyme which is often sung to children (at Benares)," says Bishop Heber.[c]]

[2 Pitt, during the trial of Hastings in 1786, said that Hastings had a right to impose a fine on Cheyte Sing. "But, in fining the rajah £500,000, for a mere delay to pay £50,000, which £50,000 he had actually paid, Mr. Hastings proceeded in an arbitrary, tyrannical manner, and was not guided by any principle of reason and justice. The punishment was utterly disproportionate, and shamefully exorbitant."]

To the pangs of hunger the aged ministers gave way, and within two days agreed to disburse the sum which was then required. But that sum was only a part of the whole demand. To extort the rest other most rigorous measures were employed. The two prisoners were removed from Faizabad to Lucknow. The weight of their irons was increased; torture was threatened, and perhaps inflicted; certain it is, at least, that every facility was granted by the British assistant resident to the officers of the vizir, who were sent for that purpose to the prison-house. Meanwhile at Faizabad the palace-gates of the princesses continued to be strictly guarded. Food was allowed to enter, but not always in sufficient quantities for the number of the inmates, so that the beguns might be wrought upon by the distress of their attendants. "The melancholy cries of famine," says a British officer upon the spot, "are more easily imagined than described." Thus, through the greater part of 1782, severity followed severity, and sum was exacted after sum. The ministers were not set free, nor the princesses relieved from duresse until after there had been obtained from them treasure exceeding in amount one million sterling. Notwithstanding all their pleas of poverty — pleas perfectly justifiable in the face of such oppression — there was still remaining in their hands property to the value of at least one million more.

Certainly, in one respect at least, Hastings may deserve to be far distinguished above the long line of robbers — magistrates of story — from Verres the praetor down to Monaien Rapinat. He plundered for the benefit of the state, and not his own. His main thought was that he had a great empire to save — and he did save it. Yet with all due appreciation of his object, and with all due allowance for his difficulties, his conduct to the princesses of Oudh appears incapable of any valid vindication, and alike repugnant to the principles of justice and humanity.[c] Hastings appears to have been not altogether satisfied with the incidents of this expedition, and to have anticipated the censure which it received in England. As a measure of precaution he procured documentary evidence of the rebellious intentions of the rajah and the begums to the validity of which Impey obligingly lent his extra-judicial sanction.

The remainder of Hastings' term in office in India was passed in comparative tranquillity, both from internal opposition and foreign war. The centre of interest now shifts to the India House and to the British parliament. The long struggle between the company and the ministers of the crown for the supreme control of Indian affairs and the attendant patronage had reached its climax. The decisive success of Hastings' administration alone postponed the inevitable solution. His original term of five years would have expired in 1778; but it was annually prolonged by special act of parliament until his voluntary resignation Though Hastings was thus irremovable, his policy did not escape censure. Ministers were naturally anxious to obtain the reversion to his vacant post, and Indian affairs formed at this time the hinge on which party politics turned On one occasion Dundas carried a motion in the house of commons censuring Hastings, and demanding his recall. The directors of the company were disposed to act upon this resolution; but in the court of proprietors, with whom the decision ultimately lay, Hastings always possessed a sufficient majority.[b]

WAR WITH THE DUTCH AND FRENCH (1781–1783 A.D.)

Thus was Hastings upheld at his post; thus might his energies still maintain the varying fortunes of the war in the Carnatic. To that war he con-

tinued to apply most strenuously all the men and all the money he could raise. His public-spirited endeavours were well seconded by those of the new governor of Fort St. George, Lord Macartney, who had gained some reputation by negotiating a treaty of commerce with Russia, and who mainly on that ground had been appointed to Madras. Lord Macartney brought out from England the news of the declaration of war against the Dutch; and it became one of his first objects to reduce the settlements which they possessed on the coasts of Coromandel and Ceylon. He was successful with regard to the Dutch factories at Sadras and Pulicat. Next he fitted out a more considerable expedition against the more important settlement of Negapatam.

In November, 1781, Negapatam was accordingly besieged and taken, several thousand Dutch troops, after a resolute resistance, being made prisoners on this occasion. Inspirited by that exploit, a body of five hundred men was put on board the fleet, and sent to the attack of Fort Ostenburg and Trincomalee, in the island of Ceylon. This service, also, was no less successfully performed, but was much more than counterbalanced by the disaster which, in February, 1782, befell another British detachment in the district of Tanjore. There Colonel Braithwaite, at the head of one hundred Europeans and eighteen hundred sepoys, found himself surrounded and surprised by an army of Mysore, under Hyder's son Tipu and M. Lally. He and his men fought most bravely, but at last were overpowered by superior numbers; and all either cut to pieces or taken captive and consigned to the dungeons of Seringapatam.

In the same month of February, 1782, the armament from France, so long expected, appeared off the coast of Coromandel. Its command had devolved on Suffren, one of the best seamen whom his country can boast. Already, on his outward voyage, he had fought a pitched battle with an English squadron at Porto Praya, in one of the Cape Verd islands. By his prompt arrival at the Cape of Good Hope, he had secured that colony against the same squadron for his new allies the Dutch. In India it was one of his first cares to land at Porto Novo two thousand French soldiers whom he had on board, to form, with their countrymen already serving, an auxiliary force to the armies of Mysore. These troops being joined by Tipu, flushed as he was then with his triumph over Colonel Braithwaite, they proceeded in conjunction to invest Cuddalore, a seaport town between Porto Novo and Pondicherry. Having to encounter only a feeble garrison of four hundred men, they easily prevailed in their attack; and Cuddalore, thus wrested from the English, became of great importance to the French, both as a place of arms and as a harbour, during the whole remainder of the war.

It so chanced that at the very time when the armament from France appeared in the Indian seas, the British fleet in that quarter was seasonably reinforced by several new ships from England. De Suffren and Sir Edward Hughes, the two admirals here opposed to each other, were antagonists well matched both for skill and intrepidity. In the period between February, 1782, and June, 1783, no less than five pitched battles were fought between them. In these their force was very nearly equal, with only a slight superiority on most occasions on the side of the French. But in none of these was any decisive advantage gained by either party. No ship of war was captured; no overwhelming loss of men was achieved; and, in turning to the best account the results of every action, Suffren showed a far superior skill, especially in retaking Trincomalee and relieving Cuddalore.

The arrival of the French auxiliaries to the forces of Mysore was, in a great measure, counterbalanced by the peace which at this time Hastings con-

cluded with the Mahratta estates. Thus, the English could continue to wage, on no unequal terms, the war in the Carnatic until, in December, 1782, it received a new turn from the illness and death of Hyder Ali. This event was concealed as long as possible, to afford time for Tipu, who was then upon the coast of Malabar, to return and claim in person the allegiance of the people and the troops. But when the intelligence did at last reach Calcutta, it fired anew the energies of Sir Eyre Coote. Weak health had compelled the failing veteran, after one more battle with Hyder at Arnee, to withdraw from the field in the Carnatic, and sail back to his council-chambers of Bengal. Now, however, he felt, or he fancied, his strength in some degree restored; and he was eager to measure swords against the new sultan. For this purpose he embarked in an armed vessel which carried out supplies of money to Madras. This, towards the close of its voyage, was chased for two days and two nights by some French ships of the line. During all this time the general's anxiety kept him constantly on deck. The excessive heat by day, the unwholesome dews at night, wrought sad havoc on his already wasted frame; and thus, although the ship escaped from its pursuers, Sir Eyre Coote expired in April, 1783, only two days after he had landed at Madras.

Tipu during this time had returned to the coast of Malabar. There he had to wage war against General Mathews and a body of troops from Bombay set free by the peace with the Mahrattas. The English general at first had great successes, reducing both Bednur and Mangalore. But the appearance of the sultan at the head of fifty thousand men changed the scene. Mathews was besieged in Bednur and taken prisoner with all his Europeans. Being accused, though unjustly, of a breach of faith, he was put in irons, and sent in the strictest duresse with many of his comrades to Seringapatam, there to perish in the dungeons of the tyrant.

At Madras the command of the forces, in the absence of Sir Eyre, had devolved, though far less adequately, on General Stuart. That officer, in the spring of 1783, commenced operations against the French in Cuddalore, who had lately received from Europe some considerable reinforcements under De Bussy. The lines in front of the town, which Bussy had well fortified, were assailed by Stuart with more of intrepidity than skill. The fleets on both sides hastened to the scene of action; but suddenly at the close of June the tidings came that the preliminaries of peace between France and England had been signed at Versailles. By that compact, Pondicherry and the other settlements of France in India, as they stood before the war, were to be restored. The French took possession accordingly, but, on the other hand, they recalled their detachment serving under Tipu in Malabar, and prepared to sail back with their armament to France.

Tipu then remained alone. He had set his heart on adding lustre to his arms by reducing in person the stronghold of Mangalore, but, having achieved that object in the autumn of 1783, he was no longer disinclined to treat with the English upon the footing of a mutual restitution of all conquests made since the commencement of the war. Thus was peace restored through all the wide extent of India, and thus did the administration of Hastings, which endured until the spring of 1785, close, after all its storms, with scarce a cloud upon its sky.[c]

THE IMPEACHMENT OF WARREN HASTINGS

Francis had returned to Europe, with the wound inflicted by Hastings' pistol fresh on his body, and with the bitterest feelings of animosity rankling

in his heart. He had made the acquaintance of Burke before he went to the east; he corresponded with him during his residence at Calcutta; and on his return he had full possession of his ear, and filled Burke's generous and excitable mind with false and horrible tales against Hastings, and against all who had supported that governor-general in his struggle with Francis, Clavering, and Monson. From the moment of Francis' arrival in England, by means of pamphlets, books of travels, harangues at public meetings, private discussions, and parliamentary orations, a merciless war was commenced against the great man who was saving, and who in the end did both save and enlarge the Indian Empire of Great Britain. It was soon resolved to impeach Hastings for the means he had employed to effect the great object.

Hastings, however, was not recalled; he resigned. The last two years of his administration in India formed by far the happiest period of his public life. The peace with France, which paralyzed the most powerful of the native princes, enabled him to get the whole country into a state of tranquillity and prosperity which had not been known for many ages. It also enabled him to extend the British influence in several new directions, and to confirm it in others. Having completed his preparations, he embarked on the 8th of February, 1785, attended by demonstrations that certainly did not mark him out as a tyrant and a monster. As soon as it was publicly known that he was really about to quit the government, which he had held for thirteen years, numerous addresses were got up and presented by all classes; by military officers, by the civil servants of the company, by factors and traders, by natives as well as Europeans.

He was most favourably received at court; but his enemies did not leave him long tranquil. Francis had obtained a seat in parliament, ranging himself on the side of the most active and the most eloquent opposition party that the country had yet seen, and through Francis and his too credulous ally, Burke, the prosecution of Hastings was made a party question. It took some time and trouble to convert Charles Fox, but at last that statesman entered into the crusade against the governor-general with his constitutional heat and impetuosity. Sheridan, Sir Gilbert Elliot, Sir John Anstruther, Mr. Windham, Mr., afterwards Earl Grey, and all the great whig orators either preceded or followed Fox; and for many years their efforts were united to effect the ruin and disgrace of Warren Hastings, who was no orator, who had no seat in parliament, and who had to contend with nearly every possible disadvantage. The mere outlines of the proceedings would fill a volume — they lasted altogether more than ten years; and without details still more voluminous, an adequate notion could not be conveyed of this unprecedented persecution. We can here do no more than describe the scene and give the results.

On the 4th of April, Burke charged Warren Hastings, Esquire, late governor-general of Bengal, etc., with sundry high crimes and misdemeanours, and delivered at the table nine of his articles of charge. In the course of the following week he presented twelve more articles; and on the 6th of May another charge, being the twenty-second, was added to the long and bewildering list. But the several accusations were finally confined to four heads: The oppression and final expulsion of the rajah of Benares; the maltreatment and robbery of the begums of the house of Oudh; and the charges of receiving presents and conniving at unfair contracts and extravagant expenditure. The sessions of 1786-1787 having been consumed in preliminary proceedings, the house of lords assembled in Westminster Hall, February 13th, 1788, to try the impeachment.[9]

MACAULAY'S PICTURE OF THE TRIAL

There have been spectacles more dazzling to the eye, more gorgeous with jewellery and cloth of gold, more attractive to grown-up children, than that which was then exhibited at Westminster; but, perhaps, there never was a spectacle so well calculated to strike a highly cultivated, a reflecting, an imaginative mind. All the various kinds of interest which belong to the near and to the distant, to the present and to the past, were collected on one spot and in one hour. All the talents and all the accomplishments which are developed by liberty and civilisation were now displayed, with every advantage that could be derived both from co-operation and from contrast. Every step in the proceedings carried the mind either backward, through many troubled centuries, to the days when the foundations of the British constitution were laid; or far away, over boundless seas and deserts, to dusky nations living under strange stars, worshipping strange gods, and writing strange characters from right to left. The high court of parliament was to sit, according to forms handed down from the days of the Plantagenets, on an Englishman accused of exercising tyranny over the lord of the holy city of Benares, and over the ladies of the princely house of Oudh.

The place was worthy of such a trial. It was the great hall of William Rufus, the hall which had resounded with acclamations at the inauguration of thirty kings, the hall which had witnessed the just sentence of Bacon and the just absolution of Somers, the hall where the eloquence of Strafford had for a moment awed and melted a victorious party inflamed with just resentment, the hall where Charles had confronted the high court of justice with the placid courage which has half redeemed his fame. Neither military nor civil pomp was wanting. The avenues were lined with grenadiers. The streets were kept clear by cavalry. The peers, robed in gold and ermine, were marshalled by the heralds under garter king-at-arms. The judges in their vestments of state attended to give advice on points of law. Near a hundred and seventy lords, three-fourths of the upper house as the upper house then was, walked in solemn order from their usual place of assembling to the tribunal. The junior baron present led the way, George Eliott, Lord Heathfield, recently ennobled for his memorable defence of Gibraltar against the fleets and armies of France and Spain. The long procession was closed by the duke of Norfolk, earl marshal of the realm, by the great dignitaries, and by the brothers and sons of the king. Last of all came the prince of Wales, conspicuous by his fine person and noble bearing.

The grey old walls were hung with scarlet. The long galleries were crowded by an audience such as has rarely excited the fears or the emulation of an orator. There were gathered together, from all parts of a great, free, enlightened, and prosperous empire, grace and female loveliness, wit and learning, the representatives of every science and of every art. There were seated round the queen the fair-haired young daughters of the house of Brunswick. There the ambassadors of great kings and commonwealths gazed with admiration on a spectacle which no other country in the world could present. There Siddons, in the prime of her majestic beauty, looked with emotion on a scene surpassing all the imitations of the stage. There the historian of the Roman empire thought of the days when Cicero pleaded the cause of Sicily against Verres, and when, before a senate which still retained some show of freedom, Tacitus thundered against the oppressor of Africa. There were seen, side by side, the greatest painter and the greatest scholar of the age. The spectacle had allured Reynolds from that easel which has preserved to us the thoughtful

foreheads of so many writers and statesmen, and the sweet smiles of so many noble matrons. It had induced Parr to suspend his labours in that dark and profound mine from which he had extracted a vast treasure of erudition, a treasure too often buried in the earth, too often paraded with injudicious and inelegant ostentation, but still precious, massive, and splendid. There appeared the voluptuous charms of her to whom the heir of the throne had in secret plighted his faith. There too was she, the beautiful mother of a beautiful race, the Saint Cecilia, whose delicate features, lighted up by love and music, art has rescued from the common decay. There were the members of that brilliant society which quoted, criticised, and exchanged repartees, under the rich peacock hangings of Mrs. Montague. And there the ladies whose lips, more persuasive than those of Fox himself, had carried the Westminster election against palace and treasury, shone round Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire.

The sergeants made proclamation. Hastings advanced to the bar, and bent his knee. The culprit was indeed not unworthy of that great presence. He had ruled an extensive and populous country; had made laws and treaties, had sent forth armies, had set up and pulled down princes. And in his high place he had so borne himself, that all had feared him, that most had loved him, and that hatred itself could deny him no title to glory, except virtue. He looked like a great man, and not like a bad man. A person small and emaciated, yet deriving dignity from a carriage which, while it indicated deference to the court, indicated also habitual self-possession and self-respect; a high and intellectual forehead; a brow pensive, but not gloomy; a mouth of inflexible decision; a face pale and worn, but serene, on which was written, as legibly as under the picture in the council-chamber at Calcutta, *Mens æqua in arduis;* such was the aspect with which the great proconsul presented himself to his judges.

But neither the culprit nor his advocates attracted so much notice as the accusers. In the midst of the blaze of red drapery, a space had been fitted up with green benches and tables for the commons. The managers, with Burke at their head, appeared in full dress. The collectors of gossip did not fail to remark that even Fox, generally so regardless of his appearance, had paid to the illustrious tribunal the compliment of wearing a bag and sword. Pitt had refused to be one of the conductors of the impeachment; and his commanding, copious, and sonorous eloquence was wanting to that great muster of various talents. Age and blindness had unfitted Lord North for the duties of a public prosecutor; and his friends were left without the help of his excellent sense, his tact, and his urbanity. But, in spite of the absence of these two distinguished members of the lower house, the box in which the managers stood contained an array of speakers such as perhaps had not appeared together since the great age of Athenian eloquence. There were Fox and Sheridan, the English Demosthenes and the English Hyperides. There was Burke, ignorant, indeed, or negligent of the art of adapting his reasonings and his style to the capacity and taste of his hearers, but in amplitude of comprehension and richness of imagination superior to every orator, ancient or modern. There, with eyes reverentially fixed on Burke, appeared the finest gentleman of the age, his form developed by every manly exercise, his face beaming with intelligence and spirit, the ingenious, the chivalrous, the high-souled Windham.

On the third day Burke rose; four sittings were occupied by his opening speech, which was intended to be a general introduction to all the charges. With an exuberance of thought and a splendour of diction which more than

satisfied the highly raised expectation of the audience, he described the character and institutions of the natives of India, recounted the circumstances in which the Asiatic empire of Britain had originated, and set forth the constitution of the company and of the English presidencies. Having thus attempted to communicate to his hearers an idea of eastern society, as vivid as that which existed in his own mind, he proceeded to arraign the administration of Hastings as systematically conducted in defiance of morality and public law. The energy and pathos of the great orator extorted expressions of unwonted admiration from the stern and hostile chancellor, and, for a moment, seemed to pierce even the resolute heart of the defendant. The ladies in the galleries, unaccustomed to such displays of eloquence, excited by the solemnity of the occasion, and perhaps not unwilling to display their taste and sensibility, were in a state of uncontrollable emotion. Handkerchiefs were pulled out; smelling bottles were handed round; hysterical sobs and screams were heard: and Mrs. Sheridan was carried out in a fit. At length the orator concluded. Raising his voice till the old arches of Irish oak resounded:

"Therefore," said he, "hath it with all confidence been ordered, by the commons of Great Britain, that I impeach Warren Hastings of high crimes and misdemeanours. I impeach him in the name of the commons' house of parliament, whose trust he has betrayed. I impeach him in the name of the English nation, whose ancient honour he has sullied. I impeach him in the name of the people of India, whose rights he has trodden under foot, and whose country he has turned into a desert. Lastly, in the name of human nature itself, in the name of both sexes, in the name of every age, in the name of every rank, I impeach the common enemy and oppressor of all!"

When the deep murmur of various emotions had subsided, Mr. Fox rose to address the lords respecting the course of proceeding to be followed. The wish of the accusers was that the court would bring to a close the investigation of the first charge before the second was opened. The wish of Hastings and of his counsel was that the managers should open all the charges, and produce all the evidence for the prosecution, before the defence began. The lords retired to their own house to consider the question. The chancellor took the side of Hastings. Lord Loughborough, who was now in opposition, supported the demand of the managers. The division showed which way the inclination of the tribunal leaned. A majority of near three to one decided in favour of the course for which Hastings contended.

When the court sat again, Mr. Fox, assisted by Mr. Grey, opened the charge respecting Cheyte Sing, and several days were spent in reading papers and hearing witnesses. The next article was that relating to the princesses of Oudh. The conduct of this part of the case was entrusted to Sheridan. The curiosity of the public to hear him was unbounded. His sparkling and highly finished declamation lasted two days; but the hall was crowded to suffocation during the whole time. It was said that fifty guineas had been paid for a single ticket. Sheridan when he concluded contrived, with a knowledge of stage effect which his father might have envied, to sink back, as if exhausted, into the arms of Burke, who hugged him with the energy of generous admiration.

June was now far advanced. The session could not last much longer; and the progress which had been made in the impeachment was not very satisfactory. There were twenty charges. On two only of these had even the case for the prosecution been heard; and it was now a year since Hastings had been admitted to bail.

The interest taken by the public in the trial was great when the court

began to sit, and rose to the height when Sheridan spoke on the charge relating to the begums: From that time the excitement went down fast. The spectacle had lost the attraction of novelty. The great displays of rhetoric were over. What was behind was not of a nature to entice men of letters from their books in the morning, or to tempt ladies who had left the masquerade at two to be out of bed before eight. There remained examinations and cross-examinations. There remained statements of accounts. There remained the reading of papers, filled with words unintelligible to English ears, with *lacs* and *crores*, *zemindars* and *aumils*, *sunnuds* and *perwannahs*, *jaghires* and *nuzzurs*. There remained bickerings, not always carried on with the best taste or with the best temper, between the managers of the impeachment and the counsel for the defence, particularly between Mr. Burke and Mr. Law. There remained the endless marches and countermarches of the peers between their house and the hall; for as often as a point of law was to be discussed, their lordships retired to discuss it apart; and the consequence was, as a peer wittily said, that the judges walked and the trial stood still.[7]

THE FINAL ACQUITTAL OF HASTINGS (1795 A.D.)

The sessions of 1788, 1789, and 1790 were consumed in going through the case for the prosecution. In 1791 the commons expressed their willingness to abandon some part of the charges, with the view of bringing this extraordinary trial sooner to an end; and on the 2nd of June, the seventy-third day, Mr. Hastings began his defence. This was protracted until April 17th, 1795, on which (the one hundred and forty-eighth) day he was acquitted by a large majority on every separate article charged against him.

The opposition party, who at that time almost monopolised the public press, had deeply blackened the character of the benefactor of his country and the people of India; yet public opinion changed greatly during the long trial, and Hastings came to be regarded as an oppressed, instead of an offending man. The malice of Francis was so far defeated; but the law charges of the defence had exhausted the fortune of the late governor-general; and but for an annuity of £4,000, and a loan of ready money granted to him by the East India Company, in 1796, the illustrious and (in private life) amiable Hastings might have been left to end his days in a prison or a poorhouse.

Strenuous efforts had also been made by the parliamentary opposition to couple Sir Elijah Impey, the first chief-justice of Bengal, with the first governor-general. Prompted by Francis, and acting in concert with Burke, Fox, and the rest of the opposition leaders, Sir Gilbert Elliot, on the 12th of December, 1787, denounced Sir Elijah, in the house of commons, as the single sole murderer of Nandkumar, and moved his impeachment upon that and upon five other charges. But on the 9th of May, Sir Elijah was acquitted of the Nandkumar charge by a parliament majority, and this put an end to all proceedings against him.[9]

Macaulay's Estimate of Hastings

As Hastings himself said, the arraignment had taken place before one generation, and the judgment was pronounced by another. Of about one hundred and sixty nobles who walked in the procession on the first day, sixty had been laid in their family vaults. Still more affecting must have been the sight of the managers' box. It had been scattered by calamities more

bitter than the bitterness of death. The great chiefs were still living. But their friendship was at an end.

Hastings was a ruined man. The legal expenses of his defence had been enormous. The expenses which did not appear in his attorney's bill were perhaps larger still. Great sums had been paid to Major Scott. Great sums had been laid out in bribing newspapers, rewarding pamphleteers, and circulating tracts. Burke, so early as 1790, declared in the house of commons that twenty thousand pounds had been employed in corrupting the press. It is certain that no controversial weapon, from the gravest reasoning to the coarsest ribaldry, was left unemployed. Logan defended the accused governor with great ability in prose. For the lovers of verse the speeches of the managers were burlesqued in Simpkin's letters. It is, we are afraid, indisputable that Hastings stooped so low as to court the aid of that malignant and filthy baboon John Williams, who called himself Anthony Pasquin. It was necessary to subsidise such allies largely. The private hoards of Mrs. Hastings had disappeared. It is said that the banker to whom they had been entrusted had failed. Still if Hastings had practised strict economy, he would after all his losses have had a moderate competence; but in the management of his private affairs he was imprudent. The dearest wish of his heart had always been to regain Daylesford. At length, in the very year in which his trial commenced, the wish was accomplished; and the domain, alienated more than seventy years before, returned to the descendants of its old lords. But the manor house was a ruin; and the grounds round it had during many years been utterly neglected. Hastings proceeded to build, to plant, to form a sheet of water, to excavate a grotto; and, before he was dismissed from the bar of the house of lords, he had expended more than forty thousand pounds in adorning his seat.

On a general review of the long administration of Hastings, it is impossible to deny that, against the great crimes by which it is blemished, we have to set off great public services. England had passed through a perilous crisis. Nevertheless, in every part of the world, except one, she had been a loser. Not only had she been compelled to acknowledge the independence of thirteen colonies peopled by her children, and to conciliate the Irish by giving up the right of legislating for them, but, in the Mediterranean, in the Gulf of Mexico, on the coast of Africa, on the continent of America, she had been compelled to cede the fruits of her victories in former wars. Spain regained Minorca and Florida; France regained Senegal, Goree, and several West Indian islands. The only quarter of the world in which Britain had lost nothing was the quarter in which her interests had been committed to the care of Hastings. In spite of the utmost exertions both of European and Asiatic enemies, the power of our country in the East had been greatly augmented. Benares was subjected; the nawab vizir reduced to vassalage. That our influence had been thus extended, nay, that Fort William and Fort St. George had not been occupied by hostile armies, was owing, if we may trust the general voice of the English in India, to the skill and resolution of Hastings.

His internal administration, with all its blemishes, gives him a title to be considered as one of the most remarkable men in our history. He dissolved the double government. He transferred the direction of affairs to English hands. Out of a frightful anarchy, he educed at least a rude and imperfect order. The whole organisation by which justice was dispensed, revenue collected, peace maintained throughout a territory not inferior in population to the dominions of Louis XVI or of the emperor Joseph, was formed and superintended by him. He boasted that every public office, which existed when he left Bengal, without exception, was his creation.[r]

Sir A. Lyall on Warren Hastings

Hastings carried the government of India safely through one of the sharpest crises in our national history, when our transmarine possessions were in great peril all over the world, because all the naval powers of Europe were banded against us. In America, the insurgents after an arduous struggle tore down the British flag; in India the end of a long and exhausting contest found our flag not only flying but still more firmly planted than ever; nor had either the vindictive hostility of Mysore, or the indefatigable activity of the Mahrattas, succeeded in wresting an acre of British territory from the grasp of Warren Hastings.[s]

PITT REFORMS THE ADMINISTRATION (1784 A.D.)

When Mr. Fox succeeded to the head of affairs in 1783, all parties were already prepared for a great and important change in the government of Great Britain's eastern empire. But the scheme of that able and ambitious statesman far outstripped either the reason or necessity of the case. He proposed — in his famous India Bill, which convulsed the nation from end to end, and in its ultimate results occasioned the downfall of his administration — to vest the exclusive right of governing India in seven directors, "to be named in the act," that is, appointed by the legislature under the direction of the ministry for the time. The vacancies in these commissioners were to be filled up by the house of commons under the same direction. But this important innovation was defeated, after it had passed the lower house, by a small majority of nineteen in the house of peers, and this defeat was immediately followed by the dismissal of Mr. Fox and his whole administration.

Although, however, Mr. Fox's India Bill was rejected, yet the numerous abuses of Great Britain's Indian dominions, as well as the imminent hazard which they had run during the war with Hyder Ali, from the want of a firmly constituted central government, were too fresh in the public recollection to permit the existing state of matters to continue. Mr. Pitt, accordingly, was no sooner installed in power, than be brought forward an India Bill of his own, which, it was hoped, would prove exempt from the objections to which its predecessor had been liable, and, at the same time, remedy the serious evils to which the administration of affairs in India had hitherto been exposed. This bill passed both houses (1784) and formed the basis of the system under which, with some subsequent but inconsiderable amendments, the affairs of India were for many years administered. By it the court of directors appointed by the East India Company remained as before, and to them the general administration of Indian affairs was still entrusted.

The great change introduced was the institution of the Board of Control, a body composed of six members of the privy council, chosen by the king — the chancellor of the exchequer and one of the secretaries of state being two — in whom the power of directing and controlling the proceedings of the Indian Empire was vested. The duties of this board were very loosely defined, and were all ultimately centred in the president, an officer who became a fourth secretary of state for the Indian Empire. They were described as being "from time to time to check, superintend, and control all acts, operations, and concerns which in anywise relate to the civil or military government or revenues of the territories and possessions of the East India Company." These powers were ample enough; but in practice they led to little more than a control of the company in the more important political or military concerns

of the East, leaving the directors in possession of the practical direction of affairs in ordinary cases. All vacancies in official situations, with the exception of the offices of governor-general of India, governors of Madras and Bombay, and commanders-in-chief, which were to be filled up by the British government, were left at the disposal of the East India directors. A most important provision was made in the institution of a secret committee, who were to send to India in duplicate such despatches as they might receive from the board of control, and in the establishment of the supreme government of Calcutta, with a controlling power over the other presidencies — a change which at once introduced unity of action into all parts of the peninsula.

It cannot be affirmed that this anomalous constitution will stand the test of theoretical examination, or is confirmed by history as regards other states. Still less could it be presumed that a distribution of supreme power between a governor-general and two subordinate governors in the East, and a board of control and body of directors in the British Islands, gave any fair prospect either of unity of purpose or efficiency of action. Nevertheless, if experience, the great test of truth, be consulted, and the splendid progress of the Indian Empire of Great Britain since it was directed in this manner be alone considered, there is reason to hold this system of government one of the most perfect that ever was devised by human wisdom for the advancement and confirmation of political greatness. The secret of this apparent anomaly is to be found in the fact, that this division of power existed in theory only; that from the great distance of India from the home government, and the pressing interests which so frequently called for immediate decision, the supreme direction of affairs practically came to be vested in the governors-general; and that in them were found a succession of great men, second to none who ever appeared in the world for vigour and capacity, and who vindicated the truth of the saying of Sallust, that it is in the strenuous virtue of a few that the real cause of national greatness is in general to be found.

It soon appeared how much the vigour and efficiency of the Indian administration had been increased by the important changes made in its central government. By Mr. Pitt's India Bill, all ideas of foreign conquest in the East had been studiously repressed — it having been declared, that "to pursue schemes of conquest or extension of dominion in India are measures repugnant to the wish, the honour, and the policy of the nation." But this declaration, in appearance so just and practicable, was widely at variance with the conduct which extraneous events shortly after forced upon the British government.

LORD CORNWALLIS AS GOVERNOR-GENERAL; THE WAR WITH TIPU (1786–1792 A.D.)

In order, however, to carry into execution the pacific views of ministers at home, a nobleman of high rank and character, Lord Cornwallis, was sent out by Mr. Pitt, who united in his person the two offices of governor-general and commander-in-chief, so as to give the greatest possible unity to the action of government [1786]. No sooner, however, had he arrived there, than he discovered that Tipu was intriguing with the other native powers for the subversion of Great Britain's Indian dominion; and, as a rupture with France was apprehended at that juncture, four strong regiments were despatched to India. As the company complained of the expense which this additional force entailed upon their finances, a bill was brought into parliament by Mr. Pitt, which fixed the number of king's troops who might be ordered to India by

the board of control, at the expense of the company, at eight thousand, besides twelve thousand European forces in the company's service.

The wisdom of this great addition to the native European force in India, as well as the increased vigour and efficiency of the supreme government, speedily appeared in the next war that broke out. Tipu, whose hostility to the English was well known to be inveterate, and who had long been watched with jealous eyes by the Madras presidency, at length [1789] commenced an attack upon the rajah of Travancore — a prince in alliance with the British, and actually supported by a subsidiary force of their troops. At first, from the total want of preparation which had arisen from the pacific policy so strongly inculcated upon the Indian authorities by the government at home, he obtained very great success, and totally subdued the chief against whom he had commenced hostilities.

Perceiving that the British character was now at stake in the peninsula, and being well aware that a power founded on opinion must instantly sink into insignificance, if the idea gets abroad that its allies may be insulted with impunity, Lord Cornwallis immediately took the most energetic measures to re-assert the honour of the British name. Fifteen thousand men were collected in the Carnatic under General Meadows, while eight thousand more were to ascend the Ghats from the side of Bombay, under General Abercromby. Treaties of alliance were at the same time entered into with the peshwa and the nizam, and hostilities commenced, which were at first attended with checkered success — General Meadows having taken Karur and other towns, and Tipu having surprised Colonel Floyd, and burst into the Carnatic, where he committed the most dreadful ravages.

THE CAMPAIGN OF SERINGAPATAM (1791–1792 A.D.)

The energies of government, however, were now thoroughly aroused. In December, 1791, Lord Cornwallis embarked in person for Madras: the Bengal sepoys were with extreme difficulty reconciled to a sea voyage; and great reinforcements, with the commander-in-chief, were safely landed in the southern presidency. It was resolved to commence operations with the siege of Bangalore, one of the strongest fortresses in Mysore, and commanding the most eligible pass from the coast to the centre of Tipu's dominions. In the end of January the grand army[1] moved forward; the important pass of Coorg leading up the Ghats, was occupied within a month after; Bangalore was invested in the beginning of March and carried by assault on the 21st of that month.

Encouraged by this great success, Lord Cornwallis pushed on direct to Seringapatam, although the advanced period of the season, and scanty supplies of the army, rendered it a service of considerable peril, which was increased rather than diminished by the junction, shortly after, of ten thousand of the nizam's horse, who, without rendering any service to the army, consumed every particle of grass and forage within its reach.

Still the English general continued to press forward, and at length reached the fortified position of the enemy, on strong ground, about six miles in front of Seringapatam. An attack was immediately resolved on; but Tipu, who conducted his defence with great skill, did not await the formidable onset of the assaulting columns, and after inflicting a severe loss on the assailants by the fire of his artillery, withdrew all his forces within the works of the fortress.

[1 Lord Cornwallis led the British army in person with a pomp and lavishness of supplies that recalled the campaigns of Aurangzeb.—HUNTER.c]

The English were now within sight of the capital of Mysore, and decisive success seemed almost within their reach. They were in no condition, however, to undertake the siege. Orders were therefore given to retreat, and the army retired with heavy hearts and considerable loss of stores and men. But the opportune arrival of the advanced guard of the Mahratta contingent, on the second day of the march, which at first caused great alarm, suspended the retrograde movement, and the army encamped for the rainy season in the neighbourhood of Seringapatam.[h]

The next move to Seringapatam was effectual. Reinforcements had been sent out from England; and during the autumn all the lines of communication for another march upon the capital of Tipu had been opened. Some of the strong hill forts had been stormed and taken by the troops under General Meadows. On the 25th of January, 1792, Cornwallis, with twenty-two thousand men, had united his force to the troops of the nizam and the Mahrattas, and commenced his march. On the 5th of February he encamped about six miles northward of Seringapatam. The Mysorean army was encamped under its walls. It amounted to five thousand horse and forty thousand foot. The city was defended by three strong lines of works and redoubts, in which three hundred pieces of artillery were planted. Cornwallis reconnoitred these lines on the morning of the 6th, and determined to storm them that night, with his own army, without communicating his plan to his allies.

At eight o'clock the British moved in three columns to the attack, one column being led by Cornwallis himself. The moon was shining brilliantly; but the sun of the next day was declining before the firing ceased, and the whole line of forts to the north of the Kaveri were in possession of the British forces. Tipu retired within the walls of his capital. Preparations for the siege went vigorously on; but negotiations for peace were at the same time proceeding. The British commander, assured of his triumph, demanded that Tipu should cede the half of his dominions; should pay a sum amounting to £3,000,000; should release all his prisoners; and should deliver his two sons as hostages. The sultan assembled his officers in the great mosque, and adjured them, by the sacred contents of the Koran, to tell him whether he should accept these hard terms. They all held that no reliance could be placed upon the troops, and that submission was inevitable.

On the 23rd of February the preliminaries of peace were signed; and on the 25th the two sons of Tipu were surrendered to Lord Cornwallis. The definitive treaty of peace was signed on the 19th of March. The ceded territories were divided in equal portions between the company, the nizam, and the Mahrattas. On the 4th of May Cornwallis wrote to his brother, "Our peace will no doubt be very popular in England. No termination of the war could have been attended with more solid advantages to our interest; and the deference which was paid to us on the occasion, both by friends and enemies, has placed the British name and consequence in a light never before known in India."

The subjection of Tipu was most opportune. In all probability Cornwallis, who was blamed by some for not insisting upon harder terms, anticipated the probability that the French Revolution would involve England in war, and therefore he made peace whilst it was in his power. When the war broke out he hurried to Madras. But his presence was unnecessary. Pondicherry had already been taken by Sir John Braithwaite; and the French had no longer a footing in India. The agents of the republic were nevertheless active, but they were unable, for several years, to move "Citizen Tipu" into a course of open hostility.[i]

THE PERMANENT SETTLEMENT (1793 A.D.)

If the foundations of the system of civil administration were laid by Hastings, the superstructure was erected by Cornwallis. It was he who first entrusted criminal jurisdiction to Europeans, and established the Nizamat Sadr Adalat, or supreme court of criminal judicature, at Calcutta, and it was he who separated the functions of collector and judge. The system thus organised in Bengal was afterwards transferred to Madras and Bombay, when those presidencies also acquired territorial sovereignty.

But the achievement most familiarly associated with the name of Cornwallis is the permanent settlement of the land revenue of Bengal. Up to his time the revenue had been collected pretty much according to the old Mughal system. *Zamindars*, or government farmers, whose office always tended to become hereditary, were recognised as having a right of some sort to collect the revenue from the actual cultivators. But no principle of assessment existed, and the amount actually realised varied greatly from year to year. Hastings had the reputation of bearing hard upon the *zamindars*, and was absorbed in other critical affairs of state or of war. On the whole he seems to have looked to experience, as acquired from a succession of quinquennial settlements, to furnish the standard rate to the future.



TIPU SAHIB
(1749–1799)

Francis, on the other hand, Hastings' great rival, deserves the credit of being among the first to advocate a limitation of the state demand in perpetuity. The same view recommended itself to the authorities at home, partly because it would place their finances on a more stable basis, partly because it seemed to identify the *zamindar* with the more familiar landlord. Accordingly, Cornwallis took out with him in 1787 instructions to introduce a permanent settlement. The process of assessment began in 1789 and terminated in 1791. No attempt was made to measure the fields or calculate the out-turn as had been done by Akbar, and is now done when occasion requires in the British provinces; but the amount payable was fixed by reference to what has been paid in the past. At first the settlement was called decennial, but in 1793 it was declared permanent forever. The total assessment amounted to *sikka* Rs. 2,68,00,989, or about $2\frac{3}{4}$ millions sterling. Though Lord Cornwallis carried the scheme into execution, all praise or blame, so far as details are concerned, must belong to Sir John Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth, whose knowledge of the country was unsurpassed by that of any civilian of his time. Shore would have proceeded more cautiously than Cornwallis' preconceived idea of a proprietary body and the court of directors' haste after fixity permitted.[1]

Sir John Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth, succeeded Earl Cornwallis in the government of India. During his administration, 1793–1796, the two sons of Tipu, who had been taken as hostages for the due performance of their father's engagements, were given up, however doubtful might have been the continued amity of the sultan. In 1798 Lord Teignmouth was succeeded by Lord Mornington, afterwards created Marquis Wellesley. At the head of the Indian government was now a man of splendid abilities, and of vigour of character well fitted for action in any great crisis. He had a sound adviser, not only in military affairs, but in political, in his younger brother, Arthur Wellesley, then in his thirtieth year, who held the rank of colonel. From his arrival in India as the colonel of an infantry regiment in 1797, to his acceptance of a responsible command in 1799, we may trace the same qualities which, more than any other man, fitted him for an encounter with the genius of Bonaparte.

Arthur Wellesley's regiment, the 33rd, formed part of an army assembled at Vellore, in November, 1798, under the command of General Harris. Lord Mornington had endeavoured, without effect, to detach Tipu from the dangerous influence of the agents of the French government. The language of the governor-general was conciliatory, but it was firm. His proposal to negotiate was met by evasions. Tipu continued to rely upon the assistance of the French. He rejected every pacific overture. General Harris accordingly entered the Mysore territory on the 5th of March, 1799. The ally of the English, the nizam of the Deccan, sent a large contingent to join the army; and this force, to which the 33rd regiment was attached, was placed under the command of Colonel Wellesley.

The novelty, no less than the magnitude, of these operations, appears to have impressed the young commander of the nizam's army with a feeling of wonder which inexperience is not ashamed to display. The British grand army and the nizam's army marched in two columns parallel to each other. "The march of these two armies," says Wellesley *i* in his despatches, "was almost in the form of a square or oblong, of which the front and rear were formed of cavalry, and about two or three miles in extent; the right and left (owing to the immense space taken up in the column by field-pieces, drawn by bullocks), about six or seven miles. In this square went everything belonging to the army. You will have some idea of what there was in that space when I state to you the number of bullocks that I know were in the public service." These he computes at sixty thousand. The nizam's army had twenty-five thousand bullocks loaded with grain; besides elephants, camels, bullocks, carts, belonging to individuals, beyond all calculation. "You may have some idea of the thing when I tell you that, when all were together, there was a multitude in motion which covered eighteen square miles." The Bombay army joined these two moving multitudes; and after several encounters with the forces of Tipu, the united armies had taken up a position before Seringapatam.

CAPTURE OF SERINGAPATAM AND DEATH OF TIPU (1799 A.D.)

A series of successful attacks upon the enemy's posts enabled the breaching batteries to be erected at a short distance from the walls; and the breach was sufficiently complete for the city to be stormed on the 4th of May.*i* Early on the morning of the 4th, the troops destined for the assault were placed in the trenches; and the hour of one o'clock in the afternoon was chosen for the attack, when the sultry heat usually disposed the Asiatics to repose.

Two thousand five hundred Europeans and two thousand natives formed the storming party under the command of General Baird. "Either," said he to Colonel Agnew, "we succeed to-morrow, or you never see me more." The assailants had a fearful prospect before them, for two-and-twenty thousand veteran troops composed the garrison, and the bastions, of uncommon strength, were armed with two hundred and forty pieces of cannon.

But before the British reached the breach, the enemy were at their post, and equally resolute with the assailants. When Tipu saw the British cross the Kaveri, he said, without changing colour, to those around him, "We have arrived at the last stage: what is your determination?" "To die along with you," was the unanimous reply. All was ready for the defence, every battery was manned, and from every bastion and gun which bore on the assailants a close and deadly fire was directed, which speedily thinned their ranks. On, however, the British rushed, followed by their brave allies, through the deadly storm. In five minutes the river was crossed, in five more the breach was mounted; a sally on the flank of the assaulting column by a chosen body of Tipu's guards was repulsed; and as Baird was leading his men up the entangled steep, a loud shout and the waving of the British colours on its summit announced that the fortress was won, and that the capital of Mysore had fallen.

But here an unexpected obstacle intervened — the summit of the breach was separated from the interior of the works by a wide ditch, filled with water, and at first no means of crossing it appeared. At length, however, Baird discovered some planks which had been used by the workmen in getting over it to repair the rampart, and, himself leading the way, this formidable obstacle was surmounted. Straightway dividing his men into two columns, under colonels Sherbrooke and Dunlop, this heroic leader soon swept the ramparts both to the right and left. The brave Asiatics were by degrees forced back — Tipu being the last man who quitted the traverses, though not without desperate resistance, to the mosque, where a dreadful slaughter took place. The remains of the garrison were there crowded together in a very narrow space, having been driven from the ramparts by Sherbrooke's and Dunlop's columns, and jammed together in the neighbourhood of the mosque, where they long maintained their ground under a dreadful cross-fire of musketry, till almost the whole had fallen. The remnant at length surrendered, with two of Tipu's sons, when the firing had ceased at other points.

The sultan himself, who had endeavoured to escape at one of the gates of the town which was assaulted by the sepoys, was some time afterwards found dead under a heap of several hundred slain, composed in part of the principal officers of his palace, who had been driven into the confined space round the mosque. He was shot by a private soldier when stretched on his palanquin, after having been wounded and having had his horse killed under him; while Baird, who for three years had been detained a captive in chains in his dungeons, had the triumph of taking vengeance for his wrongs, by generously protecting and soothing the fears of the youthful sons of his redoubted antagonist.

Tipu could never be brought to believe that the English would venture to storm Seringapatam, and he looked forward with confidence to the setting in of the heavy rains, which were soon approaching, to compel them to raise the siege. He was brave, liberal, and popular during his father's life; but his reign, after he himself ascended the throne, was felt as tyrannical and oppressive by his subjects. This, however, as is often the case in the East, they ascribed rather to the cupidity of his ministers than to his own disposition. The Brahmans had predicted that the 4th of May would prove an inauspicious

day to him; he made them large presents on that very morning, and asked them for their prayers.

He was sitting at dinner under a covered shed to avoid the rays of the sun when the alarm was given that the British were moving; he instantly washed his hands, called for his arms, and mounting his horse rode towards the breach, which he reached as they were crossing the Kaveri. On the way he received intelligence that Syed Goffer, his best officer, was killed. "Syed Goffer was never afraid of death," he exclaimed; "let Muhammed Kasim take charge of his division;" while he himself calmly continued to advance towards the tumult, and was actively engaged sustaining the rearguard, as it retired from the breach.

His corpse was found under a mountain of slain, stripped of all its ornaments and part of its clothing, but with the trusty amulet which he always wore still bound round his right arm. He had received three wounds in the body, and one in the temple; but the countenance was not distorted, the eyes were open, and the expression was that of stern composure. The body was still warm; and for a minute Colonel Wellesley, who was present, thought he was still alive: but the pulse which had so long throbbed for the independence of India had ceased to beat.

The storming of Seringapatam was one of the greatest blows ever struck by any nation, and demonstrated at once of what vast efforts the British Empire was capable, when directed by capacity and led by resolution. The immediate fruits of victory were immense. A formidable fortress, the centre of Tipu's power, garrisoned by twenty-two thousand regular troops, with all his treasures and military resources, had fallen; the whole arsenal and founderies of the kingdom of Mysore were taken, and the artillery they contained amounted to the enormous number of four hundred and fifty-one brass, and four hundred and seventy-one iron guns, besides two hundred and eighty-seven mounted on the works. Above five hundred and twenty thousand pounds of powder, and four hundred and twenty-four thousand round-shot, also fell into the hands of the victors. The military resources, on the whole, resembled rather those of an old-established European monarchy, than of an Indian potentate recently elevated to greatness. But these trophies, great as they were, constituted the least considerable fruits of this memorable conquest: its moral consequences were far more lasting and important.

In one day a race of usurpers had been extinguished, and a powerful empire overthrown; a rival to the British power struck down, and a tyrant of the native princes slain; a military monarchy subverted, and a stroke paralysing all India delivered. The loss in the assault was very trifling, amounting only to three hundred and eighty-seven killed and wounded, though fourteen hundred had fallen since the commencement of the siege. But the portion in which it was divided indicated upon whom the weight of the contest had fallen, and how superior in the deadly breach European energy was to Asiatic valour; for of that number three hundred and forty were British, and only forty-seven native soldiers. Colonel Wellesley was not engaged in the storm; but he commanded the reserve, which did not require to be called into action, and merely viewed with impatient regret the heart-stirring scene. He was next day, however, named Governor of the town by General Harris, which appointment was not disturbed by Lord Wellesley, and constitutes one of the few blots on the otherwise unexceptionable administration of that eminent man. Lord Wellesley was fully aware of the signal conduct and valour displayed by Baird in the siege and storm of Seringapatam; but he selected his brother in preference to him for the

command of that important fortress, from his knowledge of the rare combination of civil and military qualities which he possessed. Had the appointment not been made by General Harris, he declared he would have made it himself. History, indeed, apart from biographical discussion, has little cause to lament an appointment which early called into active service the great civil as well as military qualities of the duke of Wellington, which were immediately exerted with such vigour and effect in arresting the plunder and disorders consequent on the storm, that in a few days the shops were all reopened, and the bazars were as crowded as they had been during the most flourishing days of the Mysore dynasty. But individual injustice is not to be always excused by the merits of the preferred functionary; and, unquestionably, the hero of Seringapatam, the gallant officer who led the assault, was entitled to a very different fate from that of being superseded in the command almost before the sweat was wiped from the brow which he had adorned with the laurels of victory.[h] Colonel Wellesley's letter to the governor-general is very characteristic. "It was impossible to expect that, after the labour which the troops had undergone in working up to this place, and the various successes they had had in six different affairs with Tipu's troops, in all of which they had come to the bayonet with them, they should not have looked to the plunder of this place. Nothing therefore can have exceeded what was done on the night of the 4th. I came in to take the command on the morning of the 5th; and, by the greatest exertion, by hanging, flogging, etc., etc., in the course of that day, I restored order among the troops, and I hope I have gained the confidence of the people."

THE SUBSIDIARY SYSTEM

After the fall of Tipu, and the partition of the Mysore territory in 1799, Lord Wellesley steadily pursued the policy which is distinguished as the subsidiary system. Its principle was to form treaties with native rulers; in compliance with which, a military force, under British command, was to be maintained at the expense of the native prince; and the control of state affairs was to be vested in the British resident, with the exception of all that related to the domestic arrangements of the sovereign, who preserved the regal pomp without the regal power. The subsidiary system was warmly opposed in the British parliament, as unjust and tyrannical. Its defence is succinctly stated by Lord Brougham,[k] who was a constant enemy of all injustice and tyranny: "We had been compelled to interfere in their affairs, and to regulate the succession to their thrones, upon each successive discovery of designs hostile to us, nay, threatening our very existence, the subversion of all the fabric of useful and humane and enlightened polity which we had erected on the ruins of their own barbarous system, and particularly the restriction of the cruel despotism under which the native millions had formerly groaned." In 1800, a subsidiary treaty was formed with the nizam, who ceded all his Mysorean territories in exchange for aid and protection. In 1801 the nephew of the deceased nawab of Arcot was raised to the nominal throne, renouncing in favor of the British all the powers of government. The subahdar of Oudh, and the peshwa, came also under subordination to the British authority.

MAHRATTA WAR OF 1803

After the rupture of the Peace of Amiens, a new danger had arisen, in a confederacy of Mahratta chiefs, assisted by French arms and French influence.

The war of England against Napoleon was in effect to be carried on in a war with the Mahrattas. In the districts watered by the Godavari and the Purna were the qualities of a great captain to be displayed, which, a few years later, were to drive the legions of Napoleon from the Tagus to the Garonne.

At the beginning of the century, the great Mahratta chief Holkar was at war with the equally valorous chief Sindhia. Holkar, to strengthen his own power and destroy an ally of his rival, attacked the peshwa, who fled from Poona after a signal defeat. It was then that he called the British to his aid, with whom he concluded the Treaty of Bassein, on the last day of December, 1802. General Wellesley marched six hundred miles, from Seringapatam to Poona, in the worst season of the year; drove out the Mahrattas; and reinstated the peshwa in his capital. Holkar now turned to his old rival Sindhia, to coalesce with him against the peshwa, the nizam, and the British.

Directing the military operations of Sindhia was a clever Frenchman, M. Perron, who had under him a large army of infantry disciplined in the European manner, many thousand cavalry, and a well appointed train of artillery. Bhonsla, the rajah of Berar (or rajah of Nagpur), joined the alliance of Sindhia and Holkar. The fifth Mahratta chieftain was the Gaikwar, and his territory was Guzerat, where Sindhia had some possessions and great power and influence. The Gaikwar took no part in the approaching contest. For some time after the peshwa had been restored, negotiations were going on between the British government and Sindhia and the rajah of Berar. They professed friendship, but it soon became clear that they were confederates with Holkar, and were depending for assistance upon Perron. The nizam was known to be dying; and it was one of the objects of these chieftains to arrange the succession so as to aggrandise their own power.

It was thus necessary to make war upon this confederacy, which threatened the security of the British dominion in India as much, if not more, than the hostility of Tipu. There was the same danger, as in his case, of an alliance with France on the part of the Mahrattas. Pondicherry had been given up to France by the Treaty of Amiens. When the Mahratta war broke out, the rupture of that treaty was not known. The vicinity of Pondicherry to the Mahratta country required the greatest vigilance. Whilst negotiations with the Mahratta chiefs were still in progress, the news came of the renewal of the war. A French force attempted to land at Pondicherry, and were made prisoners. Providing against hostilities upon a great scale, the governor-general decided upon the plan of a campaign, in which the rare faculty of organising the co-operating movements of troops acting upon different points ensured the same success as had attended the campaigns of Napoleon. One element of success was the unshackled power of an able commander in the Deccan, the most important portion of the field of war.

On the 26th of June Arthur Wellesley was appointed to the command of all the British and allied troops in the territories of the peshwa and the nizam, and to the direction of the political affairs of this district, which was surrounded by the dominions of the confederate chiefs. In Hindustan the same complete authority was given to General Lake. General Wellesley was at Poona with seventeen thousand men, when the negotiation with Sindhia was at an end. General Lake was upon the Jumna, watching the movements of Perron, who was in a part of the Doab which had been bestowed upon him by Sindhia. In Guzerat, Colonel Murray commanded the Bombay army, a force of seven thousand men, and he was afterwards reinforced by Colonel Woodington. In the province of Cuttack, Colonel Harcourt was at the head of the Madras army, a small body of troops, who were able to render efficient

service. All these armies, not great in numerical amount, but most formidable in their discipline, were all in motion, at one and the same time, to close round the enemy from the south and the north, from the east and the west; "from the sea, the mountains, and the forests, over the salt plains of Cuttack, and the high plains of the Deccan, and through the passes of the Ghats, and over the rivers of Hindustan, and out of the rank swamps of the basin of the Ganges." (Martineau.[1])

It was the 3rd of August when the British resident quitted Sindhia's camp. His departure was the signal for immediate hostilities. On the 6th of August General Wellesley wrote a letter to Sindhia, characterised by his usual decisive language: "I offered you peace on terms of equality, and honourable to all parties; you have chosen war, and are responsible for all consequences." On the 12th of August, he had advanced through roads rendered almost impassable by violent rains, and had taken the strong fort of Ahmednagar. General Lake was equally prompt in his movements. The French force under Perron fled before him, retreating from Coel, which Lake then occupied.

Perron, in a few days, put himself under British protection, and was received with kindness. He complained of the treachery of his officers, and is supposed not to have been insensible to the attractions of drafts upon the treasury of Calcutta. On the 4th of September, the strong fortress of Aligarh was taken by a storming party of the army of Lake. The Bombay and the Madras armies were equally successful in their advances. On the 6th of August, General Wellesley had sent orders to the officer in command of the Bombay army to attack Broach. In a little more than three weeks Broach had surrendered. On the 12th of September, Lake obtained a great victory over the troops of Sindhia, and over the French army which Perron had formed. They were commanded by another Frenchman, Bourquien. On the following day the British were in possession of Delhi. Lake restored the Mughal emperor, Shah Alam, who had been deposed, and thus propitiated the Mohammedan population of Hindustan.

The triumphant career of Lake was followed up in the battles of Muttra and Agra, and was completed in the great victory of Laswari on the 1st of November. He was worthy of all honour. The thanks of parliament and a peerage were never more properly bestowed than upon the senior general in this astonishing campaign.

Colonel Stevenson was to the east of General Wellesley, after the capture of Ahmednagar. It was necessary to effect a junction of their two armies. Wellesley directed Stevenson to take a bold course: "Move forward yourself with the company's cavalry, and all the nizam's, and a battalion, and dash at the first party that comes into your neighbourhood. A long defensive war will ruin us. By any other plan we shall lose our supplies." On the 21st of August Wellesley's cavalry was passing the wide Godavari. They passed in wicker boats covered with bullock skins. During a month, Wellesley and Stevenson were pursuing Sindhia's forces, united with those of the rajah of Berar, each of the British commanders never allowing the enemy to rest, and marching always with the rapidity which could alone keep pace with the Mahratta cavalry. On the 21st of September Wellesley and Stevenson were a little to the east of Aurangabad. They were sufficiently near to each other to concert a plan of joint operations against the Mahratta armies, which had been reinforced with sixteen battalions of infantry, commanded by French officers, and with a train of artillery. This formidable force was concentrated on the banks of the Kaitna.

BATTLE OF ASSAYE (1803 A.D.)

On the 22nd of September the division under Wellesley, and the division under Stevenson, marched with the intention to attack the enemy. There was a range of hills between the British and the Mahrattas. One division marched by the eastern road round the hills; the other by the western road. They encamped that night at the two extremities of the range of hills. On the morning of the 23rd, General Wellesley received information that Sindhia and Bhonsla had moved off with their cavalry, but that their infantry were still in camp, and were about to follow the cavalry. Their camp might be seen from a rising ground. "It was obvious that the attack was no longer to be delayed," writes Wellesley. It was no longer to be delayed, although Colonel Stevenson had not arrived with his detachment. He was misled by his guides. In his latter years, the duke of Wellington *i* related to "an early and intimate friend" how he formed his plan.

"I was indebted for my success at Assaye to a very ordinary exercise of common sense. The Mahratta chiefs, whom I was marching to overtake, had made a hasty retreat with their infantry and guns, and had got round behind a river on my right, leaving me exposed to an overwhelming force of native cavalry. To get rid of these gentlemen, and to get at the others, I had no chance but getting over the river also. I found a passage, crossed my army over, had no more to fear from the enemy's cloud of cavalry, and my force, small as it was, was just enough to fill the space between that river and another stream that fell into it therabouts, and on which Assaye stood, so that both my flanks were secure. And there I fought and won the battle — the bloodiest for the number that I ever saw; and this was all from the common sense of guessing that men did not build villages on opposite sides of a stream without some means of communication between them."

The battle of Assaye might well be called "the bloodiest for its number" that the hero of so many battles had ever seen. Well might it be so, when the Mahrattas' force was at least seven times as numerous as the British army. It was one o'clock when the enemy's camp was in view, extending from five to seven miles. "We began to advance," writes the brigade-major, "a little after three, and the action was not entirely over till six o'clock." The 74th and 78th regiments, and four battalions of sepoys, moved forward to the attack: the piquets led; and the cavalry brought up the rear to protect the infantry from the enemy's horse. We quote the spirited narrative of an eye-witness, Lieutenant (not Sir) Colin Campbell:

"The line was ordered to advance. The piquets at this period had nearly lost a third of their number, and most of their gun-bullocks were killed. The line moved rapidly and took possession of the first line of guns, where many of the enemy were killed. They then moved on in equally good order and resolution to the second line of guns, from which they very soon drove the enemy; but many of the artillery, who pretended to be dead when we passed on to the second line of guns, turned the guns we had taken upon us, which obliged us to return and again to drive them from them.

At this period the cannonade was truly tremendous. A milk-hedge in their front, which they had to pass to come at the enemy's guns, threw them into a little confusion; but they still pushed forward, and had taken possession of many of their guns, when the second line, which opened on them, obliged them to retire from what they had so dearly purchased. The numbers of the 74th regiment remaining at this period were small; on their returning, some of the enemy's cavalry came forward and cut up many of the wounded officers

and men. It was at this critical moment that the 19th charged, and saved the remains of the 74th regiment. General Wellesley at the same time threw the 78th regiment forward on their right, to move down on the enemy, who still kept their position at Assaye. This movement, and the charge of the 19th light dragoons, made the enemy retire from all their guns precipitately and they fled across the nullah to our right at the village of Assaye, where numbers of them were cut up by the cavalry. The general was in the thick of the action the whole time, and had a horse killed under him. No man could have shown a better example to the troops than he did. I never saw a man so cool and collected as he was the whole time, though I can assure you, till our troops got orders to advance, the fate of the day seemed doubtful; and if the numerous cavalry of the enemy had done their duty, I hardly think it possible that we could have succeeded. From the European officers who have since surrendered, it appears they had about twelve thousand infantry, and their cavalry is supposed to have been at least twenty thousand, though many make it more. We have now in our possession one hundred and two guns, and all their tumbrils."

In the middle of October Colonel Stevenson obtained possession of the strong fortresses of Asseerghur and Burhanpur. General Wellesley had followed the Mahratta army in their various movements, their stratagems never defeating his vigilance. Sindhia at last desired a truce. This was granted. But it was soon discovered that his cavalry were serving in the army of the rajah of Berar, and that the truce was altogether delusive. On the 29th of November, General Wellesley obtained a victory over the united armies of Sindhia and Bhonsla. The Mahrattas retired in disorder, leaving their cannon, and pursued by moonlight by the British, the Mughal, and the Mysore cavalry. This wonderful campaign, of little more than four months, was finished by the successful termination of the siege of Gawilgarh (December 15th).

The Mahratta war with Sindhia and Bhonsla was at an end. The rajah of Berar, who had sued for a peace, signed a treaty on the 17th. He ceded Cuttack, which was annexed to the British dominions, and he agreed to admit no Europeans but the British within his territories. Sindhia also was completely humbled. A treaty with him was signed on the 30th of December, he agreeing to give up Broach, Ahmednagar, and his forts in the Doab; and to exclude all Europeans except the British. He was to receive the protection which was extended under the subsidiary system to other dependent states.

But there was another great Mahratta chieftain yet unsubdued. His intriguing spirit was exercised in urging the other chiefs to break the treaties which they had entered into. The governor-general tried to convert this enemy into a friend by negotiation. Holkar openly defied him; he would come with his army, and sweep and destroy like the waves of the sea. In April, 1804, war was declared against Holkar. The war went on through 1804 and 1805. Marquis Wellesley had resigned the government of India at the end of July; and Marquis Cornwallis had succeeded him, before Holkar was subdued. Cornwallis died on the 5th of October, and Sir George Barlow assumed the government. On the 24th of December a treaty was signed with Holkar; and he also agreed to exclude from his territories all Europeans except the British.

FAMINE IN INDIA

Sir Arthur Wellesley (he had received the order of the Bath for his great services) returned to England in 1805. During his voyage home he employed

his active mind in writing an interesting paper on the subject of *Dearth in India*. There had been a famine in the Deccan in 1803 and 1804, which he had witnessed. The dearth, and its fatal effects, were to be attributed principally to the dry season of 1803. He describes the physical geography of the peninsula; the peculiar cultivation of wet lands or of dry; the dependence of the rice-produce of the wet lands upon the fall of the rain, assisted by the artificial canals, tanks, and wells, many of which were ancient works; and the entire dependence of the dry lands, where what are called dry grains are cultivated, upon the critical arrival and the quantity of the periodical rains. The portions of the Indian Empire to which Sir A. Wellesley directed his attention were far less extensive than at present.

Since 1804 there have been many famines. Awful as the distress has been, it is satisfactory to know that the question which Sir A. Wellesley asked, "in what manner the deficiency produced by the seasons in any particular part could be remedied by the government in that part," has been to some extent answered, by the construction of great canals for irrigation. The eastern and the western Jumna canals, and the Ganges canal, are the grandest of these works, and are capable of irrigating several millions of acres.[i]

In recent years the extension of railways and the improvement of internal communication whereby particular districts suffering from famine can be supplied from more fortunate ones have been the means employed for coping with this scourge and an annual charge has been made on the revenue for funds to be used in time of dearth. Nevertheless the twentieth century opened amidst widespread suffering from this cause which was most marked in the native states. It is said however that the deaths of grown persons were not numerous and when they did occur were attributable to the people's own apathy. On the other hand above five million persons were at one time in receipt of relief.[a]

After his return from India, the marquis Wellesley had to endure the bitter mortification of finding that his great public services had rendered him a mark for the attacks of James Paull, who, having failed in India of advancement at his hands, returned to England and became a member of parliament. It is unnecessary for us to follow the parliamentary discussions on this subject. The accusations were, in a great degree, the result of private malice and party rancour; and, like all such abuses of the privileges of representative government, their interest very quickly passed away.

MUTINY AT VELLORE (1806 A.D.)

In the affairs of India, an event of far more lasting importance than the assaults upon the marquis Wellesley took place on the 10th of July, 1806. At two o'clock in the morning of that day, the European barracks at Vellore, in which were four companies of the 69th regiment, were surrounded by two battalions of sepoys in the service of the East India Company. Through every door and window these mutineers poured in a destructive fire upon the sleeping soldiers. The sentinels were killed; the sick in the hospital were massacred; the officers' houses were ransacked, and they, with their wives and children, were put to death. Colonel Fancourt, the commander of the 69th fell in the attempt to save his men.

There was a terrible retribution the next day. The 19th regiment of dragoons arrived; took the fort of Vellore from the insurgents; six hundred of the sepoys were cut down; and two hundred were dragged out of their hiding places and shot. The sons of Tipu Sahib, who were residing at Vellore, were

suspected of being concerned in this mutiny. But there were demonstrations of a spirit of disaffection amongst the native troops in other places. Some extremely foolish regulations had been attempted by the military authorities at Madras with respect to the dress of the sepoys. It was wished to transform the turban into something like a helmet. An opinion had been spread that it was the desire of the British government to convert the native troops to Christianity by forcible means. This notion was disavowed in a subsequent proclamation of the government at Madras. But at that time the zeal of some persons for the conversion of the Hindu population was far from discreet; and in England there was no hesitation in declaring, that "the restless spirit of fanaticism has insinuated itself into our Indian councils;" and that unless checked in time, it will lead to the subversion of our Indian Empire, and the massacre of our countrymen dispersed over that distant land." *i*





CHAPTER IV

CONQUESTS AND REFORMS FROM 1807 TO 1835 A.D.

LORD MINTO AND THE MUTINY OF BRITISH OFFICERS (1807–1813 A.D.)

At the beginning of 1807 India was at peace. On the death of the marquis Cornwallis, the powers of the governor-general were temporarily exercised by Sir George Barlow, who was subsequently entrusted with the full authority of his post by the court of directors. The Grenville administration had just come into office, and they wished to bestow the appointment upon one of their own supporters, and especially upon some nobleman. The debates in parliament on this subject were continued and violent. The conflict was finally settled by the appointment of Lord Minto. The tranquillity of his government was after a while seriously disturbed by an outbreak against the power of the company at Travancore. There was war against the rajah of this state, which originated in a dispute between his diwan or chief minister, and the British resident. His troops were beaten in the field during 1808, and the lines of Travancore being stormed at the beginning of 1809, and other forts captured, relations of amity between the company and the rajah were restored.

A more serious danger arose out of a circumstance which appears now amongst the almost incredible things of the past. The officers of the Madras army, who had long been stirred up to discontent, had mutinied, and Lord Minto, in August, 1809, sailed for Madras to quell this extraordinary insubordination of British officers. There were various and contradictory regulations existing in the several presidencies. There were inequalities in the rate of allowances. At Madras, what the council termed "a very dangerous spirit of cabal" had been pointed out as early as March, 1807, by the council to the court of directors. There was there an officer high in command, Lieutenant-Colonel St. Leger, who was described in the despatch of the council as "the champion of the rights of the company's army." Colonel St. Leger, as well as other officers, was suspended by an order of the 1st of May, and then open mutiny burst out at Hyderabad, Masulipatam, Seringapatam, and other

places. On one occasion only was blood shed in this extraordinary revolt. Many of these officers were very young men, who were incited to acts of insubordination by the example of their seniors. Brave as were the British officers in the field, their exclusiveness and assumption of superiority were offensive to civilians and dangerous in their intercourse with the natives. These misguided men gradually returned to habits of obedience. In September Lord Minto published an amnesty, with the exception of eighteen officers, nearly all of whom chose to resign rather than to abide the judgment of a court-martial. It now became the wish of all to obliterate the painful remembrance of the past. During this alarming period, in which the mutiny of the officers might have led to the entire disorganisation of the sepoy army, the king's troops manifested the most entire obedience to the orders of the governor-general.

During the administration of Lord Minto a number of successful operations were undertaken in the Eastern Archipelago, which, in 1810, gave the British possession of Amboyna and the Banda Isles, of the Île de la Réunion, and of the Mauritius. The most important of these conquests was the rich island of Java, which, after a severe battle with the Dutch troops near the capital, capitulated in 1810. Sir Stamford Raffles, who was appointed lieutenant-governor of Java, described it as "the other India." It passed out of British hands at the peace — a circumstance attributed by many to the complete ignorance of the British government of the great value of this possession. The policy of the court of directors was to maintain peace as long as possible upon the continent of India, and thus the depredations of the Pindharis and the Nepalese were not met by the governor-general with any vigorous measures of repression. He demanded redress of the rajah of Nepal for the outrages of his people, but he did not make any more effectual demonstration to compel a less injurious conduct. His diplomacy had for its main object to prevent the establishment of the French in the peninsula. He concluded treaties with the amirs of Sind, and with the king of Kabul, of which the terms of friendship were, that they should restrain the French from settling in their territories. With Persia, where France was endeavouring to establish her influence, a treaty was concluded, binding the sovereign to resist the passage of any European force through his country towards India.

The usual term of a governor-general's residence being completed, Lord Minto resigned in 1813, and returned to England. He came at a time when a material alteration in the position of the East India Company was at hand. By the Statute of Queen Anne, and by successive acts of parliament, the company had the exclusive privilege, as regarded English subjects, of trading to all places east of the Cape of Good Hope, as far as the Straits of Magellan. In March, 1813, the house of commons resolved itself into a committee to consider the affairs of the East India Company. The government proposed that the charter of the company should be renewed for twenty years, during which term they should retain the exclusive trade to China, but that the trade to India should be thrown open on certain conditions. The government also proposed to appoint a bishop for India, and three archdeacons. The committee examined various witnesses. The first witness was Warren Hastings, then eighty years of age. He expressed his decided opinion that the settlement of Europeans would be fraught with danger to the peace of the country and the security of the company, and that the trade between India and England, as then regulated, was far more beneficial than if perfectly free. On the subject of the propagation of Christianity in India, and the proposed Episcopal establishment, his evidence is described as having evinced "a most philo-

sophic indifference." The debates in both houses on the resolutions occupied four months of the session. A bill was finally passed by which the trade to India was thrown open as proposed, the territorial and commercial branches of the company's affairs were separated, and the king was empowered to create a bishop of India, and three archdeacons, to be paid by the company.

THE GURKHA WAR; THE DESTRUCTION OF THE PINDHARIS (1814–1818 A.D.)

Lord Minto was succeeded as governor-general by the earl of Moira, afterwards marquis of Hastings, who took possession of the government on the 4th of October, 1813. During 1814 and 1815 there was war between the British and the Nepalese. This is sometimes called the Gurkha War [the Gurkhas being the race which conquered Nepal in the middle of the eighteenth century]. The Gurkhas at the period of the government of the marquis of Hastings were subjecting all the smaller states to their dominion, and were able to maintain an army of twelve thousand disciplined men, who were clothed and accoutred like the British sepoys. As they advanced towards the British possessions on the northern frontier, they manifested a desire to try their strength against the company's troops, and exhibited their ill will in 1814 by attacking two police stations in the districts of Gorakhpur and Saran, and by massacring all the troops in the garrisons there. The first operations of the British troops were unsuccessful; but in 1815 Sir David Ochterlony was enabled to dislodge the Gurkhas from their hill-forts, and to compel their commander, Amir Singh, to capitulate. A treaty of peace was concluded at the end of 1815, but its ratification by the rajah being withheld, a large British army advanced to Khatmandu, the present capital of Nepal. The treaty was ratified and the war concluded at the beginning of 1816. Some portions of territory were ceded to the company; but for the most part the chiefs who had been expelled by the conquering Gurkhas were restored to their ancient possessions.

The province of Malwa was the chief seat of a body of freebooters, the Pindharis, who carried on a war of devastation with peaceful neighbours, and were more formidable from their want of that political organisation which constitutes a state. They lived in separate societies of one or two hundred, governed each by its chief, but they were always ready to combine under one supreme chief for the purposes of their marauding expeditions. In 1814 fifteen thousand horsemen were assembled on the north bank of the Nerbudda, under a leader named Chitu. In October, 1815, they seized the opportunity of the British troops being engaged in the Nepalese War to cross the Nerbudda, and having plundered and devastated a territory of Great Britain's ally, the nizam of the Deccan, recrossed the Nerbudda to prepare for another raid with a greater force. Between the 5th of February and the 17th of May, 1816, they had again collected an immense booty, with which they retired, not only having devastated the lands of the allies of Britain, but within the company's frontiers having plundered more than three hundred villages and put to death or tortured more than four thousand individuals. These fierce and successful attacks of the Pindharis were not solely instigated by their own desire for the rich booty of peaceful provinces. They would scarcely have ventured to defy the British power had they not been secretly supported by a confederacy of Mahratta potentates. The governor-general had obtained certain information that the peshwa, the rajah of Nagpur, Sindhia, Holkar the younger, and Amir Khan, were preparing in concert with the Pindharis to invade the com-

pany's territories whilst the British troops were engaged in the Nepalese War. The governor-general, at the conclusion of the peace with Nepal, applied to the authorities at home for permission to carry on the war with the Pindharis upon a great scale. Till this permission should arrive he had only to keep the Bengal army in advanced cantonments. When his warrant for extended operations did arrive, the marquis of Hastings was ready with an army in each of the three presidencies to take the field against the Pindharis, and against all their open or secret supporters. The immensity of his preparations was determined by the importance of his designs. The issue of the war was another most decided advance in the assertion of Great Britain's supremacy, which manifestly tended to "the absolute conquest of the peninsula."

At the end of September, 1817, orders were issued for a simultaneous movement of the army of Bengal under the command of the governor-general, of the army of the Deccan under the command of Sir Thomas Hislop, and of various corps from different stations, each marching to points from which the Pindharis could be surrounded, and at the same time their Mahratta and other supporters prevented from uniting their forces. It is not within our limits to attempt any detail of this very complicated warfare. The war with the Pindharis was terminated in the spring of 1818, with the entire destruction or dispersion of these terrible marauders. The best historian of the events is Sir John Malcolm,[c] who was himself one of the most active and sagacious of the British commanders. Their complete extinction has been graphically described by him: "Within five years after their name had spread terror and dismay over all India, there remained not a spot that a Pindhari could call his home. They had been hunted like wild beasts, numbers had been killed, all ruined, those who espoused their cause had fallen. Early in the contest they were shunned like a contagion; the timid villagers whom they had so recently oppressed were among the foremost to attack them."

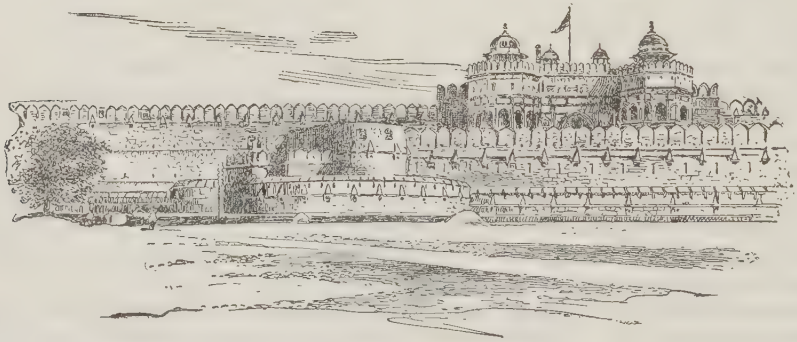
On the 5th of November, the governor-general had extorted by the presence of his powerful army a treaty with Sindhia, in which that Mahratta chief engaged to aid in the destruction of the Pindharis. That army, which was encamped on low ground, on the banks of a tributary of the Jumna, was at this moment attacked by an enemy far more dangerous than any which it would be likely to encounter in the field.[b]

THE ARMY DECIMATED BY CHOLERA (1817 A.D.)

The malady known by the name of spasmodic cholera — evacuations of acrid biliary matter, accompanied by spasmodic contractions of the abdominal muscles, and a prostration of strength, terminating frequently in the total exhaustion of the vital functions — had been known in India from the remotest periods, and had, at times, committed fearful ravages. Its effects, however, were in general restricted to particular seasons and localities and were not so extensively diffused as to attract notice or excite alarm. In the middle of 1817, however, the disease assumed a new form, and became a widely spread and fatal epidemic. It made its first appearance in the eastern districts of Bengal, in May and June of that year, and after extending itself gradually along the north bank of the Ganges, through Tirhut to Ghazipur, it crossed the river, and passing through Rewah, fell with peculiar virulence upon the centre division of the grand army, in the first week of November.

Although the casualties were most numerous amongst the followers of the camp and the native soldiery, the ravages of the disease were not confined to

the natives, but extended to Europeans of every rank.[1] The appalling features of the malady were the suddenness of its accession and the rapidity with which death ensued. No one felt himself safe for an hour, and yet, as there was no appearance of infection, the officers generally were active in assisting the medical establishment in administering medicines and relief to the sick. The mortality became so great that hands were insufficient to carry away the bodies, and they were tossed into the neighbouring ravines, or hastily committed to a superficial grave on the spots where the sick had expired. The survivors then took alarm and deserted the encampment in crowds: many bore with them the seeds of the malady, and the fields and roads for many miles round were strewn with the dead. Death and desertion were rapidly depopulating the camp, when, after a few days of unavailing struggle against the epidemic, it was determined to try the effects of a change of situation. The army accordingly retrograded in a south-easterly direction, and after several intermediate halts, crossed the Betwa, and encamping upon its lofty and dry banks at Erich, was relieved from the pestilence. The disease dis-



Fort at Agra

appeared. During the week of its greatest malignity it was ascertained that seven hundred and sixty-four fighting men and eight thousand followers perished.[c]

Sindhia had seized the opportunity, not to render aid against the Pindharis but to invite them to come into his territory. The cholera passed away, and the governor-general hurried back to his former position to cut off the possible junction between the marauding bands and Sindhia's troops. In the remaining months of 1817 and the beginning of 1818 the Mahratta confederacy was utterly broken up by the successes of the British. The rajah of Nagpur, after a battle of eighteen hours, was defeated, and his town of Nagpur taken on the 26th of November. Holkar was beaten on the 21st of December at the battle of Mehidpur, and peace was concluded with him on the 6th of January. The peshwa of the Mahrattas surrendered to the English in the following June, agreeing to abdicate his throne, and become a pensioner of the East India Company.[b]

[1] Five officers and 143 men of the European force died in November — official return. According to Surgeon Corbyn[d] who was serving with the centre division, and whose plan of treatment was circulated to the army by the marquis of Hastings, his lordship was himself apprehensive of dying of the disease, and had given secret instructions to be buried in his tent, that his death might not add to the discouragement of the troops, or tempt the enemy to attack the division in its crippled state.

TRANSACTIONS IN CEYLON

The island of Ceylon, first colonised by the Portuguese, and subsequently by the Dutch, was finally taken from the latter, as identified with the republic of France, in 1796, by an expedition fitted out from Madras, and was for a short interval subject to the government of Fort St. George. In 1798 it was annexed to the colonial dominions of the British Crown, and the honourable Frederick North was nominated governor on the part of Great Britain. The settlements which were thus transferred extended along the sea-coast, forming a narrow belt round the centre of the island, where native princes continued to rule over the remnants of an ancient kingdom, whose origin was traceable, through credible records, for above two thousand years. Deprived of a valuable portion of their ancestral domains by races which they despised as barbarians while they hated them as conquerors, the kings of Kandy had been almost always at variance with their European neighbours, and had been principally protected against their military superiority by the deadly atmosphere of the forests which interposed an impenetrable rampart between the interior of the island and the coast. The last but one of these princes co-operated with the English in their attack upon the maritime provinces held by the Dutch, in expectation of advantages which were never realised. He died shortly after the establishment of the British power. Leaving no children he was succeeded in 1800 by the son of a sister of one of his queens, who was elected to the throne by the head minister, or *adigar*, with the acquiescence of the other chief officers of the state, the priests of Buddha, and the people.

Shortly after the accession of the new sovereign in the beginning of 1800, the governor of Ceylon deputed the commanding officer of the troops on the island, General Macdowall, on an embassy to the court of Kandy. Advantage was to be taken of the intrigues which agitated the Kandian court. The minister who had raised the sovereign to his present rank, is said thus early to have plotted his deposal, and the usurpation of his crown. For the accomplishment of his treacherous designs, he sought the assistance of the British government, and although his overtures were at first rejected, he was admitted to a conference with the governor's secretary, and the mission to Kandy was the result. The plot was frustrated by the timidity and suspicion apparently of both the minister and the king. General Macdowall proceeded to Kandy, but he returned to Colombo without having made any progress in the purposes of his mission, secret or avowed. On the contrary, the proceedings of the British government seem to have excited the suspicion and ill will of both the king and the adigar, and to have united them against a common enemy; while an excuse for an appeal to arms seems to have been solicitously sought for by the British. At length some Sinhalese traders from the British territories, having been despoiled of a parcel of betel nuts, which they had purchased, complained to the governor. Their case was advocated by him with the king; its truth was admitted, and redress was promised but never granted. Mr. North determined to make war upon the king, unless he subscribed to a treaty promising compensation for the expenses of military equipments, and the plunder of the betel nuts; to permit the formation of a military road from Colombo to Trincomalee, and suffer cinnamon peelers and wood cutters to follow their calling in the Kandian districts. It was intimated at the same time, that the aggressions which had been perpetrated, had left the governor at perfect liberty to recognise and support the claims which any other prince of the family of the Sun might form to the diadem worn by his Kandian majesty. The intimation was not likely to conciliate his accession to a

friendly convention, and was replied to by predatory incursions into the British frontier, and the plunder and murder of its subjects. To repress and avenge these injuries, a force under General Macdowall was despatched from Colombo, and another under Colonel Barbut from Trincomalee. The two divisions encountering no serious opposition on their march, met on the Mahaveli-ganga, three miles from Kandy, and on the 21st of February, 1803, entered the capital. The town, which was completely deserted, had been set on fire by the inhabitants, but the flames were speedily extinguished, and Kandy was in the occupation of the British.

THE BRITISH TAKE KANDY AND ARE MASSACRED (1803 A.D.)

As the reigning monarch had been so little sensible of the benefits to be derived from the British alliance, a more tractable sovereign was brought forward in the person of Mutu-sami, a brother of the late queen, and a competitor for the throne, who had been obliged to seek refuge in the colony. A treaty was concluded with him, by which he ceded certain districts and immunities, and in requital was acknowledged as monarch of Kandy, and promised, as long as he might require it, the aid of an auxiliary force. Mutu-sami was conducted to the capital, where he arrived on the 4th of March. He brought no accession of strength, as the people were either afraid or disinclined to support his cause; and hence perhaps its sudden abandonment by the governor, who presently afterwards engaged to invest the adigar with regal authority, on condition of his delivering up his master, assigning a pension to Mutu-sami, and making the same cessions which that unfortunate prince had consented to grant.

After a short stay at Kandy, during which several skirmishes took place with the Sinhalese, invariably to their disadvantage, but without any decisive results, the prevalence of jungle-fever, generated by the pestilential vapours of the surrounding forests, to which many of the men and officers fell victims, compelled the retirement of the greater part of the survivors; and, finally, the protection of Kandy, and of Mutu-sami, was consigned to Major Davie, with a body of five hundred Malays and two hundred Europeans of the 19th regiment — the latter almost incapacitated for duty by sickness, and the former speedily thinned by frequent desertions. In this state, they were attacked on the 24th of June by the Sinhalese in immense numbers, headed by the king and the adigar, and encouraged by their knowledge of the enfeebled state of the garrison: a severe conflict ensued, which lasted for seven hours, when Major Davie was under the necessity of proposing a suspension of hostilities. The proposal was acceded to, and a capitulation agreed upon, by which the garrison, accompanied by Mutu-sami, were to be permitted to retire with their arms, on giving up Kandy and all military stores. It was promised that the sick, who were incapable of being removed, should be taken care of until they could be sent to a British settlement. Upon these stipulations Major Davie evacuated Kandy, and marched to the banks of the Mahaveli-ganga, which, being swollen by the rains, was no longer fordable: no boats were at hand, and the enemy showed himself in force in different quarters. On the following day, a mission came from the king, demanding that Mutu-sami should be given up, when boats would be furnished to the English. After some hesitation, the demand was complied with. The unhappy prince, with several of his kinsmen, was immediately put to death.

That this abandonment, and the disgrace which it entailed upon the British faith, might have been avoided by a greater display of resolution than

was exhibited, is not impossible; but a determination to preserve the prince at all hazards, even if it had been entertained by the officers, was little likely to have been acquiesced in by the men, consisting almost wholly of Malays, who saw in his surrender their only hope of safety. The hope was fallacious, as might have been expected from the treachery of the enemy. The king commanded the destruction of the whole party. The adigar is said to have manifested some reluctance to violate the capitulation; but at last consented to become the instrument of his master's revenge.

He prevailed upon Major Davie and his officers to accompany him out of sight of the men, who were then told that their officers had crossed the river, and that, upon laying down their arms, they would be also ferried across to join them. Conducted in small parties to the edge of the river, at a spot where they could not be seen by their comrades, they were successively stabbed, or butchered in various ways, and their bodies were thrown into a contiguous hollow. At the same time the whole of the sick, a hundred and fifty, of whom a hundred and thirty-two were British soldiers, were barbarously put to death, the dead and the dying having been thrown promiscuously into a pit prepared for the purpose. Most of the officers were also murdered, or died shortly afterwards. Major Davie survived till about 1810, when he died at Kandy, latterly unmolested and almost unnoticed.

CRUELTY OF THE KING OF KANDY

The recovery of his capital and the destruction of the garrison, inspired the Kandian monarch with the ambition of expelling the Europeans from the island; and during the remainder of 1803 and the ensuing year, repeated efforts were made to penetrate into the colony. Their attempts were, however, repulsed. Reinforcements were sent to the island, and the British became strong enough to retaliate. In 1805, the first adigar acquired additional authority by the indisposition of the king; and a cessation of hostilities ensued, which was continued by mutual acquiescence, without any express armistice, for several years.

Whatever may have been the designs of the adigar, Pilame Talawe, in his negotiations with the English, he remained apparently faithful to his sovereign, until the king's tyranny and cruelty taught him fears for his own life. He then engaged in open rebellion — was unsuccessful — was taken and beheaded. He was succeeded in his office by Ahailapalla, who in his turn incurred and resented the suspicion and tyranny of the king. He instigated a rebellion in the district of Jaffragam, over which he presided: but his adherents fell from him upon the approach of a rival adigar with the royal forces, and he was obliged to fly. He found refuge in Colombo: but many of his followers were taken and impaled. The king's savage cruelty now surpassed all that can be imagined of barbarian inhumanity. Among a number of persons who were seized and put to death with various aggravations of suffering, the family of the fugitive minister, which had remained in the tyrant's grasp, were sentenced to execution; the children, one of them an infant at the breast, were beheaded, the heads were cast into a rice mortar, and the mother was commanded to pound them with the pestle, under the threat of being disgracefully tortured if she hesitated to obey. To avoid the disgrace, the wretched mother did lift up the pestle, and let it fall upon her children's heads. Her own death was an act of mercy. She, her sister-in-law, and some other females were immediately afterwards drowned. These atrocities struck even the Kandians with horror; and for two days the whole city was filled

with mourning and lamentation, and observed a period of public fasting and humiliation. The king's ferocity was insatiable: executions were incessant, no persons were secure, and even the chief priest of Buddha, a man of great learning and benevolence, fell a victim to the tyrant's thirst for blood. A general sentiment of fear and detestation pervaded both chiefs and people, and the whole country was ripe for revolt.

THE FINAL CONQUEST OF CEYLON

The urgent representations of Ahailapalla, and a knowledge of the state of public feeling in the Kandian provinces, induced the governor, Sir Robert Brownrigg, to prepare for a war which was certain to occur in consequence of the disorders on the frontier and the insane fury of the king. Occasion soon arose: some merchants, subjects of the British government, trading to Kandy, were seized by the king's orders as spies, and so cruelly mutilated that most of them died; and about the same time a party of Kandians ravaged the villages on the British boundary. The governor immediately declared war against the king, and sent a body of troops into his country. They were joined by the principal chiefs and the people, and advanced without meeting an enemy, to the capital. They arrived there on the 14th of February. On the 18th, the king, who had attempted to fly, was taken and brought in by a party of Ahailapalla's followers. On the 2nd of March he was formally deposed, and the allegiance of the Kandians was transferred to the British crown. Vikrama Raja Singha was sent a captive to Vellore, where he died in January, 1832.

The change of authority, and the substitution of a new and foreign dominion for that of the ancient native rulers, however acceptable under the influence of popular terror and disgust, began to lose their recommendations as soon as apprehension was allayed, and the chiefs and people were able calmly to consider the character of the revolution to which they had contributed. The chiefs found that their power was diminished and their dignity impaired; the priests felt indignant at the want of reverence shown to them and to their religion; and the people, sympathising with both, had also grievances of their own to complain of, in the contempt displayed for their customs and institutions, and the disregard manifested for their prejudices and feelings by the English functionaries and their subordinates. A general rebellion was the consequence.[e]

In 1817 it broke out in the eastern provinces, and was with difficulty suppressed after a costly and sanguinary warfare of two years' duration. [Ceylon in 1843 and 1848 was again the scene of insurrections, but these were unimportant and were quelled without difficulty. Otherwise complete tranquillity has prevailed in the island since the establishment of the British rule.]

THE ACCESSION OF SINGAPORE AND MALACCA (1824 A.D.); THE CONQUEST OF BURMA (1824–1826 A.D.)

At Singapore, in 1819, Sir Thomas Raffles established a factory on the south shore of the island, and in 1824, a cession in full sovereignty of this and the neighbouring islands was obtained by purchase from a person who claimed to be king of Johore, and was afterwards raised to that throne. Malacca was ceded to the British in 1824 by treaty with the government of the Netherlands.

Had Mr. Canning become governor-general of India when his appointment

as successor of the marquis of Hastings was resolved upon, it may be doubted whether he could have carried through the policy which, as president of the board of control, he avowed in parliament in 1819, upon the vote of thanks to the marquis of Hastings and the army in India: "Anxious as I am for the prosperity and grandeur of our Indian Empire, I confess I look at its indefinite extension with awe. I earnestly wish that it may be possible for us to remain stationary where we are; and that what still exists of substantive and independent power in India may stand untouched and unimpaired. But this consummation, however much it may be desired, depends not on ourselves alone. Aggression must be repelled, and perfidy must be visited with its just reward. And while I join with the thinking part of the country in deprecating advance, who shall say that there is safety for such a power as ours in retrogradation?" Of the prudence and wisdom of the theory of policy thus set forth, the nation at large, the East India Company, the great Indian administrators, never appeared to entertain the slightest doubt. But, practically, it was invariably found that without advance there would be retrogradation. It was in vain that those who led the British armies in India must have felt what Mr. Canning expressed — with how much jealousy the house and the country are in the habit of appreciating the triumphs of British arms in India; how British military operations, however successful, have always been considered as questionable in point of justice. Lord Amherst, who in March, 1823, embarked for India as governor-general, had to pass through this almost inevitable process of entering upon a war of conquest with the most sincere desire to remain at peace. Within six or seven months after his arrival in India he had to write to a friend at home: "I have to tell you that I most unexpectedly find myself engaged in war with the king of Ava." This was the war with the Burman Empire, which involved the British in hostilities from March, 1824, to February, 1826. Before the middle of the eighteenth century the name of Burman signified a great warlike race that had founded various kingdoms, amongst which were Siam, Pegu, Ava, and Arakan. The kingdoms of Ava and Pegu were in a continued state of warfare, in which the Peguans were ultimately victorious. Ava had been conquered by them, when, in 1753, a man of humble origin but of great ability, who has been called "the Napoleon of the Hindu-Chinese peninsula," raised a small force, which, constantly increasing, expelled the conquerors and placed Alompra on the Burman throne. It has been remarked as equally curious and instructive, that "the last restoration of the Burman Empire, and the foundation of ours in India, were exactly contemporaneous. Clive and Alompra made their conquests at the same moment." For nearly seventy years the British from the Ganges, and the Burmese from the Irawadi, pushed their conquests, whether by arms or negotiation, till they met. Their inevitable rivalry soon led to hostilities. The Burmese had gradually subjugated the independent states which formerly existed between their frontiers and those of the company. Lord Amherst, in the letter we have already quoted, describes how they seized an island on which the British had established a small military post, and when the governor-general mildly complained to the king of Ava of this outrage, attributing it to the mistake of the local authorities, a force came down from Ava, "threatening to invade our territory from one end of the frontier to the other, and to reannex the province of Bengal to the dominions of its rightful owner, the lord of the White Elephant."

At the beginning of April the Bengal army embarked for Rangoon, the chief seaport of the Burman dominions, situated at the embouchure of the Irawadi — according to Lord Amherst, "the Liverpool and Portsmouth of

Ava." This important place was taken possession of almost without striking a blow; but the hope of the governor-general that from thence he should be able to dictate the terms of a moderate and therefore lasting peace, was not very quickly realised. The British had to deal with the most warlike of their neighbours. The king of Ava called his people to arms. During the rainy season they had abundant time for preparation; and Sir Archibald Campbell, who occupied Rangoon, felt the immediate necessity of fortifying it against the probable attack of a bold and persevering enemy. An enormous pagoda, more than three hundred feet high, became a citadel, garrisoned by a battalion of European troops, and the smaller Buddhist temples assumed the character of fortresses. During June and July the Burmese made repeated attacks upon the British positions, but were as constantly repelled. On the night of the 30th of August, when the astrologers had decided that an attack upon this sacred place would free the country from the impious strangers, a body of troops called Invulnerables advanced to the northern gateway. A terrible cannonade was opened upon these dense masses, and they fled at once to the neighbouring jungle.

The Burmese were more successful in their offensive operations in Bengal. Under the command of an officer called Maha Bandoola, the Arakan army advanced to Ramoo, and completely routed a detachment of native infantry. The alarm was so great in Calcutta that the native merchants were with difficulty persuaded to remain with their families, and the peasants almost universally fled from their villages. The Burmese, however, did not advance. The British had taken some important places of the Burman territory, and Maha Bandoola was recalled by the lord of the White Elephant for the defence of his Golden Empire. In December Maha Bandoola brought sixty thousand fighting men to make one overwhelming attack upon Rangoon. For seven days there was severe fighting. The Burmese troops were repeatedly driven from their stockades, and at last, when they advanced on the 7th of December for a grand attack on the great pagoda, they were driven back into their intrenchments, and after severe fighting were chased into the jungle.

In February, 1825, Sir Archibald Campbell began to move up the Irawadi into the interior of the Burman Empire. As part of his force advanced to attack the formidable works of Donabew, they were repulsed, and the retreat was so precipitate that the wounded men were not carried off. The barbarity in warfare of the Burmese was notorious. These unfortunate men were all crucified, and their bodies sent floating down the river upon rafts. On the 25th of March Sir Archibald Campbell undertook the siege of Donabew. For a week there had been an incessant fire from the British mortars and rockets, and the breaching batteries were about to be opened, when two Lascars, who had been taken prisoners, came to the camp, and said that the chiefs and all the Burmese army had fled, since Maha Bandoola had been killed the day before by one of the British shells. By the possession of Donabew the navigation of the Irawadi became wholly under British command.

The army continued to advance, and Prome was occupied at the end of April. The rainy monsoon now set in, and there was a suspension of operations. In the middle of November and beginning of December there were two great battles, in the latter of which the Burmese were thoroughly discomfited. Overtures of peace were now made, but their object was only to gain time. At the beginning of 1826 there was severe fighting as the British advanced towards Ava. Repeated defeats and the approach of a conquering army compelled the king really to sue for peace when the British had reached Yandabu, only forty-five miles from the capital. The vigorous operations of Sir Archi-

bald Campbell, who had defeated a large army styled "the retrievers of the king's glory," had finally compelled the Treaty of Yandabu, which was signed on the 24th of February. By this treaty the king of Ava agreed to renounce all claims upon the principality of Assam and its dependencies; to cede in perpetuity the conquered provinces of Arakan, of Yea, of Tavoy, of Mergui, and of Tenasserim; and to pay the sum of one crore of rupees towards the expenses of the war. He further agreed that accredited British ministers should be allowed to reside at Ava; that an accredited Burmese minister should reside at Calcutta; and that free trade to British subjects should be allowed in the Burmese dominions.

The fierce conflict of two years on the banks of the Irawadi presented a memorable example of that courage and endurance which eventually overcomes dangers and difficulties apparently insuperable. It has been truly said by Lieutenant-Colonel Tulloch,[1] an officer engaged in this war, "Perhaps there are few instances on record in the history of any nation of a mere handful of men, with constitutions broken down by many months of previous disease and privation, forcing their way in the face of such difficulties, and through a wilderness hitherto untrodden by Europeans, to the distance of five hundred miles from the spot where they originally disembarked, and ultimately dictating a peace within three days' march of the enemy's capital." During these land operations, with all this bravery and fortitude of the little army, it would have been impossible to succeed without the active co-operation of a flotilla on the rivers. The naval assistance thus rendered is memorable for "the employment of a power then for the first time introduced into war — steam. The steam-vessel had been very useful, not merely in carrying on communications with despatch but in overcoming formidable resistance."

During the last year of the Burmese War the East India Company became engaged in a new conflict, for the purpose of protecting a native prince, with whom it was in alliance, against an usurper. The rajah of Bhartpur (Bhurtpore), before his death at the beginning of 1825, had declared his son to be his successor, and had included him in the treaty of alliance with the company. The nephew of the deceased prince raised a revolt against this succession. Many of the native princes looked on anxiously to see if the British, with the Burmese War on their hands would put forth any strength to maintain one of their devoted adherents. In the streets of Delhi the populace had shouted, "The rule of the company is at an end." The prince who had been expelled had been assured by Sir David Ochterlony that he should be supported. Lord Amherst was at first for non-interference. He knew that Bhartpur had been deemed impregnable; and he might fear that, now occupied with an enormous force by the usurping rajah, the same ill fortune might befall an attack upon the place as had befallen Lord Lake in 1805, when he was beaten from the city by the Jats, who had ever since regarded themselves as invincible. The commander-in-chief in India, Lord Combermere, in his Peninsular experience as Sir Stapleton Cotton, had seen what war was in its most difficult operations, and he could not despair of taking an Indian fortress when he recollected the terrible sieges of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz. He had just come to India to succeed Sir Edward Paget in the chief command. Lord Combermere, upon his arrival before Bhartpur, addressed a letter to the usurper, requesting him to send out the women and children, who should have safe-conduct. This humane request was not acceded to. On the 23rd of November the bombardment commenced. On the morning of the 18th of January the assault began at the signal given by the explosion of a mine, which utterly destroyed the whole of the salient angle of the fortress. The British troops

rushed in at the breaches. In two hours the whole rampart, though obstinately defended, was in their possession, and early in the afternoon the citadel surrendered. The formidable works of Bhartpur were destroyed; the rightful prince was reinstated; and the people returned to their allegiance.[b]

REFORMS OF LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK

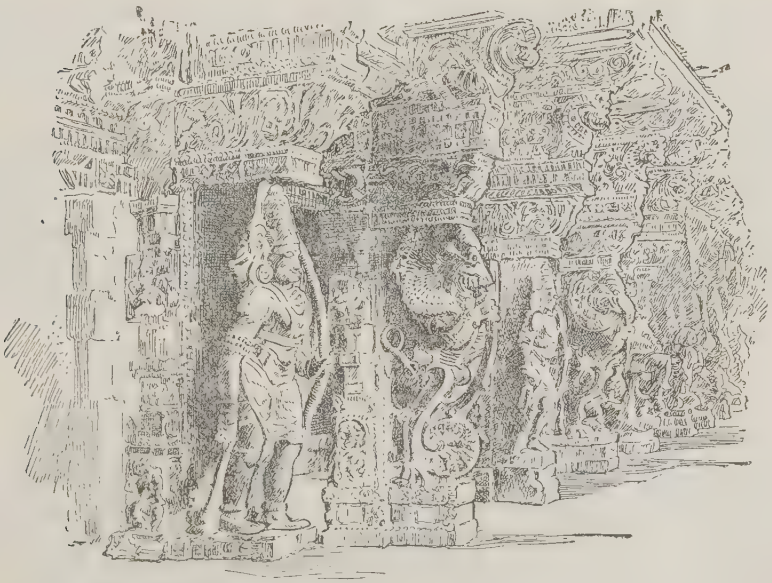
The next governor-general was Lord William Bentinck, who had been governor of Madras twenty years earlier at the time of the mutiny of Vellore. His seven years' rule (from 1828 to 1835) is not signalised by any of those victories or extensions of territory by which chroniclers delight to measure the growth of empire. But it forms an epoch in administrative reform, and in the slow process by which the hearts of a subject population are won over to venerate as well as dread their alien rulers. The modern history of the British in India, as benevolent administrators ruling the country with a single eye to the good of the natives, may be said to begin with Lord William Bentinck. According to the inscription upon his statue at Calcutta, from the pen of Macaulay, "He abolished cruel rites; he effaced humiliating distinctions; he gave liberty to the expression of public opinion; his constant study it was to elevate the intellectual and moral character of the nations committed to his charge." His first care on arrival in India was to restore equilibrium to the finances, which were tottering under the burden imposed upon them by the Burmese War. This he effected by reductions in permanent expenditure, amounting in the aggregate to one and a half millions sterling, as well as by augmenting the revenue from land and from the opium of Malwa.

His two most memorable acts are the abolition of *sati* (suttee) and the suppression of the *thags* (thugs). At this distance of time it is difficult to realise the degree to which these two barbarous practices had corrupted the social system of the Hindus. European research has clearly proved that the text in the *Vedas* adduced to authorise the immolation of widows was a wilful mistranslation. But the practice had been ingrained in Hindu opinion by the authority of centuries, and had acquired the sanctity of a religious rite. The emperor Akbar is said to have prohibited it by law, but the early English rulers did not dare so far to violate the traditions of religious toleration. In the year 1817 no less than seven hundred widows are said to have been burned alive in the Bengal presidency alone. To this day the most holy spots of Hindu pilgrimage are thickly dotted with little white pillars, each commemorating a *sati*. In the teeth of strenuous opposition, both from Europeans and natives, Lord William carried the regulation in council on December 4th, 1829, by which all who abetted *sati* were declared guilty of "culpable homicide." The honour of suppressing *thagi* must be shared between Lord William and Captain Sleeman. *Thagi* was an abnormal excrescence upon Hinduism, in so far as the bands of secret assassins were sworn together by an oath based on the rites of the bloody goddess Kali. Between 1826 and 1835 as many as 1562 thags were apprehended in different parts of British India, and by the evidence of approvers the moral plague spot was gradually stamped out.

Two other historical events are connected with the administration of Lord William Bentinck. In 1833 the charter of the East India Company was renewed for twenty years, but only upon the terms that it should abandon its trade and permit Europeans to settle freely in the country. At the same time a legal or fourth member was added to the governor-general's council, who might not be a servant of the company, and a commission was appointed to revise and codify the law. Macaulay was the first legal member of the

council, and the first president of the law commission. In 1830 it was found necessary to take the state of Mysore under British administration, where it has continued up to the present time, and in 1834 the frantic misrule of the rajah of Coorg brought on a short and sharp war. The rajah was permitted to retire to Benares, and the brave and proud inhabitants of that mountainous little territory decided to place themselves under the rule of the company; so that the only annexation effected by Lord William Bentinck was "in consideration of the unanimous wish of the people."

Sir Charles (afterwards Lord) Metcalfe succeeded Lord William as senior member of council. His short term of office is memorable for the measure which his predecessor had initiated, but which he willingly carried into execution, for giving entire liberty to the press. Public opinion in India, as well as the express wish of the court of directors at home, pointed to Metcalfe as the most fit person to carry out the policy of Bentinck, not provisionally, but as governor-general for a full term. Party exigencies, however, led to the appointment of Lord Auckland. From that date commences a new era of war and conquest, which may be said to have lasted for twenty years. All looked peaceful until Lord Auckland, prompted by his evil genius, attempted to place Shah Shuja upon the throne of Cabul, an attempt which ended in the gross mismanagement and annihilation of the garrison placed in that city. The disaster in Afghanistan was quickly followed by the conquest of Sind, the two wars in the Punjab, the second Burmese War, and last of all the Mutiny. Names like Gough and Napier and Colin Campbell take the places of Malcolm and Metcalfe and Elphinstone.[i]



DETAIL OF TEMPLE, MADURA



CHAPTER V

FROM THE FIRST AFGHAN WAR TO THE MUTINY

[1835–1857 A.D.]

In 1835, Lord William Bentinck resigned the government of India, and Lord Auckland was appointed to succeed him, but did not arrive at Calcutta until the following year. In the meantime, the administration was conducted by Sir Charles Metcalfe, who distinguished himself by abolishing the strict censorship to which the press had till then been subjected.

Hindustan had never been in a more tranquil state than at the time when Lord Auckland arrived at Calcutta, in 1836, invested with the high functions of governor-general of the British eastern empire. All then appeared to promise a continuance of peace, and the uninterrupted progress of those improvements so steadily and effectually pursued by his predecessor; but the calm was not of long duration, and the attention of the government was soon engrossed by the affairs of Kabul, which led the British armies for the first time across the Indus.[b]

THE AFGHAN WAR OF 1838–1842

On the 10th of September, 1838, Lord Auckland proclaimed in general orders his intention to employ a force beyond the northwest frontier. On the 1st of October he published a declaration of the causes and objects of the war. The ostensible object was to replace Shah Shuja on the throne of Kabul, the troubles and revolutions of Afghanistan having placed the capital and a large part of the country under the sway of Dost Muhammed Khan. Shah Shuja, driven from his dominions, had become a pensioner of the East India Company, and resided in the British cantonment of Ludhiana. Dost Muhammed had in May, 1836, addressed a letter to Lord Auckland, which conveyed his desire to secure the friendship of the British government. He was desirous

[1838 A.D.]

of obtaining the aid of the British against Persia, whose troops were besieging Herat, and to recover Peshawar from Ranjit (Runjeet) Singh, the ruler of Punjab. The governor-general in 1837 despatched Captain Alexander Burnes as an envoy to Kabul. Soon after the arrival of Burnes a Russian envoy arrived at Kabul, who was liberal in his promises, but whose authority was afterwards disavowed by his government. Captain Burnes carried back with him a belief that Russia was meditating an attack upon British India, having established her influence in Persia; that Dost Muhammed was treacherous; and that the true way to raise a barrier against the amibition of Russia was to place the dethroned Shah Shuja upon the throne of Kabul, as he had numerous friends in the country.

The alarm of the possible danger of a Russian invasion through Persia and Afghanistan led to the declaration of war against Dost Muhammed in the autumn of 1838, and to the preparation for hostilities under a governor-general whose declared policy, at the commencement of his rule, was to maintain the peace which had been scarcely interrupted since the conclusion of the Burmese War. Unquestionably there was a panic, and under such circumstances the heaviest charge against Lord Auckland would have been that he remained in supine indifference.

On the 14th of February the Bengal division of the army under Sir Willoughby Cotton crossed the Indus at Bukkur. The Indus is here divided into two channels, one of which is nearly five hundred yards in breadth. The passage of eight thousand men with a vast camp-train and sixteen thousand camels was effected without a single casualty. Sir John Cam Hobhouse, in moving the thanks of the house of commons to the Indian army, in February, 1840, read a glowing description of this passage. "It was a gallant sight to see brigade after brigade, with its martial music and its glittering arms, marching over file by file, horse, foot, and artillery, into a region as yet untrodden by British soldiers." He quoted also from a periodical publication an eloquent allusion to the grand historical contrasts of this expedition. "For the first time since the days of Alexander the Great, a civilised army had penetrated the mighty barrier of deserts and mountains which separates Persia from Hindustan; and the prodigy has been exhibited to an astonished world of a remote island in the European seas pushing forward its mighty arms into the heart of Asia, and carrying its victorious standards into the strongholds of Mohammedan faith and the cradle of the Mughal Empire." The Bengal army was preceded by a small body of troops under the orders of Shah Shuja, and it was followed by the Bombay division under the command of Sir John Keane.

Into an almost unknown and untrodden country twenty-one thousand troops had entered through the Bolan pass. Sir Willoughby Cotton, with the Bengal column, entered this pass in the beginning of April. The passage of this formidable pass, nearly sixty miles in length, was accomplished in six days. For the first eleven and a half miles into the pass the only road is the bed of the Bolan river. The mountains on every side are precipitous and sterile; not a blade of vegetation of any kind being found, save in the bed of the stream. There was no sustenance for the camels, unless it were carried for their support during six days, and thus along the whole route their putrefying carcases added to the obstacles to the advance of the army.

The Bombay army sustained considerable loss from Baluchi freebooters in their passage through the Bolan pass, but the two columns were enabled to unite at Kandahar, and to proceed to the siege of Ghazni, under the command of Sir John Keane. On the 22nd of July the British forces were in

camp before this famous city, built upon a rock, towering proudly over the adjacent plain. The intelligent officers of the army could not have viewed without deep interest this stronghold of Mohammedanism, where the tomb of Sultan Mahmud, the conqueror of Hindustan, was still preserved, and where Mohammedan priests still read the Koran over his grave. The sandal-wood gates of this tomb, which in 1025 had been carried off from the Hindu temple of Somnath in Guzerat, were to acquire a new celebrity at the close of this Afghan War by an ostentatious triumph, not quite so politic as that of the Sultan Mahmud. At Ghazni, Mohammedanism maintained its most fanatical aspect. On the day before the final attack, Major Outram attempted with part of the shah's contingent to force the enemy from the heights beyond the walls. He describes that over the crest of the loftiest peak floated the holy banner of green and white, surrounded by a multitude of fanatics, who believed they were safe under the sacred influence of the Moslem ensign. A shot having brought down the standard-bearer, and the banner being seized, the multitude fled panic-stricken at the proof of the fallacy of their belief. On the morning of the 23rd the fortress and citadel were stormed. There were great doubts, almost universal doubts, at home as to the policy of this Afghan War. There could be no doubt as to the brilliancy of this exploit.

On the 29th of July the British army quitted Ghazni. It entered Kabul in triumph on the 7th of August. Shah Shuja, restored to his sovereignty, was once more seated in the Bala Hissar, the ancient palace of his race. Dost Muhammed had fled beyond the Indian Caucasus. The country appeared not only subjected to the new government, but tranquil and satisfied. As the spring and summer advanced insurrections began to break out in the surrounding country. Dost Muhammed had again made his appearance, and had fought a gallant battle with the British cavalry, in which he obtained a partial victory. Despairing, however, of his power effectually to resist the British arms, he wrote to Kabul, and delivered himself up to the envoy, Sir William Macnaghten, claiming the protection of his government. He was sent to India, where a place of residence was assigned to him on the north-west frontier, with three lacs of rupees (about £30,000) as a revenue. But the danger of the occupation of Afghanistan was not yet overpast. The events of November and December, 1841, and of January, 1842, were of so fearful a nature as scarcely to be paralleled in some of their incidents by the disasters of the mutiny of 1857.

THE MASSACRE OF KABUL; THE DESTRUCTION OF THE BRITISH ARMY (1841 A.D.)

The British at Kabul were in a condition of false security. The army was in cantonments, extensive, ill-defended, overawed on every side. Within these indefensible cantonments English ladies, amongst whom were Lady Macnaghten and Lady Sale, were domesticated in comfortable houses. Sir Robert Sale had left Kabul in October, expecting his wife to follow him in a few days. The climate was suited to the English; the officers, true to their national character, had been playing cricket, riding races, fishing, shooting, and, when winter came, astonishing the Afghans with skating on the lakes.

On the night of the 1st of November, there was a meeting of Afghan chiefs, who were banded together, however conflicting might be their interests, to make common cause against the feringhees (foreigners). One of these, Abdullah Khan, who had been active in his intrigues to stir up disaffection, had an especial quarrel with Burnes, who had called him a dog, and had said that he would recommend Shah Shuja to deprive the rebel of

his ears. He proposed that at the contemplated rising on the 2nd of November the first overt act should be an attack on the house of Burnes. Lady Sale,[d] in her journal of that day, says, "This morning early all was in commotion in Kabul; the shops were plundered, and the people were all fighting." Before daylight an Afghan who was friendly to Burnes came to report to him that a plot had been hatched during the night which had for its chief object his murder. The vizir arrived with the same warning. Burnes was incredulous, and refused to seek safety either in the king's fortress-palace, the Bala Hissar, or in the British cantonments. A mob was before his house. Perfect master of the language of the people, he harangued them from a gallery. At his side stood his brother Charles, and Lieutenant Broadfoot, who had arrived to perform the office of military secretary to Burnes when he should be the highest in place and power. The mob clamoured for the lives of the British officers, and Broadfoot was the first to fall by a shot from the infuriated multitude. A Mussulman from Kashmir, who had entered the house, swore by the Koran that if they would cease firing he would convey the brothers in safety to the Kuzzilbash (Persian) fort. The three entered the garden, when the betrayer proclaimed to the insurgents, "This is Secunder Burnes." The brothers were instantly struck down, and were cut to pieces by the Afghan knives. Sir Alexander Burnes, who thus perished in the thirty-sixth year of his age, was of the same family as the great Scottish poet, his grandfather being the brother of the father of Robert Burns.

From the 2nd of November to the 23rd of December, the position of the British at Kabul became more and more perilous. At the beginning of the insurrection some vigorous resolve, some demonstration of the power of the British arms, might have ensured safety, if not ultimate triumph. There were four thousand five hundred good troops in the cantonments, but there was no one effectually to lead them against the rebels in the city. There were about six hundred British troops in the Bala Hissar. General Sale and General Nott were expected with reinforcements, but they were themselves hemmed in by enemies. The alternations of hope and fear amongst the unhappy residents, especially the women, are recorded in the journal of Lady Sale.[d] In the first week of December the troops in cantonments were threatened by the near approach of starvation. The camp followers were living upon the carcases of dead camels. Negotiations were going on with the Afghan chiefs for the safe retreat of the army, and for a supply of provisions. They were protracted from day to day, the Afghans requiring as a first condition that the forts in the neighbourhood of the cantonments should be given up. They were evacuated; and then the enemy looked down with triumphant derision upon those who, within their defenceless walls, were perishing, whilst the supplies which had been promised them were intercepted by a rabble from the city. Every day added to the expected difficulties of the retreat. The winter was setting in. On the 18th of December snow began to fall. Macnaghten, wearied and almost desperate amidst the bad faith and insulting demands of the chiefs, received on the evening of the 22nd a proposal from Akbar Khan, the son of Dost Muhammed, which even Elphinstone, enfeebled as he was by illness and generally inapt to offer a decided opinion, regarded as treacherous. On the morning of the 23rd, according to the proposal that had been made to him, Macnaghten, with three friends, Lawrence, Trevor, and Mackenzie, went out about six hundred yards from the cantonment for a conference with Akbar Khan, the sirdar (the title which the chief assumed). In an instant they were seized from behind. Lawrence and Mackenzie contrived to escape. Trevor was murdered; Akbar Khan

rushed upon Macnaghten in the endeavour to seize and detain him. "The look of wondering horror that sat upon his upturned face will not be forgotten by those who saw it to their dying days," says Kaye.[c] "The only words he was heard to utter were, *Az barae Khoda* ('for God's sake!')." Akbar Khan drew a pistol from his girdle — it was one of a pair which Macnaghten had presented to him the previous day — and he shot the unarmed envoy through the body. Wonderful to relate, not a gun was fired from the British cantonments, not a soldier went forth to avenge the murder of the British minister.

Major Pottinger, who now took the place of the unfortunate Macnaghten as political agent, exhorted the military chiefs either to fight their way to Jalalabad or forcibly to occupy the Bala Hissar. They preferred to capitulate. At a council of war on December 26th a treaty was ratified, which contained the humiliating conditions that all the guns should be left behind except six; that all the treasure should be given up, and 40,000 rupees paid in bills, to be negotiated upon the spot; and that four officers as hostages should be detained to ensure the evacuation of Jalalabad by General Sale. On the 6th of January, 1842, on a morning of intense cold, the army, consisting of four thousand five hundred fighting men and twelve thousand followers, began to move out of the cantonments. The order and discipline which could alone save an army retreating in the midst of a hostile population had no place in that confused mass, who were without food or fuel or shelter. Akbar Khan came up with a body of six hundred horsemen to demand other hostages as security for the evacuation of Jalalabad. On the 8th, Pottinger, Lawrence, and Mackenzie were placed in his hands. Akbar Khan declared that he also came to protect the British and Hindus from the attacks of the Ghilzais, one of the most fanatic of the Mussulman tribes of Afghanistan. His authority appears to have been exerted with all sincerity to interfere between these cruel assailants and their victims; but it was manifested in vain. The disorganised force entered the pass of Khurd-Kabul, which for five miles is shut in by precipitous mountains, with a torrent rushing down the centre. On the hill-sides were the unrelenting Ghilzais, who shot down the fugitives without a chance of their being resisted or restrained. In this pass three thousand men are stated to have fallen. "The ladies," says Lady Sale,[d] "were mostly travelling in kujavas (camel-panniers), and were mixed up with the baggage and column in the pass. Here they were heavily fired on." Lady Sale, who rode on horseback, was shot in the arm. Her son-in-law was here mortally wounded. On the 9th, Akbar Khan, who had arrived with his three hostages, says Lady Sale,[d] "turned to Lawrence and said that he had a proposal to make, but that he did not like to do so lest his motives might be misconstrued; but that, as it concerned us more than himself, he would mention it; and that it was that all the married men, with their families, should come over and put themselves under his protection, he guaranteeing them honourable treatment, and safe escort to Peshawar." Lawrence and Pottinger urged the acceptance of this proposal upon General Elphinstone. There were ten women and thirteen or more children; six married men went with them, with two wounded officers. It was better to trust to Akbar Khan for the protection of these helpless women and children than to continue their exposure to the attacks of the cruel tribes whom the sirdar could not restrain, and to the horrors of a continued march in a most inclement season.

On the 10th of January the small remnant of the force that had left Kabul on the 6th continued its march towards Jalalabad. The native regiments were nearly annihilated by cold and hunger and the Afghan knife. The frost-

[1842 A.D.]
bitten Asiatics, who still crawled to a narrow defile, were unable to make any resistance. The dying and the dead soon choked up the narrow gorge between the precipitous spurs of two hills. There was now not a single sepoy left. Not more than a quarter of the men who had left Kabul now survived. The European officers and soldiers scarcely numbered five hundred. They would have fought with the energy of desperation, but they were hemmed in by the crowd of camp-followers, who from the first had rendered their march as dangerous as the assaults of their enemies. The next day Akbar Khan invited General Elphinstone and two English officers, Brigadier Shelton and Captain Johnson, to a conference. The sirdar required that the three should remain as hostages for the evacuation of Jalalabad. Elphinstone implored the Afghan to permit him to return and share the fortune of his troops. The two officers were equally unwilling to leave their doomed comrades.

But resistance was in vain. On the evening of the 12th the march was resumed. They had to struggle with the dangers of the Jagdalak pass, in which the steep road ascends through a dark defile. As they approached the summit they found a barricade of bushes and branches of trees. Here the relentless enemy was in waiting. A general massacre ensued, in which many of the remaining officers perished. Twenty officers and forty-five European soldiers were able to clear the barricade. The next morning they were surrounded by an infuriated multitude. They were as one to a hundred; most of them were wounded; but they were resolute not to lay down their arms.

They all perished except one captain and a few privates, who were taken prisoners. Out of those who had been in advance of the column in the pass, six reached Futtehabad, within sixteen miles of Jalalabad. These last companions in misery were three captains, one lieutenant, and two regimental surgeons. Five were slain before the sixteen miles were traversed. General Sale's brigade had held possession of Jalalabad from the morning of the 13th of November, when they took the place from the Afghans by surprise. From time to time they heard rumours of the perilous position of the British force in Kabul. At last a letter, addressed to Captain MacGregor, the political agent, arrived from Elphinstone and Pottinger, stating that an agreement having taken place for the evacuation of Kabul, they should immediately commence their march to India. In the absence of any security for the safe conduct of the troops to Peshawar, they resolved to disobey these instructions, and not to surrender the fort, whose defences they had been assiduously labouring to improve. On the 13th of January a sentry on the ramparts saw a solitary horseman struggling on towards the fort. He was brought in, wounded and exhausted. The one man who was left to tell the frightful tale of the retreat from Kabul was Doctor Brydon.

THE RECONQUEST OF JALALABAD AND KABUL (1842 A.D.)

The refusal of Sale and MacGregor to surrender Jalalabad was that heroic determination to face the danger which in almost every case makes the danger less. Akbar Khan lost no time in besieging Jalalabad. Sale had well employed his enforced leisure in repairing the ruinous ramparts and clearing out the ditch. He had made the place secure against the attack of an army without cannon. But the garrison was not secure against the approach of famine. Akbar Khan with a large body of horse was hovering around to prevent the admission of supplies. On the 19th of February a serious misfor-

tune called forth new energies in these resolute men. An earthquake to a great extent rendered the labour vain which had been so long employed in the repairs of the works. By the end of the month the parapets were restored, the breaches built up, and every battery re-established. At the close of March, being at the last extremity for provisions, the garrison made a sortie, and carried off five hundred sheep and goats. It was known to Sir Robert Sale that General Pollock was advancing to his relief. The time was come when a vigorous attack on the enemy without might have better results than a protracted defence. On the morning of the 7th of April three columns of infantry, with some field artillery and a small cavalry force, issued from the walls of Jalalabad to attack Akbar Khan, who with six thousand men was strongly posted in the adjacent plain.

Every point attacked by the three columns was carried, and the victory was completed by a general assault upon the Afghan camp. In a few hours the battle was over. Two days before this victory General Pollock had forced the Khyber pass. On the 16th of April Pollock's advanced guard was in sight of Jalalabad; and the two little armies were united in the exulting hope that it would be for them to retrieve the disasters which had befallen the British arms. Lord Ellenborough had arrived at Calcutta as governor-general on the 25th of February. The close of Lord Auckland's rule in India was clouded with misfortunes which fell heavily upon a proud and sensitive man. His policy was proved to be a mistake. Nothing in the annals of Great Britain had ever exhibited so disastrous an issue to a war undertaken in the confidence that it would avert the possibility of an impending danger. When, on the 30th of January, the utter destruction of the army of Kabul was known at Calcutta, the governor-general published a proclamation containing brave words. A new governor-general had arrived, who, appointed by a new administration, had been amongst the most vehement denouncers of the Afghan War.

The successes of Sale and Pollock had renewed the confidence of the British in India that the storm would soon be overpast. They had interrupted the hopes of those native powers who believed that the rule of the "Feringhees" was coming to an end. Shah Shuja had been for some time able to maintain himself in the citadel of Kabul after he had been left to his own resources. He finally perished by assassination.

The English ladies, children, and officers, who were treated as prisoners rather than as hostages, were carried from fort to fort. General Elphinstone died at Tezoon on the 23rd of April. At the end of April, General England had forced the principal pass between Jucttah and Kandahar; and early in May had joined his forces to those of General Nott at Kandahar. Ghazni, which was in the possession of the Afghans, was recaptured by him on the 6th of September. General Pollock had been detained by sickness and other impediments at Jalalabad to the end of August. He then fought his way through the passes, and was joined by General Nott.

On the 15th of September the British standard was flying on the Bala Hissar of Kabul. The prisoners of Akbar Khan had been hurried towards Turkestan. The khan who had charge of them agreed with the English officers, for the future payment of a sum of rupees and an annuity, that he would assist them to regain their freedom. The advance of the army upon Kabul secured the aid of other chieftains. On the 15th of September, the hostages, the ladies, and the children had quitted the forts of the friendly khan, and were proceeding toward Kabul, when, on the 17th, they were met by a party of six hundred mounted Kuzzilbashes, under the command of Sir Richmond

Shakespear, who had been sent by General Pollock to rescue them from their perils. On the 19th a horseman met the party alternating between hope and fear, to say that General Sale was close at hand with a brigade. The husband and the father met his wife and widowed daughter. Their happiness produced "a choking sensation, which could not obtain the relief of tears." The soldiers cheered; a royal salute from mountain-train guns welcomed them to the camp; the joy was proportioned to the terrible dangers that were overpast. On the 1st of October a proclamation was issued from Simla by Lord Ellenborough, which stated that the disasters in Afghanistan having been avenged upon every scene of past misfortune, the British army would be withdrawn across the Sutlej. On the 12th of October the army began its march back to India. Dost Muhammed was released, and returned to his sovereignty at Kabul.

Of the proclamation dated from Simla on the 1st of October there was much adverse notice in parliament. Mr. Macaulay maintained that it was antedated; for that on the 1st of October the release of the captives on the 19th of September could not have been known to the governor-general; and that knowing of this joyful event on the 12th he omitted all mention of it, that he might have the childish gratification of insulting his predecessor in the vice-royalty, by dating on the same day on which, in 1838, Lord Auckland had published his unfortunate declaration of the causes and objects of the war. But there was another proclamation by Lord Ellenborough which his ministerial friends could scarcely vindicate, and which brought down upon him the bitterest denunciations of his political enemies. It was as follows:

FROM THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL TO ALL THE PRINCES, AND CHIEFS, AND PEOPLE OF INDIA

My Brothers and My Friends:

Our victorious army bears the gates of the temple of Somnauth in triumph from Afghanistan, and the despoiled tomb of Sultan Muhammed [Mahmud] looks upon the ruins of Ghazni. The insult of eight hundred years is at last avenged. The gates of the temple of Somnath, so long the memorial of your humiliation, are become the proudest record of your national glory; the proof of your superiority in arms over the nations beyond the Indus. To you, princes and chiefs of Sirhind, of Rajwarra, of Malwa, and of Guzerat, I shall commit this glorious trophy of successful war. You will yourselves, with all honour, transmit the gates of sandal-wood through your respective territories to the restored temple of Somnath. The chiefs of Sirhind shall be informed at what time our victorious army will first deliver the gates of the temple into their guardianship, at the foot of the bridge of the Sutlej.

The Hindu temple of Somnath was in ruins, and it was maintained by those to whom the pompous words of the proclamation were distasteful, that the governor-general meant to restore it, and thus to manifest a preference for one of the great rival creeds of India — a preference which the policy of England expressly forbade. This might be a wrong inference from the words of the proclamation. But to despoil the tomb of a worshipper of Mohammed, that honour might be done the worshippers of Vishnu, was to offer an outrage to those sensibilities which more than any other cause made and still make the British rule in India so like treading on beds of lava.

THE CONQUEST OF SIND

In Trafalgar Square, under the shadow of the Nelson Column, is a statue of "Charles James Napier, General." The inscription bears that it was "erected by Public Subscription, the most numerous Contributors being Private Soldiers." This renowned warrior is ordinarily termed Conqueror of

Sind. He had also a claim to be recorded as a benefactor of mankind in his successful endeavour to make his conquest a source of good to the conquered people. He was the just and beneficent administrator of Sind.[e]

The country of Sind constitutes the most western limit of India along the southern course of the Indus. It was conquered by the Mohammedans in the commencement of the eighth century, and was retained as a dependency of Persia until its subjugation by Mahmud Ghazni. Upon the downfall of his dynasty, the Sumras, a race of chiefs of Arab extraction, established themselves as independent rulers of the country, until they were dispossessed by the Sumas, who were Hindus, and who professed a nominal fealty to the Pathan sovereigns of Delhi. In the reign of Akbar, Sind became more intimately attached to the Mughal Empire; but the government of the province was usually entrusted to native chiefs, whose degree of subordination was regulated by the ability of the court of Delhi to compel obedience.

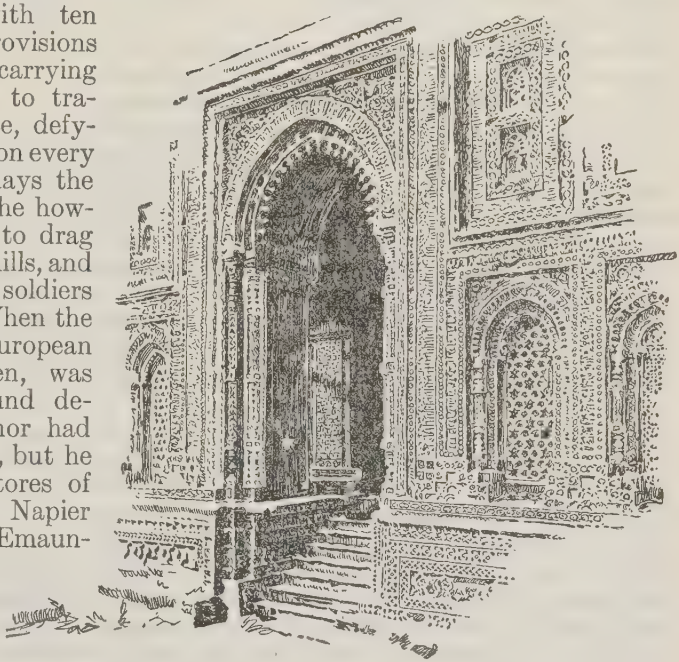
Towards the close of the seventeenth century, the Kalhoras, a race of religious teachers who pretended to derive their origin from the Abassid Caliphs, and who converted their reputation for sanctity into an engine of worldly aggrandisement, had become possessed of extensive territory in Sind, and usurped an ascendancy in its government, which was legalised in the reign of Muhammed Shah of Delhi by the appointment of Nur Muhammed Kalhora as subahdar of Tatta. The vicegerent of Sind was speedily relieved from his dependance upon Delhi, but was compelled to pay tribute to the conqueror, Nadir Shah. The death of that prince dissolved the connection with Persia; but the new sovereign of Afghanistan claimed the like supremacy over the country, and Sind became, nominally at least, subject to Kabul. The Baluchi tribes acquired a leading influence in the affairs of Sind. The Talpur chief Fath Ali finally established the authority of his family in Sind. This power he shared with his three brothers, Ghulam Ali, Karm Ali, and Murad Ali.[g]

On the death of Fath Ali in 1801 the three continued to rule together; and when Ghulam Ali was killed in 1811 the duumvirate remained supreme; but on the death of Karm Ali in 1828 and Murad Ali a few years later, the old system was revived, and a government of four again instituted. Such was the state of things when British relations with the province [and with these mirs or amirs of Sind] had become necessarily an urgent consideration, owing to the Afghan expedition of 1838. During this crisis of Anglo-Indian history, the political officers in Sind and Baluchistan had a difficult task to perform, and it is infinitely to their credit that more mischief did not ensue in these countries from the many and heavy British disasters in the north.[h]

Whatever were the relations of these rulers to the people whom they misgoverned, the British authorities in India had repeatedly entered into treaties with them, and in the treaty of 1820 these words were used: "The two contracting parties mutually bind themselves from generation to generation never to look with the eye of covetousness on the possessions of each other." But the passage of troops through Sind was necessary for carrying on the war with Afghanistan. The amirs remonstrated, but were compelled to yield. Something more was required by a subsequent treaty. Karachi and Tatta were ceded to the British, with power to station troops there; and the free navigation of the Indus was stipulated as another condition of Great Britain's friendship. At an earlier period some of the amirs had expressed their fears that Sind was gone — the English have seen the river." After the British had withdrawn from Ghuznee, and when the terror of their name was no longer sufficient to command a compliance with enforced engagements, the amirs began to manifest hostile designs. Sir Charles Napier, having learned

that they had assembled an army of twenty-five thousand men, resolved upon a direct and immediate act of hostility, instead of allowing them to gain time by delays and negotiations. Boldness and promptitude in this short war effected more than unlimited reinforcements. Emaun-Ghur, in the desert of Baluchistan, was a stronghold where the mercenaries of the amirs could gather together, safe from pursuit. Napier resolved to attack this fortress, whither upon his approach a large body of troops were marching.

On the night of the 5th of January, 1843, he commenced a perilous adventure. With three hundred and sixty of the 22nd Queen's regiment on camels, with two hundred of the irregular cavalry, with ten camels laden with provisions and with eighty carrying water, he set forth to traverse the arid waste, defying the armed bands on every side. After a few days the camels which drew the howitzers were unable to drag them over the sand-hills, and the unshrinking Irish soldiers took their place. When the fortress, which no European eye had before seen, was reached, it was found deserted. The governor had fled with his treasure, but he had left immense stores of ammunition behind. Napier resolved to destroy Emaun-Ghur; and having mined it in twenty-four places, by a simultaneous explosion all the mighty walls of the square tower, which stood as it were the monarch of the vast solitude, crumbled into atoms, and the wild bands who went forth to plunder and harass the populous Sind, had to retire still further into the desert. Napier and his hardy companions, after undergoing great privations on their march back by a different route, rejoined the main army on the 23rd near Hyderabad.



ALAROD-DEEN GATEWAY, DELHI

Battle of Miani (1843 A.D.)

The British resident at Hyderabad was Major Outram. On the 12th of February, the amirs with one exception, the amir of Khairpur, signed the treaty which in the previous December had been tendered to them, and which, as was to have been expected from its hard conditions, they had evaded signing. This was Lord Ellenborough's "final treaty," which Napier was to have imposed upon them by an immense force. The day after the signature Major Outram was attacked in the residency by eight thousand Baluchis.

He had only a hundred foot-soldiers with him. In the river, however, there were two war steamers. To these he effected his retreat, by presenting a bold front to his assailants, whilst the guns of the steamers swept the flanks of the pursuers. With the loss only of three men killed and two wounded the gallant officer joined the main army under Napier, which consisted of four hundred British of the 22nd, and two thousand two hundred sepoys and other native troops. The 22nd were under the command of Colonel Pennefather, a name of renown in the Crimean War. The artillery consisted of twelve guns. With this force the battle of Miani was fought on the 17th of February. On this day Napier wrote in his journal, "It is my first battle as a commander. it may be my last. At sixty, that makes little difference; but my feelings are, it shall be do or die." Whatever deeds have been done by heroic Englishmen under the inspiration of duty, never was there a greater deed of warfare than the victory of Miani, which was won by two thousand six hundred men against twenty-two thousand.

The Baluchis were posted on a slope behind the bed of the river Fulailee, which was for the most part dry. The half-mile between the two armies was rapidly passed; the bed of the river was crossed; up the slope ran the intrepid 22nd, and from the ridge looked down upon the Baluchis "thick as standing corn." The Baluchis covering their heads with their large dark shields, and waving their bright swords in the sun, rushed with frantic gestures upon the front of the 22nd. The Irish soldiers, with shouts as loud and shrieks as wild and fierce as theirs, met them with the bayonet, and says Sir William Napier,[1] "sent their foremost masses rolling back in blood." The native infantry came up; the artillery took a commanding position, and mowed down the Baluchis with round-shot and canister. Upon the slope went on the deadly conflict for three hours, the assailants rushing upwards against an enemy who resolutely held his ground, the gaps in his ranks being closed up as fast as they were made. The result was at one time uncertain. The greater number of the European officers were killed or wounded. Napier was in the thick of the fight, and though surrounded by enemies was unharmed. Like Nelson, his daring was his safety; but then it was under the direction of his genius. He saw, what the eye only of a great commander can see, the opportunity for closing a doubtful struggle by one decisive blow. He ordered a charge of cavalry. Defying the guns on the top of the ridge, the chosen band of horsemen charged right into the enemy's camp. Those who had so long stood firm on the hill fell into confusion. The 22nd and the sepoys gained the ridge, and drove the Baluchis over. The mighty host of the amirs was thus beaten by a handful of troops led on to victory by one who had gained his experience in the great battles of the peninsula; by one who knew that large masses of men, however brave and strong, are comparatively weak unless their movements are directed by some master-mind, bold in the conception of his plans, cool in their execution, and having all the resources of strategy at his command at the instant when all would be lost by ignorance or incertitude.

Sir Charles Napier followed up his victory the next day by a message sent into Hyderabad that he would storm the city unless it surrendered. Six of the amirs came out, and laid their swords at his feet. There was another enemy yet unsubdued — Shere Muhammed of Mirpur. On the 24th of March Napier, who had been reinforced and had now five thousand troops, attacked this chief who had come with twenty thousand Baluchis before the walls of Hyderabad to recover the city. It was a hard earned victory, which was followed up by the British occupation of Mirpur. The spirit of the Baluchis

was so broken that after two slight actions in June, when Shere Muhammed was routed and fled into the desert, the war was at an end.

Sind was annexed to the British possessions, and Sir Charles Napier was appointed its governor. He ruled the country for four years. He saw the great natural resources of Sind, and he led the way in rendering them available for commercial purposes by costly public works. The great branch of the Indus was opened to restore the fertility of Cutch. A gigantic pier was constructed at Karachi, by which a secure harbour was formed; and now the port is connected with the Indus by a railway. He made the revenue of the province sufficient to support the expenditure for its civil and political administration. But above all, he made the native population prosperous and contented under the British rule.

The state of the people under his wise government is thus described by Sir William Napier,[f] the historian of the Sind War: "The labourer cultivates in security his land; the handicraftsman, no longer dreading mutilation of his nose or ears for demanding remuneration for his work, is returning from the countries to which he had fled, allured back by good wages and employment. Young girls are no longer torn from their families to fill the zenanas of the great, or sold into distant slavery. The Hindu merchant and Parsee trafficker pursue their vocation with safety and confidence; and even the proud Baluchi warrior, not incapable of noble sentiments, though harsh and savage, remains content with a government which has not meddled with his right of subsistence, but only changed his feudal ties into a peaceful and warlike dependence. He has, moreover, become personally attached to a conqueror whose prowess he has felt in battle, and whose justice and generosity he has experienced in peace."

The close of the year 1843 was marked by another great military success in India. The state of Gwalior was in 1804 placed under the protection of the British government. The successor of the rajah who died in 1843 was a minor, and a regent was appointed, with the approbation of the governor-general. The regent was expelled by the Mahrattas, and the British resident was insulted. Lord Ellenborough, to whom war appeared a noble pastime in which an amateur might laudably indulge, immediately sent Sir Hugh Gough from Agra with fourteen thousand troops; and on the 29th of December he fought the battle of Maharajpur, when the Mahrattas were defeated with great loss. On the same day, Major-General Grey also defeated the Mahrattas at Punniar. The usurping government immediately submitted, and the strong fortress of Gwalior was occupied by a British governor. These warlike proceedings, however brilliant and successful, were not acceptable to the majority in the direction of the East India Company.[g] [In the next year they recalled Lord Ellenborough.]

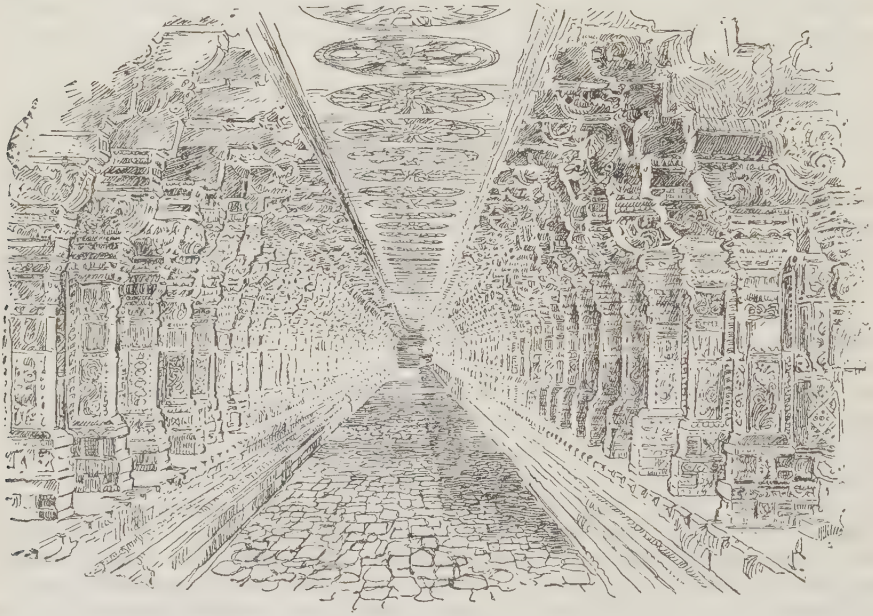
SIR HENRY HARDINGE AND THE WAR WITH THE SIKHS

Sir Henry Hardinge, who had served with great distinction in the Peninsular War, and at the famous battle of Waterloo, where he had the misfortune to lose his left arm, arrived at Calcutta in July, 1844, and began his government by such measures as were most likely to maintain peace, and advance the civilisation of the country.

Soon after his arrival he published a document stating that, in all appointments to public offices throughout Bengal, preference would be given to those among the candidates who had been educated in the government schools, especially to such as had distinguished themselves by their attainments; and

this regulation was to apply to the subordinate as well as to the higher situations; so that in appointing a public officer, even of the lowest grade, a man who can read and write is preferred to one who cannot. But Sir Henry's pacific intentions were speedily frustrated, and he was compelled by circumstances to engage in a war, the final result of which not only extended the British dominion in India, but was probably also the means of preserving it.[b]

Although seceders in some respects from the orthodox religion of the Hindus, the Sikhs retain so many essential articles of the Brahmanical faith, that they may be justly classed among the Hindu races. In the original institution, the Sikhs were a religious community, who, in consonance with the benevolent objects of their founder, Nanak Shah, a native of the Punjab, proposed to abolish the distinctions of caste, and to combine Hindus and



INTERIOR OF THE CELEBRATED TEMPLE AT RAMESWARAM

Mohammedans in a form of theistical devotion, derived from the blended abstractions of Sufiism and the Vedanta, and adapted to popular currency by the dissemination of the tenets which it inculcated, in hymns and songs composed in the vernacular dialects. These still constitute the scriptural authority, the *Adi Granth*, "the book" of the Sikhs. The doctrines and the influence of the teachers gave a common faith to the hardy and intrepid population of the upper part of the Punjab, and merged whatever distinctive appellations they previously possessed in the new general designation of "Sikhs," or "disciples," which thenceforth became their national denomination.

As their numbers increased, they attracted the notice of the Mohammedan rulers, and were subjected to the ordeal of persecution. They had recourse to arms: under a succession of military leaders, the sword became inseparably associated in their creed with the book; and their ranks were recruited by fugitives from political disorder and fiscal oppression, who

readily adopted a faith which made but trifling demands upon their belief, and differed in few material points from that which they professed. Community of danger became the bond of both a religious and a social organisation, and a nation grew out of a sect. As the birth-place of their founder Nanak, and of the teacher who in a still greater degree gave to the Sikhs their characteristic peculiarities, Guru Govind Singh was the Punjab, it was there that they congregated and became organised, in spite of the efforts of the viceroys of Lahore for their suppression, until they had become masters of the whole of the country from the Sutlej to the Indus.[g]

Sir A. Lyall[k] calls attention to the fact that "an insurrectionary movement is always particularly dangerous if it takes a religious complexion." The Sikhs regarded their first prophet as having suffered martyrdom, and there had been engendered in their minds an abiding hatred of Islam because of the persecution to which they had been subjected by the later Mughal emperors. Although they were repeatedly and severely punished, they as often rose up again against their oppressors. Ahmed Shah overthrew them with great slaughter in 1761; yet a year later they retaliated by killing his governor at Sirhind; and in 1764 they revolted at Kandahar. Ahmed Shah, however, managed to retain a fairly firm control over the Punjab to the time of his death in 1773; but his successors were less powerful, and the Sikh confederation became stronger and stronger.[a]

RANJIT SINGH OF LAHORE

Ranjit Singh was about twelve years old when the death of his father, in 1792, left him in possession of a large territory, of which his mother assumed the government during his minority; and being an ambitious, unprincipled woman, she entirely neglected the education of her son, as a means of retaining her own power; so that the boy was not even taught to read or write. She became, at length, so unpopular that she was assassinated — some say with the connivance of her son, who assumed the government at the age of seventeen, a short time before the fall of Tipu Sahib.

It happened that young Ranjit had improved the opportunity to perform some service for Shah Zaman, king of the Afghans, who in return invested him with the government of Lahore [1798]; and after the dethronement of that monarch, Ranjit asserted his independence, and with the general consent of the Sikhs took the title King of Lahore, and soon established his authority over the whole of the Punjab.

Ranjit Singh, being anxious to keep on friendly terms with the British government, concluded a treaty with an envoy sent to his court for that purpose, by which he agreed not to attempt to extend his territories to the east, beyond the boundary of the Sutlej river; but this treaty did not limit his ambition in other directions; and during the civil wars of the Afghans that followed the dethronement of Shah Shuja, he made great additions to his kingdom, both on the south and the west. The unfortunate Shuja, when he fled from Kabul, had at first sought shelter at Lahore, where he was detained for some time as a prisoner, and compelled to give up all the jewels; so that Ranjit Singh became, in 1813, the possessor of the famous diamond Koh-i-nur, which signifies "the mountain of light." The murder of Fatteh Khan, and the consequent breaking up of the Afghan monarchy, opened the way for the further aggrandisement of the king of Lahore, who crossed the Indus, and thus possessed himself of Peshawar; about the same time he became master of the beautiful valley of Kashmir [1819].

THE SUCCESSORS OF RANJIT SINGH

The death of Ranjit Singh, in June, 1839, deprived the English of a powerful ally, and the eastern nations of one of their greatest rulers. This illustrious prince, the founder of a vast empire, which was destined to fall with him to whom it owed its rise, was succeeded by his son, Kharrak Singh, who survived him but a few months. The funeral obsequies of the latter were celebrated with the sacrifice of one of his wives, and on the same day his son and successor, Nihal, was accidentally killed by the falling of a beam, as he was passing under a gateway on his elephant. This event gave rise to much confusion in the state, as there was no direct heir to the crown; and one party supported Dhian Singh, who had been Ranjit's chief minister; while the opposite faction proclaimed Shir Singh, another prince of the family. Such was the state of affairs in the Punjab during the early part of the Afghan War, and consequently the Sikhs were too much occupied with their own troubles to afford that efficient aid which had been expected from the friendly alliance that had subsisted between the British government and the late monarch, Ranjit Singh.

The British government took no part in the dissensions that followed the death of Kharrak Singh, but maintained a friendly intercourse with Shir Singh in order to secure for the troops in Afghanistan a free passage through the Punjab, from Kabul to British India. The condition of the country was at this time extremely wretched. The great Sikh army — which had been organised by Ranjit Singh on the European system, and which in his time had been a powerful force, commanded by European officers — was now disbanded; the roads were infested with banditti, who plundered the villages with impunity, and in many instances set them on fire; so that the miserable peasants were wandering about everywhere, without the means of procuring food or shelter, while the government was too weak to afford them protection, and the king was regarded in the light of a usurper by many of the greatest nobles of the kingdom.

Shir Singh, however, maintained his seat on the throne until the month of September, 1843, when he was assassinated by some of the chiefs in his gardens, during the celebration of a public festival; his son shared the same fate. The citadel of Lahore was then seized by the conspirators; Dhian Singh, the minister, was shot, and the wives and children of the murdered princes were barbarously massacred. But the success of the insurgents was of short duration, for they were defeated before the close of the same day by the opposite faction, who captured their leader, and placed on the throne Dhuleep (Dhalip) Singh, a boy only seven years of age, said to be a son of the great Ranjit. The government was conducted by the minister Heera Singh, but the country remained in a very unsettled and miserable condition.

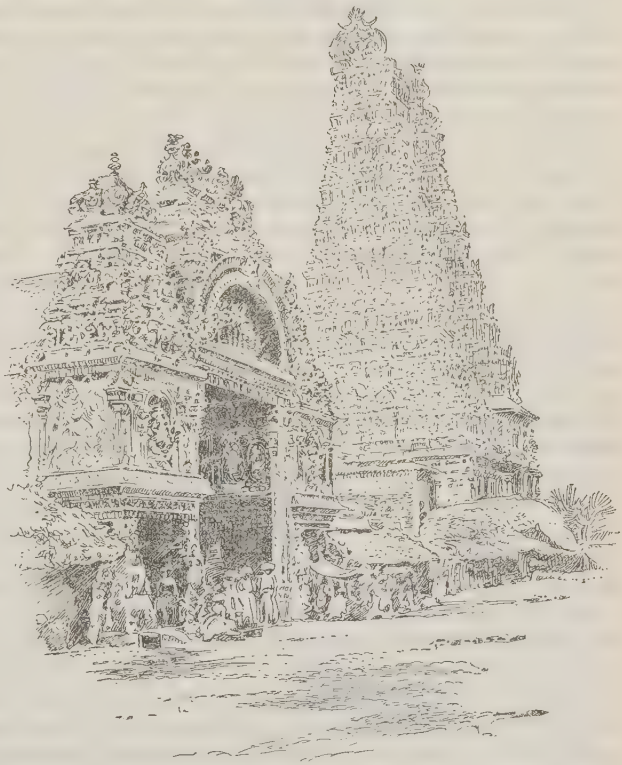
The rani, or queen-mother, who acted as regent for her son, disliked the minister, Heera Singh. He was murdered in a rebellion of the soldiers, of which she was believed to be the instigator, in the beginning of 1845; after which her own brother Jewahir, who had headed the insurrection, was made prime minister, and remained in power till the end of the year, when another revolution took place, and he met with a fate similar to that of his predecessor. The confusion and misrule that prevailed at Lahore, and certain indications of a hostile disposition towards the British government, induced the governor-general to send several regiments to the frontiers, to protect the British possessions in case of invasion, but with a full determination not to go to war unless the safety of the empire was endangered. The troops

were stationed on the banks of the Sutlej, which is the largest of the streams that flow into the Indus, and forms the eastern boundary of the Punjab, separating that country from the British territories.

While the governor-general was thus preparing for a war in the north of India, Sir Charles Napier was earning fresh laurels in Sind, where the British authority was still resisted by some of the mountain tribes, whose depredations in the districts around the locality prevented the establishment of good order, and acted as a check upon the industry of the peaceful inhabitants. [In January, 1845, Sir Charles succeeded in reducing them to submission.]

FIRST SIKH WAR (1845–1846 A.D.)

In the mean time, the signs of a war with the Sikhs were growing more manifest, till at length little doubt could be entertained that they were contemplating an attack on the British territories. Although the rani and her ministers pretended to the British authorities that the hostile movements of the troops were not sanctioned by them, it is well known they encouraged the invasion as a means of ridding themselves of a turbulent soldiery, of whom they were in perpetual fear. In short, the war was determined upon at Lahore, and the Sikh army, consisting of not less than fifty thousand warlike men furnished with one hundred and eight pieces of artillery, and well trained in the European system of warfare, advanced toward the Sutlej, in hostile array. It appears to have been an unprovoked aggression on the part of the Sikhs; and as they sought the war without a reasonable pretext of quarrel or complaint, they are not entitled to that degree of compassion which the result would otherwise have called forth. The greatest cause of regret is that many valuable lives were sacrificed in the contest.



Temple and Royal Sepulchre at Madura

The Sikhs began to cross the river on the 11th of December, and took up a position at Ferozshaw, a village about ten miles from the populous town of Firozpur, and an equal distance from the village of Mudki, the British headquarters. Orders had been sent to the troops at Ambala to join the

army without delay; and by forced marches, they performed the journey (one hundred and fifty miles), along heavy roads of sand, in six days, suffering greatly from fatigue and thirst, as no water was to be procured on the way.

On their arrival at Mudki, on the 18th of December, they found the enemy was then advancing in order of battle, and though nearly worn out with toil they had scarcely one hour to rest and refresh themselves, before the action commenced. It lasted from three o'clock in the morning till some time after nightfall, for the Sikhs fought with the utmost bravery, and it was not without considerable loss on the part of the British that they were at length driven from the field, leaving behind them seventeen of their guns, which had been captured during the engagement, and some thousands of their fallen comrades. Among the distinguished officers who fell at the battle of Mudki, was Sir Robert Sale, who with his wife had lately returned to India, having been in England since his memorable campaign in Afghanistan.

After this defeat the Sikhs returned to Ferozshaw where, for three days, they occupied themselves in raising strong intrenchments around their camp, which, on the 21st of December, was attacked by Sir Hugh Gough, who had been reinforced by a detachment of troops from Firozpur. This was a more severe conflict than that at Mudki, for the Sikhs had the advantage of firing from behind their batteries, which could not be destroyed without a frightful sacrifice of life. Ere the close of day, however, this was partially effected; but the issue of the battle was still uncertain, for while it was yet raging, the night set in, and obliged the combatants to cease for awhile their deadly strife. It was very cold and dark. The weary soldiers, without food or extra covering, lay down among their dead and dying companions, exposed to the cannonading of the enemy, which was kept up during the whole night; when daylight appeared, the attack was renewed, the enemy put to flight, and the camp taken.

Seventy-three pieces of cannon were captured in this engagement. But the victors had scarcely congratulated each other on their success, when a fresh army was seen advancing, led by one of the chiefs who had just fled; and the British troops had to begin a fresh battle under all the disadvantages of exhausted strength and spirits. By exertions almost superhuman, this second army was put to flight, some of the chiefs killed, and the British remained masters of the camp, in which were found stores of grain and ammunition, both of which were greatly needed. The whole force of the Sikhs who had taken the field is estimated at about sixty thousand; while that of the British did not amount to more than twenty thousand, or one-third the number of their opponents.

The Sikhs had retired to the other side of the Sutlej, and were assembling again in great force; so that it was evident that another battle would soon take place. They formed a solid bridge of boats across the river, over which they came in parties, on plundering expeditions; and about the middle of January, 1846, established a camp within the bounds of the British territory, where they soon mustered to the amount of about twenty thousand. The position they occupied was opposite the wealthy and populous city of Ludhiana, and Major-General Sir Harry Smith was despatched from the main army with a body of troops to unite with those remaining there for the purpose of repelling any attacks in that quarter. The enemy was posted so as to intercept his march, and the two armies met at the village of Aliwal, which has given its name to one of the most memorable battles recorded in the history of British India.

[1846 A.D.]

The battle of Aliwal was fought on the 28th of January, 1846, and ended in a complete victory over the enemy, whose loss was terrific; for, in addition to the many hundred slain in the combat, great numbers perished in their despairing efforts to make their way across the river. Rich shawls and gold bracelets in abundance fell into the hands of the victors. The immediate consequence of this engagement was that the whole of the territory on the left bank of the Sutlej submitted to the British government, and the Lahore troops evacuated every fort that they had held on that side of the river.

But the main body of the Sikh army was still encamped on the opposite side of their fortified bridge at the village of Sobraon, and yet numbered about thirty thousand men, while it had seventy pieces of cannon remaining; added to which, they occupied a fort that was very strongly fortified; so that the British troops had before them the prospect of another sanguinary engagement.

Sir Harry Smith, with his forces, rejoined the commander-in-chief, and on the 10th of February the battle of Sobraon terminated this eventful campaign. The intrenched camp was attacked and taken by storm, after a most desperate struggle, in which thirteen British officers were killed, and about one hundred wounded, the losses in the ranks being great in proportion. The victory, however, although so dearly purchased, was a decisive one. The Sikh army was almost totally destroyed, every gun captured, and it seemed as if scarcely a vestige was left of that formidable power which had so seriously threatened the perpetuation of the British dominion in India. Immediately after the battle of Sobraon, the victorious generals encamped in the Punjab, at Kussoor, about sixteen miles from the bank of the river and thirty-two from the capital.

In the mean time the utmost confusion prevailed at the court of Lahore, where a very remarkable person was acting in the capacity of prime minister. This was the rajah Gulab Singh, the uncle of Heera, and brother of Dhian Singh. He was a powerful chief, with plenty of men and money at his command; but since the death of his brother, Dhian, he had resided at his fortress of Jamu, among the mountains, watching the course of public events. On the breaking out of the war, he brought his army, with abundance of stores and money, to the capital, but avoided taking any decided part in the contest.

After the battle of Aliwal, the rani, though his personal enemy, was induced to appoint him prime minister, in the hope of obtaining his assistance, which he did not refuse, but still delayed his departure for the camp, under various pretences, and was yet at Lahore when the news of the total defeat of the army at Sobraon changed the whole face of affairs. The rani and her party were now anxious to make peace on the best terms they could, and Gulab Singh was commissioned to proceed at once to the British camp for that purpose. The rajah wisely insisted that they should first sign an agreement to abide by such terms as he should make; and thus invested with full power to negotiate, he arrived at Kussoor on the 15th of February, accompanied by several of the most influential of the sirdars.

The governor-general received him without the usual ceremonies; and after alluding to the unjustifiable conduct of the Sikh government in beginning a war without the slightest pretext, he referred the minister to his agent and secretary, who were in possession of the terms on which he would pardon the late aggression, and renew the friendly alliance between the Sikh and British governments. These conditions were the cession of the whole territory between the Sutlej and Beas rivers; the payment of a million and

a half sterling, as an indemnity for the expenses of the war; the surrender of all the rest of the cannon that had been pointed against the British; and the total disbanding of the army, to be newly constituted upon principles approved by the British government.

The rajah signed the treaty, and the governor-general issued a proclamation to the effect that, as he had been forced into this war by an unprovoked attack on the part of the Sikhs, he felt it necessary to adopt such measures as would secure the British dominions from such aggressions in future; and that, as it was not the wish of the British government to take advantage of the success of its arms to enlarge its territories, he should endeavour to re-establish the Sikh government in the Punjab, on such a footing as should enable it to exercise authority over its soldiers and protect its subjects." It was then stipulated that the maharajah and principal chiefs should repair to the British camp to tender their submission. The summons was promptly obeyed, and the young prince, mounted on an elephant, and attended by Gulab Singh and about twelve of the sirdars, had an interview with the governor-general, when his submission was tendered by the minister, and it was then declared that he would in future be treated as a friend and ally.

These arrangements being all completed, Dhuleep Singh, who was only ten years of age, was conducted back in state to his palace in the citadel of Lahore by a large escort of European and native troops, who formed altogether a grand and imposing spectacle; the youthful sovereign, surrounded by his chiefs, in all the pomp of barbaric splendour, riding amid the victorious troops, who might be regarded as both his conquerors and protectors.

The treaty of peace had, however, still to be ratified, and as the Lahore government was not able to pay the sum that had been stated, it became necessary to alter the conditions. It was therefore settled that half a million in money should be paid, instead of one million and a half; and that as an equivalent for the deficient million, all the country should be ceded that lies between the Beas and the Indus, including the beautiful vale of Kashmir. The greater part of this territory was bestowed in full sovereignty on Gulab Singh, in consideration of the neutrality he preserved during the war; and he, in return for so valuable an acquisition of territory, was to pay seventy-five lacs of rupees, equal to £800,000.

A treaty containing sixteen articles was drawn up and signed at Lahore, on the 10th of March, 1846, by the representatives of the late contending powers, and was afterwards confirmed by the seals of the governor-general and the maharajah. A separate treaty was then concluded with Gulab Singh, who thus became a sovereign prince under the supremacy of the British government, which he was to acknowledge by an annual present, or tribute, of a horse, twelve shawl-goats, and three pairs of Kashmir shawls; besides which, like the crown vassals of feudal times, he was bound to assist the superior power, with all his military force, in any wars in the states adjoining his territories.

The queen-mother remained at the head of the government, and a body of British troops was stationed at Lahore for the protection of the maharajah, who, when these arrangements were completed, received a visit of congratulation from the governor-general, accompanied by the commander-in-chief and other distinguished British officers. The dissolute rani, mother of the young maharajah, was not, however, long in the responsible position in which she had been permitted to remain; for, being detected in a conspiracy against the peace of the country, the British government determined to check it in the bud. She was, therefore, seized and conveyed to a fortress about twenty

miles from Lahore, and there placed in close confinement. The earl of Dalhousie was appointed in November, 1847, to succeed Sir Henry Hardinge as governor-general. He arrived in India and assumed the reins of government early in the following year.[b]

DALHOUSIE'S GOVERNORSHIP AND THE SECOND SIKH WAR (1848-1849 A.D.)

Peace was not long preserved. The governor of Multan, Diwan Mulraj, desired to resign. Two English officers sent by the resident to take over charge of the fort were murdered, the 19th of April, 1848, and their escort went over to the diwan. Another of the assistants to the resident, Lieutenant Herbert Edwardes, then in the Derajat, west of the Indus, hearing of the attack on the two officers, hastened to their assistance. On hearing of their fate he collected a force with which to attack the Multan army while the insurrection was yet local. This he did with signal success. But Multan could not fall before such means as he possessed. The movement spread, the operations widened, and the Sikh and English forces were in the field again.[j]

The Battles of Chilianwala, Multan, and Gujrat (1849 A.D.)

On the 13th of January, 1849, the British forces under Lord Gough came in sight of the encampment of the enemy at Chilianwala. It was Lord Gough's intention not to attack the enemy so late in the day, but Shir Singh, the commander of the Sikh troops, knew the ground; he had possession of the jungle, and he knew, also, the reckless bravery of his antagonist. It suited his purpose that the conflict should be immediate. He allowed a few of his advanced posts to be overpowered, that the enemy might be enticed on; and when Lord Gough was close enough, the Sikh batteries opened upon him. The Sikh artillery, well placed and well plied, made fearful havoc. The British guns, pointed against the jungle, could do no such damage as the artillery of the enemy. A loss of about one hundred officers and two thousand five hundred men, on the part of the British, was the result. "Although," says Lord Gough, in his despatches, "the enemy, who defended not only his guns but his position with desperation, was driven, in much confusion and with heavy loss, from every part of it, and the greater part of his field artillery was actually captured, the march of brigades to their flanks to repel parties that had rallied, and the want of numbers and consequent support to our right flank, aided by the cover of the jungle and the close of the day, enabled him, upon our further advance in pursuit, to return and carry off, unobserved, the greater portion of the guns we had thus gallantly carried at the point of the bayonet."

Such was the battle of Chilianwala: the bravery of the British troops and their commander achieved a barren victory over a formidable enemy, who had all the advantages of position in his favor. After a battle so disastrous on both sides, the two armies encamped within four miles of each other to recruit their exhausted energies and to prepare, on the arrival of reinforcements, for another encounter which might prove more decisive, if not less bloody, than that of Chilianwala. There we will for the present leave them, and return to Multan, and give in brief the details of an attack, which resulted in the capture of this almost impregnable fortress and city.

Mulraj had about nine thousand men, and the besieging army under General Whish amounted to about twenty-eight thousand, well provided.

The operations began on the 27th of December, by an attack upon two several points of the suburbs, which were carried at the bayonet's point; and after bombardment, breach, and storm, lasting, with but slight intervals of repose, for six days, the British flag was planted upon the walls of Multan by a sergeant-major of the company's fusiliers. A perfect storm of bullets for a time flew around him; the colour was torn in tatters, and the staff broken. For an instant no one could reach him; but there he stood cheering his comrades to come on. There was no need of exhortation — onward they pressed, the enemy doggedly retiring before them, and fighting as they withdrew. The walls were scaled about three o'clock on the 2nd of January; by sunset the city was fully in possession of the besieging forces. Mulraj took refuge in the citadel. But on the 22nd of January — when it had become evident that he could not hold his position for twenty-four hours longer — Mulraj surrendered himself, his forces, and the citadel, unconditionally into the hands of the British.

For four weeks after the battle of Chilianwala, the British and Sikh armies remained inactive, with a slight change of position. Chuttur Singh, father of Shir Singh, had effected a junction with his son but did not bring so numerous and well-appointed a reinforcement as was expected. The army of Lord Gough, on the contrary, had been considerably increased. After the capture of Multan, General Whish, by a series of rapid marches, arrived with his victorious detachment at the Chenab, and effected a junction with Lord Gough, when battle was given to Shir Singh without further delay. It was an open-field fight by daylight, the Sikhs not having, as at Chilianwala, the advantage of darkness and a thick jungle to protect them from the fatal aim of their enemy's guns.

The British army was about twenty-five thousand men, with one hundred cannon; that of the Sikhs was about forty thousand. Their artillery, however, was comparatively deficient, amounting to but sixty guns. Shir Singh chose his own position around the village of Gujrat, and the British army moved to attack him early in the morning of the 21st. The British line extended nearly three miles right and left. The Sikhs gave way on all points, and fled in the utmost confusion. The victory was obtained at a loss of life comparatively small on the part of the British — namely, of five officers and ninety-two men. The loss on the part of the Sikhs was enormous.

On the day after this decisive battle, General Gilbert, with a force of fifteen thousand men, was despatched in pursuit. On the 14th of March, Shir Singh and his father, Chuttur Singh, with eleven others of the principal sirdars, arrived in the British camp at Rawal Pindi, and delivered up their swords. Forty-one pieces of artillery and sixteen thousand stand of arms were at the same time surrendered.

Lord Dalhousie issued a proclamation declaring the Sikh dynasty at an end, and the Punjab annexed to the British dominions. The maharajah, no longer sovereign, was to receive an allowance of forty thousand pounds, and to reside within the British dominions. The few chiefs not convicted of treason were allowed to retain their estates.

The territory thus annexed to the British possessions in India amounted to one hundred thousand square miles. It had a population of three and a half millions, and a revenue equal to one million pounds.

THE KOH-I-NUR

Among the trophies which fell into the hands of the English during the Sikh War was the celebrated gem, the Koh-i-nur diamond. The gem passed

from Golconda to Delhi, where, in the year 1665, it was seen by the French traveller Tavernier, in the possession of Aurangzeb. Sometimes worn on the person of the Mughal emperors, sometimes adorning the famous peacock throne, this inestimable gem was safely preserved at Delhi until the invasion of Nadir Shah. Among the spoils of conquest which the Persian warrior carried back with him, in triumph, to Khorassan, and which have been variously estimated at from twenty to one hundred million pounds sterling, the Koh-i-nur was the most precious trophy. But it was destined to pass from Persia as quickly as that ephemeral supremacy in virtue of which it had been acquired. When the Persian conqueror was assassinated, in 1747, the Afghan chief, Ahmed Abdullah Shah, who had served under him as treasurer, on his return to Herat carried with him the treasure in his possession, including this diamond. It seemed as if the Koh-i-nur carried with it the sovereignty of Hindustan; for the conquests of Ahmed were as decisive as those of Nadir, and it was by his influence and assistance that the last emperor ascended the throne of the Mughals.

With the overthrow of the Durani monarchy by the consolidated power of the Sikhs, under Ranjit Singh, the jewel passed to a new master. Shah Shuja, of Kabul, was the last chief of the Abdullah dynasty who possessed it. When Shah Shuja was a fugitive from Kabul, under the equivocal protection of the Sikh chief, Ranjit Singh put the shah under strict surveillance, and made a formal demand for the jewel. The Durani prince hesitated, prevaricated, temporised, and employed all the artifices of oriental diplomacy, but in vain.

When first given to Shah Jahan, the Koh-i-nur was still uncut, weighing, it is said, in that rough state, nearly eight hundred carats, which were reduced by the unskilfulness of the artist to two hundred and seventy-nine, its present weight. It was cut by Hortensio Borgis, a Venetian, who, instead of receiving a compensation for his service, was fined ten thousand rupees for his wastefulness, by the enraged Mughal. In form it is "rose-cut," that is to say, it is cut to a point in a series of small faces, or "facets," without any tabular surface. The Koh-i-nur was seized by the British resident at Lahore, when first apprised of the outbreak at Multan. At the conclusion of the war it was taken to England, presented to the queen, and placed among the jewels of the crown.[b]

INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS: THE SECOND BURMESE WAR (1849–1852 A.D.)

After these bloody wars, the British Empire in the East enjoyed several years of undisturbed repose. All the outbreaks which had occurred subsequent to the Afghanistan disaster, every effort at independence which had been made, had led to overthrow and subjugation. The Sind amirs had tried it, and failed; the Gwalior people had tried it, and failed. Even the great and colossal power of the Sikhs had been overthrown; and after two desperate and bloody campaigns, their capital had been taken, their army disbanded, their kingdom incorporated with the all-conquering state. Struck with this astonishing series of victories immediately succeeding so dire a calamity, the inhabitants of the vast peninsula of Hindustan, for the time at least, abandoned the contest; and, submitting to the dominion of the British as the decree of providence, sought only to improve the advantages which the general establishment of internal peace afforded, and to improve the means of industry which its vast extent and powerful protection seemed to promise.

The East India Company took advantage of this precious breathing-time

from external war to afford every facility in their power to the development of the internal resources of their vast territories. Canals were dug or restored, roads made, railroads surveyed, and in part at least executed. The mind of Lord Dalhousie, essentially administrative, was ardently and successfully directed to these great objects. Then were projected, and in great part executed, those magnificent public works which have so completely effaced the well-known reproach cast by Mr. Burke upon the British administration in India, and which will bear a comparison with any in the world for greatness of conception and perfection of execution.

The Taking of Fort Martaban

This happy state of tranquillity was first broken in upon, in 1852, by a second rupture with the Burmese government, which arose from the pride and arrogance of a barbaric court, and their inconceivable ignorance of the strength of the power with which they were in close contact. So many cases of injury occurred in the course of the years 1851 and 1852, that the governor-general came to the conclusion that the law of nations had been violated, especially by the governor of Rangoon in his cruel and oppressive conduct to British subjects. The period allowed for accommodation having elapsed, an expedition was despatched under the command of General Godwin, an experienced officer, who had been engaged in the former war, to enforce redress. The expedition sailed for the mouth of the Irawadi on the 28th of March, the naval force being under the orders of Rear-Admiral Austen. On the 5th of April the fort of Martaban, commanding one of the entrances of the river, was attacked, and the place carried, though garrisoned by five thousand of the best soldiers in the Burmese Empire.



Carved Pagoda at Rangoon, Burma

After this success the expedition proceeded up the Irawadi to Rangoon, which stands on the left bank of the principal branch of the river, about twenty miles from the sea. Hostilities were commenced by a general attack by the war-steamers on the enemy's flotilla and river defences; and in a few hours the former were all burned, and the latter levelled with the ground. The troops were then landed without further resistance, and advanced against the town. The garrison fled in confusion through the southern and western

gates, where they were met by the fire of the steamers, and obliged to seek safety by dispersing in the jungle.

The immediate surrender of Rangoon was the result of this victory, which was soon followed by the submission of all the adjacent country. The stores, ammunition, and heavy guns were then landed, and placed in Rangoon, which was strengthened and garrisoned by a strong body of troops, it being the design of government to make it not only the base of present operations, but a permanent acquisition to the British Empire in the East. These precautions having been taken, the troops were again moved forward up the Irawadi. On the 19th they were before Bassein, where a strong mud-fort was stormed, after a desperate resistance. Martaban, the first conquest of the British, which was garrisoned only by a small native force, was soon after attacked by a large body of Burmese, but the assailants were repulsed with great slaughter. Encouraged by these successes, an expedition was fitted out early in July, under Captain Tarleton, to reconnoitre the river as far as Prome, which was taken.

Offensive operations were resumed as soon as the return of the cool season rendered them practicable. On the 25th of September the troops were embarked at Rangoon, and they came in sight of Prome on the 9th of October, where they were shortly after landed. They immediately advanced, and made themselves masters of a fortified pagoda situated on an eminence which commanded the enemy's position. Upon this the Burmese evacuated the town in the night. This success was followed by the capture of Pegu, a large town about sixty miles from Rangoon (November 20th). This was followed by a proclamation from the governor-general, which, "in compensation for the past, and for better security for the future, proclaimed that the province of Pegu is now, and shall henceforth be, a portion of the British territories in the East."

No further attempt was now made to disquiet the British in their newly acquired conquest, and unbroken peace reigned through their vast dominions from the mouths of the Indus to those of the Irawadi, and from Cape Comorin to the Himalaya snows.

ANNEXATION OF OUDH (1856 A.D.)

This period of tranquillity, during which Lord Dalhousie was incessantly occupied with his great projects of domestic improvement and social amelioration, was not even interrupted by an important event in the east of India. This was the annexation of Oudh, which, without any hostilities, was carried into effect by a simple resolution of the governor-general in council on March 17th, 1856. This powerful state, whose inhabitants were a nation of warriors, lies on the eastern bank of the Ganges, between Cawnpore and Nepal, embraces twenty-five thousand square miles of territory, and contained at the period of annexation five million inhabitants.

It was, however, notorious that, though the kings of Oudh since that time had never failed in their duty to the British government, but, on the contrary, essentially served it on many occasions, yet they had scandalously violated the rights of their own subjects. The government of Lucknow, the capital, was perhaps the most corrupt and oppressive in the world, so far as its own people were concerned. Moved by the petitions of the unhappy sufferers under these exactions, and by the obvious discredit which they brought on the British government and connection, the governor-general in 1856 proposed a treaty to the king of Oudh, by which the sole and exclusive

administration of the country was to be transferred to the East India Company, with the right to the whole state revenue, burdened with a due provision to the reigning family, who were to be allowed to retain their royal titles, and enjoy their palaces and parks at Lucknow. These terms, as might have been expected, having been rejected by the king, a proclamation was forthwith issued, declaring the kingdom incorporated with the dominions of the East India Company, and requiring all the inhabitants to yield obedience to their authority. The British forces immediately entered the country from Agra and Cawnpore, and took possession of the capital and whole territories without resistance. About the same time the territories of the rajah of Satara were incorporated with the British dominions; those of the rajah of Berar had already been absorbed in 1853; but these encroachments, being on inconsiderable native potentates, were made without opposition, and excited very little attention.

Unhappily the ease with which this annexation was accomplished at the time misled the government as to the precautions necessary to secure this acquisition, and the representations of Lord Dalhousie on that subject remained without effect. Not a man of European race was added to the force in the country; Delhi, the great arsenal of northern India, was left exclusively in the hands of the native troops; and a few hundred British, and a few battalions of sepoys, formed the sole garrison of the most warlike and formidable people of eastern India.

ALISON ON THE RULE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

The war in the Punjab throws a bright light on those which preceded it in Gwalior and Sind, and vindicates Lord Ellenborough's administrations from the aspersions thrown upon it for the commencement of hostilities against these powers. Judging by the European standard, there can be no doubt that he was the aggressor on both those occasions; because, although the native powers were the first to engage in hostile acts, this had been rendered necessary by a course of encroachments on the part of the British. But it is now apparent that this was unavoidable. The opposite system was followed by the East India directors and Lord Hardinge, who forswore all hostile preparations against the Sikhs, and brought the Indian Empire to the brink of ruin, in order to avoid giving a pretext even for hostilities; and what was the consequence? Two terrible wars, in which the utmost hazard was incurred, and in which salvation was earned only by heroic efforts, and the shedding of torrents of blood. What would have been the fate of these wars if they had occurred when the British flank was threatened by the insurrection in Sind, and their communications cut off by the forces of Gwalior? In all probability India would have been lost. It was by anticipating the danger, and combating the hostile powers in succession, that the danger was averted and India saved. For this immense service the country was indebted to Lord Ellenborough; and, according to the usual course of human events, it is not the least conclusive proof of the reality of the obligation that the East India Company requited it by his recall. So strong is the desire for economy of their own money, however anxious to get that of others, and so invincible the repugnance to make costly preparations against future danger, in the great majority of men, that whoever attempts or recommends it is certain to incur present obloquy, and, if his opponents have the power to effect it, political downfall.

But the same form of justification can scarcely be applied to the incorpora-

tion of Oudh. Unlike the warlike powers in the northwest of India, the government of Oudh had engaged in no hostile designs or preparations against that of Great Britain. Through all the changes of fortune for a half century, it had stood faithful by the British. Whatever faults it had committed, and they were many, had been directed against its own subjects, and related to matters of internal administration. Other grounds of justification in the case of Oudh must therefore be sought than that of hostility to Great Britain; and these are found by the defenders of the annexation in the fact that, by the treaty of 1801, there was expressly stipulated to the British government a right of interference, in the event of such internal mal-administration as was charged against the native authorities.

As this encroachment was instrumental in bringing about the rebellion of 1857, and the terrible war which ended in the termination of the East India Company's rule in India, in conformity with the old Hindu prophecy, in the hundredth year after its foundation by the battle of Plassey, it is a fitting opportunity to consider what was the extent and magnitude of the empire which in that period — short in the lifetime of a nation — had been formed by the energy and perseverance of the company, and the courage of the nation which aided them by its resources.

India, then, contained, in 1858, when the direct rule of the East India Company was merged in that of the home government, 180,367,148 inhabitants, extending over 1,465,322 square miles. Of these, 131,990,881 were under the direct dominion of the East India Company, and 48,376,247 the inhabitants of the protected states. The revenue (gross) of this immense territory was £30,817,000, of which £17,109,000 was the land-tax, £5,195,000 drawn from the monopoly of opium, £2,631,000 from that of salt, and £2,106,000 from customs. The cost of collection was about £6,000,000; the charge of the army was £11,000,000 annually; the interest of debt in India £2,000,000; and £3,500,000 were remitted to Great Britain for charges payable at home, or interest on the debt due there. The annual deficit was on an average of the four years between 1854 and 1858, £1,500,000 annually; in the year ending April 30th, 1857, it was £1,981,062.

The army amounted in the same month to 231,276 native troops, of whom 26,129 were cavalry, regular and irregular; 22,047 Europeans in the employment of the East India Company, of whom 6,585 were artillery; and the queen's troops in India before the revolt broke out were 31,800, all paid by the East India Company. The auxiliary troops, which the protected states were bound to furnish, were 32,211 more; in all, nearly 320,000 men.

The public debt of India was £68,000,000, being somewhat more than twice its income. Nor had this empire been acquired by conquest over unwarlike or barbarous nations: for if the inhabitants of Bengal were a timid race, the Gurkhas, the Sikhs, the Afghans, the Mahrattas, and the inhabitants of Sind, rivalled the ancient Germans or Parthians in hardihood and valour; and in the great revolt of 1857 the East India Company encountered 120,000 soldiers, armed, instructed, and disciplined by themselves, and inferior to none in the contempt of death when animated by religious zeal.

This empire embraced a greater number of inhabitants than that conquered in five centuries by the Roman legions; double the number subjugated by the Russian arms in two centuries; and more than triple those won for France by the energy of the Revolution and the victories of Napoleon! And this mighty empire, transcending any which has existed since the world began, had been acquired in one century by a pacific company, having its chief place of business fourteen thousand miles distant from the theatre of its conquests —

which has almost always been guided by pacific interests, and rarely engaged in wars, except from necessity and in self-defence — which began its career with five hundred European soldiers, and seldom had so many as fifty thousand collected around its standards! The history of the world may be sought in vain for a parallel to such a prodigy.

The chief cause of this extraordinary and unparalleled phenomenon is to be found in the presence of constitutional energy in Great Britain during the period when the empire in the East was forming, and the absence of parliamentary control in its direction. The mother country furnished an inexhaustible supply of young men, drawn chiefly from the landed gentry of the middle class, to fill every department both in the civil and military service in the East, while the selection of candidates was exempt from the debasing effects of court favour or parliamentary influence. The command of this extraordinary aggregate of military and civil ability was practically vested in the governor-general at Calcutta, distance and the necessity of self-direction on the spot having rendered nearly impotent for evil the division of power between the East India Company and the board of control, which the strange and anomalous constitution of 1784 theoretically established.

It is to the extraordinary combination of circumstances which gave British India the united advantages of democratic vigour in the classes from which its defenders were taken, with aristocratic perseverance in the senate by which its government was directed, and the unity of despotism in the dictator to whom the immediate execution of the mandates of that senate was entrusted, that the extraordinary growth of the British Empire in India during the century between Plassey and the Mutiny is beyond all question to be ascribed. During that period Great Britain had often at home sustained serious reverses, from the ignorance and incapacity of those whom parliamentary influence or court favour had brought to the head of affairs, or the parsimony with which democratic economy had starved down the national establishment, during peace, to a degree which rendered serious reverses inevitable on the first breaking out of hostilities; but in India, though the usual intermixture of good and evil fortune in human affairs was experienced, there were never awanting, after a short period, troops requisite to repair reverses, and generals capable of leading them to victory.[i]





CHAPTER VI

THE INDIAN MUTINY

[1857–1858 A.D.]

LORD DALHOUSIE AND THE DOCTRINE OF LAPSE

LORD DALHOUSIE's dealings with the feudatory states of India can only be rightly appreciated as part of his general policy. That rulers only exist for the good of the ruled was his supreme axiom of government, of which he gave the most conspicuous example by the practice of his own daily life. That British administration was better for the people than native rule followed from this axiom as a necessary corollary. He was thus led to regard native chiefs from somewhat the same point of view as the Scotch regarded the hereditary jurisdictions after 1745 — as mischievous anomalies, to be abolished by every means practicable. Good faith must be kept with rulers on the throne and with their legitimate heirs, but no false sentiment should preserve dynasties that had forfeited all consideration by years of accumulated misrule, or prolong those that had no natural successor.

The "doctrine of lapse" was merely a special application of these principles, though complicated by the theory of adoption. It has never been doubted that, according to Hindu private law, an adopted son entirely fills the place of a natural son, whether to perform the religious obsequies of his father or to inherit his property. In all respects he continues the *persona* of the deceased. But it was argued that the succession to a throne stood upon a different footing. The paramount power could not recognise such a right which might be used as a fraud to hand over the happiness of millions to a base-born impostor. Here came in the maxim of "the good of the governed." The material benefits to be conferred through British administration surely

weighed heavier in the scale than a superstitious and frequently fraudulent fiction of inheritance.

The first state to escheat to the British government in accordance with these principles was Satara, which had been reconstituted by Lord Hastings on the downfall of the peshwa in 1818. The last direct representative of Sivaji died without a male heir in 1848, and his deathbed adoption was set aside. In the same year the Rajput state of Karauli was saved by the interposition of the court of directors, who drew a fine distinction between a dependent principality and a protected ally. In 1833 Jhansi suffered the same fate as Satara. But the most conspicuous application of the doctrine of lapse was the case of Nagpur. The last of the Bhonslas, a dynasty older than the British government itself, died without a son, natural or adopted, in 1853. That year also saw British administration extended to the Berars, or the assigned districts which the nizam of Hyderabad was induced to cede as a territorial guarantee for the subsidies which he perpetually kept in arrear. Three more distinguished names likewise passed away in 1853, though without any attendant accretion to British territory. In the extreme south the titular nawab of the Carnatic and the titular rajah of Tanjore both died without heirs. Their rank and their pensions died with them, though compassionate allowances were continued to their families. In the north of India, Baji Rao, the ex-peshwa, who had been dethroned in 1818, lived on till 1853 in the enjoyment of his annual pension of £80,000. His adopted son, Nana Sahib, inherited his accumulated savings, but could obtain no further recognition.

The marquis of Dalhousie resigned office in March, 1856, being then only forty-four years of age; but he carried home with him the seeds of a lingering illness which resulted in his death in 1860. Excepting Cornwallis, he was the first, though by no means the last, of English statesmen who have fallen victims to their devotion to India's needs. He was succeeded by his friend, Lord Canning, who, at the farewell banquet in England given to him by the court of directors, uttered these prophetic words: "I wish for a peaceful term of office. But I cannot forget that in the sky of India, serene as it is, a small cloud may arise, no larger than a man's hand, but which, growing larger and larger, may at last threaten to burst and overwhelm us with ruin." In the following year the sepoys of the Bengal army mutinied, and all the valley of the Ganges from Patna to Delhi rose in open rebellion.

MOTIVES FOR THE MUTINY

The various motives assigned for the Mutiny appear inadequate to the European mind. The truth seems to be that native opinion throughout India was in a ferment, predisposing men to believe the wildest stories, and to act precipitately upon their fears. The influence of panic in an Oriental population is greater than might be readily believed. In the first place, the policy of Lord Dalhousie, exactly in proportion as it had been dictated by the most honourable considerations, was utterly distasteful to the native mind. Repeated annexations, the spread of education, the appearance of the steam engine and the telegraph wire, all alike revealed a consistent determination to substitute an English for an Indian civilisation.

The Bengal sepoys, especially, thought that they could see into the future farther than the rest of their countrymen. Nearly all men of high caste, and many of them recruited from Oudh, they dreaded tendencies which they deemed to be denationalising, and they knew at first hand what annexation meant. They believed that it was by their prowess that the Punjab had

been conquered, and all India was held quiet. The numerous dethroned princes, their heirs and their widows, were the first to learn and take advantage of the spirit of disaffection that was abroad. They had heard of the Crimean War, and were told that Russia was the perpetual enemy of England. They had money in abundance with which they could buy the assistance of skilful intriguers. They had everything to gain, and nothing to lose, by a revolution.[b]

Writing on the subject of the causes of the Indian Mutiny, Lord Roberts[c] declares that the "discontent and dissatisfaction were produced by a policy which, in many instances, the rulers of India were powerless to avoid or postpone, forced upon them as it was by the demands of civilisation and the necessity for a more enlightened legislation." He states that intriguers took advantage of this state of affairs to further their own ends; that it was their policy to alienate the native army, engendering feelings of uneasiness and suspicion by calumniating the authorities, whose measures really were intended to promote the welfare of the masses. He vigorously sustains the authorities as to the integrity of their motives, but he admits that their measures were of necessity obnoxious to the Brahman priesthood as well as distasteful to the natives in general. He admits that, in some instances at least, the measures adopted were premature, and that even so they were not always carried out as judiciously as they might have been, or with sufficient regard to native prejudices.[a]

Sir A. Lyall,[h] writing with full knowledge of the psychology of the peoples involved, declares that "in Asia a triumphant army like the Janisaries of the Mamelukes almost always becomes ungovernable so soon as it becomes stationary." He says that the sepoys of the Bengal army had an exaggerated idea of their own importance; and that the annexation of Oudh in 1856 touched their pride and affected their interests. It was this province from which the army secured most of its high-caste recruits. Men in this excitable condition required only some slight stimulus to bring them into open revolt. This stimulus being found in the use of greased cartridges which roused their caste prejudices, they mutinied.[a]

The nature of Great Britain's hold upon India was so anomalous that the reflective had constantly doubted of its permanence. Her conquests had been chiefly effected by native armies, and continued to be ruled by their instrumentality; but it was unreasonable to think that the mere military allegiance of the sepoy would be always superior to those ties of nationality which connected him with the vanquished.

As if also to teach these men their own strength and resources, the native armies in the British service had now increased to an alarming amount as compared with the European soldiers. Each of the three presidencies, Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, had its own army; but while they mustered in all 300,000 men, of these there were only about 43,000 who were British. Of all these armies, the most efficient for useful service, as well as the most prompt for revolt, and the most to be feared in such an event, was the army of Bengal, consisting of 118,600 native, and only 22,600 European soldiers. It was from this army accordingly that most danger had for some time been apprehended. A single random spark would be enough to set its whole religious bigotry in a blaze. And even already a deep cause of offence existed in the Bengal army, on account of the annexation of the kingdom of Oudh.

These and other such causes, which had been gathering and growing for years, had already matured into a deep and widely-extended conspiracy for the overthrow of the British dominion in India; but the particulars of the plan and the persons who devised it are still involved in obscurity. It is

supposed, however, that the court of Persia was the principal focus of the conspiracy, and that the Mohammedans of the north of India were its chief agents and disseminators. Those men, who might be termed the Norman aristocracy of Hindustan, owed an especial grudge to the British by whom they had been supplanted; and they endeavoured to work upon the credulity of the Hindu soldiery, by assuring them that the British intended to overthrow their creed and compel them to become Christians. This was enough to remind them of the conversions of Tipu Sahib, who propagated Islam by fire and sword.

It is supposed that these Mohammedan intriguers intended to replace the old king of Delhi upon the throne of his ancestors, and to rule under his name; and it is known that they were endeavouring to incite Dost Muhammed, the king of Kabul, to prepare for the invasion of the Punjab, as soon as the revolt of the Bengal army, upon which they had calculated, should leave that territory defenceless. Even these representations might have been ineffectual with the Hindu soldiers, had they not been apparently confirmed by an act of the British government itself.

THE GREASED CARTRIDGES AND THE UNLEAVENED CHUPATTIES

This was the affair of greased cartridges, that served originally as a pretext for the outbreak. The Enfield rifle, an improvement upon the Menié, heretofore in use among the troops, had been introduced at the commencement of 1857 into the Bengal army; and as greased cartridges were necessary for its effective use, these were issued to the troops along with the weapon. A report was immediately circulated that the grease used in the preparation of these cartridges was a mixture of the fat of cows and pigs—the first of these animals being the objects of Hindu adoration, and the last of Mohammedan abhorrence.

The first occasion on which the rumour was heard was the following: at Dumdum, where there was a school of practice for the new Enfield rifle, a sepoy soldier, a Brahman, was asked by a man of low caste to be permitted to drink out of his lotah, or vessel of water, to whom he replied, "I have scoured my lotah, and you will pollute it by your touch." "You think much of your caste," said the other angrily, "but wait a little, and the European will make you bite cartridges soaked in cow and pork fat, and then where will your caste be?"

The sepoy reported these words to his comrades, and they quickly reached Barrackpur, at which several native regiments were stationed. It was in vain they were assured by the government that no such grease had been used in the preparation of the paper in question, and that if they had scruples in the matter, they were at liberty to procure their own ingredients at the bazaar. The report still continued to strengthen at Barrackpur among the four native regiments stationed there; and on the 6th of February a sepoy revealed to an officer the plot of his companions, who were alarmed with the fear of being compelled to abandon their caste and become Christians. From his revelation it appeared that these regiments intended to rise against their officers, and after plundering or burning down their bungalows, to march to Calcutta, and there attempt to seize Fort William, or failing in this, to take possession of the treasury.

This state of things was too alarming to be neglected, and measures were taken by the British commanders and their officers to still the apprehensions of the native soldiery. They were publicly addressed on parade with the

assurance that there was no design to make them Christians; that they could not become such without being able to read, and to understand the rules that were written in the Christian's book; and that nothing but their own free choice and request after they had so learned, could admit them to the privilege of baptism. The issue of the obnoxious ammunition was stopped, and plans were suggested by which the cartridge might be used by tearing off the end, instead of putting it to the mouth and biting it. Native officers were also appointed to learn the process of cartridge-making in which the forbidden articles were to be excluded.

But the alarm had grown too strong to be put down by such assurances or concessions: a rebellion was inevitable even where the original cause had dwindled into a mere pretext or watchword. The first open manifestation was at Berhampur, on the morning of the 26th of February, 1857, when the 19th regiment of native infantry were ordered out on parade. Percussion caps were about to be issued to them, but these the soldiers refused to receive, declaring that it was still doubtful how the cartridges were made; and on the evening of the same day they assembled on parade by their own authority, broke open the *bells* (small oval buildings) in which their arms were piled, and having taken possession of the weapons and ammunition, carried them off to their lines. Their commander, Colonel Mitchell, ordered them to pile arms and disperse, and on their refusal called up the cavalry and artillery; but they still refused to obey until these troops were withdrawn, which was done accordingly. For this concession, the colonel was tried by a court of inquiry, and censured. It was resolved also to disband this dangerous regiment, and accordingly it was marched off to Barrackpur, where the 52nd and 84th Queen's regiments were stationed to disarm them.

But on the 29th of March, two days previous to the disbanding, while the 19th was at Barrackpur, the rebellion commenced in bloodshed. A sepoy of the 34th regiment of native infantry, having intoxicated himself with *bang*, discharged his musket at Lieutenant Baugh, and shot that officer's horse; the lieutenant fired a pistol at his assailant, but missed him, and was wounded in return by the madman, as was also the sergeant-major of the corps, who went to the lieutenant's assistance. The mutineer, whose name was Mungal Pandy,[1] was seized, tried, and sentenced to be hanged; and on the scaffold he expressed his regret for the crime, and tried, but in vain, to persuade his fellow soldiers to return to their duty. As for the 19th regiment, it was drawn up on parade in the square of Barrackpur, surrounded by the two British and several native regiments — and for a moment it was doubted whether the latter might not side with the 19th, and offer battle to the 52nd and 84th. But no such outbreak occurred: the rebels surrendered their arms, and were marched off under an escort of cavalry to Chinsurah, bewailing their infatuation, and petitioning when too late to be readmitted to the service.

It was not, however, by such checks that the spirit of revolt was to be suppressed, or even retarded; it was diffused like a pestilence far and near by mysterious agencies which the authorities could neither detect nor surmise. One of these was the transmission of a kind of little unleavened cakes, called *chupatties*, a symbol which the Europeans did not understand, but which seems to have been as significant to the natives as the fiery cross was to the Highlanders of Scotland, and used for a similar purpose. A *chowkodar*, or village policeman of Cawnpore, gave two of these cakes, the common food of the poor, to another chowkodar in Fathigarh (Futtehghur), telling him to

[1] Hence the name of *Pandies*, which was afterwards given to the rebel sepoys by the British soldiers in India.

make ten more, and give them to five of his brethren of the nearest station, with a similar charge to each; and thus at every hour these runners were multiplying among a class of men who were spread over India, and whose mischievous errand was least liable to be suspected.

The circulation of *chupatties* commenced in Oudh and elsewhere in the beginning of 1857, and European conjecture was utterly at a loss to penetrate this Indian mystery, which subsequent events made only too intelligible. Reports also were industriously spread in the bazaars that the missionaries had petitioned the queen of Great Britain to enforce the use of the greased cartridges, in order to compel the Hindus to become Christians. They even pretended to give the very words of this petition, which, they alleged, were the following: "Tipu made thousands of Hindus become of his religion, while your majesty has not made one Christian. Under your orders are sepoys of all castes. We therefore pray you to adopt this plan — namely, to cause to be mixed up together bullocks' fat and pigs' fat, and to have it put upon the cartridges which your sepoys put into their mouths, and after six months to have it made known to the sepoys how they have thereby lost their caste, and by this means a certain road will be opened for making many Christians." They added that the queen was highly satisfied with this petition, and had given her assent to it.

Notwithstanding the absurdity of this report, it was so well suited to the credulity and ignorance of the people, and gained such belief, that the governor-general, Lord Canning, in council, was obliged on the 16th of May to issue a proclamation on the subject, disclaiming any attempt to interfere with the castes or religion of the people, and warning them against the arts of those who attempted to withdraw them from their allegiance.

THE OUTBREAK AT MEERUT

But this proclamation was too late, and even had it been earlier it would have been equally useless. The rebellion had already broken out in full violence, and in those districts where it could be least resisted. Of the European regiments in the presidency of Bengal, the greater part were dispersed over the whole extent of Great Britain's Indian Empire, and isolated among a hostile people. One important military station was Meerut (Mirath), thirty-five miles to the northeast of the city of Delhi, between the Ganges and the Jumna. At this place were two regiments of native infantry and one of light cavalry, comprising in all 2,700 men, and a European force numbering 1,717 men, the whole being under the command of Major-General Hewitt. On the 6th of May, when cartridges, which, to avoid offence, had been made for the purpose, were offered to the native cavalry, eighty-five troopers refused to receive them. They were tried by court-martial for their disobedience; eighty were sentenced to imprisonment with hard labour for ten years, and five for six years; and on the 9th, after their sentences were read to them on parade, they were put in irons and conducted to jail.

But their companions sympathised in their rebellion. On the following morning, which was Sunday, the native regiments rose in mutiny, fired upon their officers, and after making a rush upon the prison, from which they rescued not only their fellows but upwards of one thousand convicts who were confined there, they set the building on fire. The wildest license now prevailed in Meerut. Several British officers with their wives and children, were massacred with circumstances of aggravated atrocity. While bungalows were blazing in every direction, and the streets filled with the hurrying

rush of the murderers, and shrieks of the dying, the two British regiments marched against the native lines, assailed them with volleys of grape and musketry, drove the mutineers from the encampment, and pursued them in their retreat, cutting down a considerable number on the way. But as the chase was conducted by only a party of carabineers and riflemen, and as the night was very dark, the main body of the mutineers, consisting of the 3rd light cavalry and 20th infantry, were enabled to make good their retreat to Delhi.

SCENES IN DELHI

Such was the day of horror which prevailed over Meerut and its neighbourhood on this memorable 10th of May; the scene was now to be shifted to Delhi, where three regiments of native infantry and a battery of native artillery were stationed, but not a single company of British soldiers. At an early hour on the morning of the 11th a handful of horsemen, not above thirty or forty in number, came galloping in headlong speed to the city, though their approach excited no alarm. But they were an advanced party of the light cavalry, who had fled from Meerut; and they were the harbingers of the atrocities that were to follow, and the chief actors in their commission. They rushed in at the Calcutta gate unchallenged, and had no sooner entered the city than, raising the cry of "*Deen, deen,*" their shout equally for a battle-charge or a massacre, they attacked and cut down every European they met in their way.

The 54th native regiment with two guns were sent to quell the mutiny. They steadily marched to the city and promptly entered by the Kashmir gate; but here the mask was dropped; for no sooner did the insurgent body of light cavalry approach than the sepoys withdrew from their officers, leaving the latter exposed to the fierce horsemen, who came upon them at full gallop, and shot them down with their pistols.

Delhi was now in possession of the rebels — nothing remained to the British but the powder magazine, with two officers and three or four subalterns in charge of it. But, such as it was, it was the only refuge left to the British dominion in Delhi; and while the work of murder was going on within the city, where the shameful atrocities of Meerut were exceeded, not only upon strong men, but helpless women and unoffending children, the rebels assailed the magazine with their whole united force. The place was gallantly held by the handful within, and the first attacks repelled by volleys of grape; but thousands still pressed forward, and scaling ladders were applied, so that the walls were on the point of being won. But, calculating upon this chance, Lieutenant Willoughby, who was in charge of the magazine, had laid a train to that department which contained the gunpowder; it was fired at his signal, and instantly the building, with hundreds of sepoys, was sent flying into the air.

During the smoke and confusion the few defenders managed to escape, with the exception of the gallant Willoughby, who, scorched, blackened, and all but killed by the explosion, succeeded in reaching Meerut, but only to die soon after. While this hasty siege had been going on, such of the British residents, both gentlemen and ladies, as had escaped the first onset of the murderers, endeavoured to find a rallying point, for either shelter or an honourable death, and the greater part repaired to the Flagstaff Tower, in front of the cantonments, where a company of the 38th native infantry and two guns were stationed. But it had to be abandoned by its inmates, who retreated,

some to Kernoul, and others to Meerut. Another attempt was made to hold a small fortified bastion called the Mainguard, within the Kashmir gate, that was soon filled not only with men, but with women and children, and reinforcements were sent for from the cantonments; but at five o'clock the treacherous guards, on whom they had depended, suddenly opened fire upon them, and commenced a massacre from which only a few escaped. Even the palace, to which many of the Europeans fled, was no protection. There sat the old titular sovereign, weighed down but not softened by the load of more



GREAT ARCH AND IRON COLUMN, OLD DELHI

than fourscore years; there, too, were his sons, to give active spirit to his relentless apathy, and encourage the murders that were perpetrated in his name; and all who fled to its courts in the vain hope of safety, or were allured thither by promises of protection, were there murdered, not only, as was alleged, by the express commands of the princes, but even in their very presence. Within a day or two not a British resident was left alive in Delhi.

MUTINY FORESTALLED IN THE PUNJAB

While the conflagration was thus kindled in which the whole Indian Empire was so soon to be enveloped, the electric wires which extended across Hindustan from Calcutta to Lahore, with branch lines to the principal military and civil stations, were in active operation. When the tidings arrived at Lahore, Sir John Lawrence, the chief commissioner of the Punjab, was absent; but the judicial commissioner, Mr. Montgomery, at this crisis fortunately assumed the direction of affairs, and promptly repaired to Mian Mir, the military cantonment of which was six miles distant. It was well that he did so, for at this station, where there were three native regiments of infantry, and one of cavalry, with the 81st British regiment and some artillery, the sepoys had matured a plot to seize the fort at Lahore, break open the jail, and massacre all the Europeans. Their design was discovered, and measures were concerted between Mr. Montgomery and Brigadier Corbett, the commander at Mian Mir, to defeat it.

On that evening a ball was to be given by the residents to the officers of the 81st, and to lull suspicion the ball was allowed to go on. But on the next morning the troops were drawn up on parade, ostensibly to hear a general order read; the five companies of the 81st, with their artillery, were stationed in the rear of the native regiments; and the latter, after a few sentences addressed to them, were commanded to pile arms. The sepoys for a moment hesitated: but they found that twelve guns were pointed at them loaded to the muzzle with grape-shot; that at a single word of command, the lighted matches would be applied; and slowly and moodily they yielded to the necessity, and piled their arms, which were instantly removed in carts by the European soldiers.

The rapid action of the telegraphic wires was equally effectual in other quarters, notably at Firozpur, south of the Sutlej. At Peshawar, the principal officers of that quarter decided upon the formation of a moveable column, whose headquarters were to be at Jhelum, and which was to "move on every point of the Punjab where open mutiny required to be put down by force." By these decisive proceedings the most important limb of the conspiracy was lopped off, and the best of its strength paralysed. It was from the Punjab that the greatest danger was apprehended, both from the military spirit of the Sikhs and the recency of their subjugation, which still rankled in their memories. Other less important attempts at mutiny, which were on the eve of breaking out in other parts of the country, were either suppressed or abandoned. The next movement on the part of the British government was to be the recovery of Delhi, for which the securing of the Punjab was a necessary step; and, accordingly, Sir John Lawrence, Mr. Montgomery, and the other officers in that quarter bestirred themselves in raising fresh troops, Multanese, Sikhs, and men of the hill tribes, who had not been infected by the mutiny, and were ready to serve against any power on the inducement of good pay and plunder. At the same time Lord Canning, the governor-general of India [who had been but a short time in the country], recalled the troops stationed in Persia, and sent for reinforcements from Bombay and Madras, from Burma and Ceylon, from the Eastern Settlements and the Mauritius, and above all from England, to put down a rebellion in which so many kingdoms were united, and to maintain which so many armies were in the field.[c]

Of the governor-general, Lord Roberts says: "There are few men whose conduct of affairs has been so severely criticised as Lord Canning's, but there are still fewer who, as governors or viceroys, have had to deal with such an overwhelming crisis as the Mutiny. While the want of appreciation Lord Canning at first displayed of the magnitude of that crisis may, with perfect justice, be attributed to the fact that most of his advisers had gained their experience only in Lower Bengal, and had therefore a very imperfect knowledge of popular feeling throughout India, the very large measure of success which attended his subsequent action was due undoubtedly to his own ability and sound judgment."[e]

On the 15th and 16th of May, particulars reached Lord Canning of the massacre of the Europeans, of the flight of the officers, of the rallying round the resuscitated flag of the Mughal. Then he stood forward as the bold, resolute, strong Englishman he really was. He telegraphed to the governor of Bombay, Lord Elphinstone, to hasten as far as he could the return of the troops due in Bombay from the completed campaign against Persia. He telegraphed to the commander-in-chief "to make short work of Delhi." He transmitted to the chief commissioner of the Punjab, Sir John Lawrence, full

powers to act according to the best of his judgment. Not only did he countermand the return of the 84th to Rangoon, but he sent for a second regiment from that place and from Moulmein. He wrote to the governor of Madras, Lord Harris, to send him two regiments. More than that, recollecting that a combined military and naval expedition was on its way from England to China, to support there, by force of arms, the pretensions of the British, he took upon himself the responsibility of despatching a message to Lord Elgin and General Ashburnham to intercept that expedition and beg them to despatch the troops under their orders with all possible speed to India.*f*

BRITISH ADVANCE ON DELHI

The commander-in-chief in India during these proceedings of the terrible outburst was General the Honourable George Anson. But he died at Karmal, from an attack of cholera, on the 27th of May. He was succeeded in the command by Major-General Reed, who was worn out with age and sickness, so that this new commander-in-chief was obliged to devolve his charge upon Major-General Sir Henry Barnard, on the 8th of June, when he was within a single march of Delhi. Such were the effects of succession by the rule of seniority at a season when the prime of strength, activity, and promptitude was loudly and suddenly called for. Having cleared the way [by various skirmishes] the British army advanced to the attack upon Delhi; and for this purpose General Barnard divided his force into two columns, one of which, under the command of General Wilson, advanced upon the city along the main trunk road, while the other, headed by himself, proceeded through the cantonments which the rebels had burned and destroyed, and upon a ridge beyond which he found them posted in a strong position, well defended with artillery. In this, as on other occasions throughout the war, the rebels were turning the lessons they had learned against their instructors; but it was merely as humble imitators, and as schoolboys in rebellion against their teachers; the genius of the master-spirit to strike out new paths, or even to follow up the old to their highest result, was equally wanting among them and hence the disadvantage under which they constantly laboured, notwithstanding their overwhelming numbers and vast resources. Their position was taken in flank and rear, and carried by a rapid flank movement to the left on the part of General Barnard, and the rebels, abandoning their guns, were fain to take to flight, while General Wilson's column, pressing forward over high walls and through gardens, drove the fugitives back into the city. The British troops, having then re-united, established themselves before Delhi in a camp about two miles to the north of the city. Here upon ground high and rocky, and admirably suited for the siege, they were obliged to stand on the defensive for months, owing to the smallness of their numbers and the immense force of the rebel sepoys within the city. The entire amount of the European army who thus established themselves upon blockade before Delhi did not exceed three thousand bayonets, with a detachment of Gorkhas, who during these encounters aided the British and served them with admirable courage and fidelity.

THE REVOLT IN OTHER PLACES

During the course of these events that led to the siege of Delhi, the instances of revolt in the several portions of the Indian Empire continued to multiply in still closer succession; but to these, important though they were, we can only devote a brief notice. At Fathigarh it was thought advisable, when the

rebellion had approached the neighbourhood, to send off the ladies and the children for safety to Cawnpore; and they were embarked in boats upon the Ganges, when, on hearing false reports of the safety that was still to be enjoyed at Fathigarh, a considerable part of them were tempted to return. Here, however, the mutiny broke out on the 18th of June; and the fort in which the Europeans had taken refuge was attacked, and after a desperate but fruitless resistance its inmates, to the number of one hundred, including women and children, embarked on the Ganges on the 4th of July, soon after midnight, but were fired upon from the banks by the sepoys; and in consequence of the stranding of one of the two boats, nearly all on board were killed or drowned, while those who escaped landed at Bithur, only to be murdered by Nana Sahib, who had his residence there.

At Allahabad, where the mutiny broke out in the beginning of June, the European officers, to the number of fourteen, were butchered on the parade ground by their own sepoy soldiers, the military station was destroyed by fire, and for several days the city was wholly given up to plunder and havoc, in which one hundred Europeans were killed. This state of outrage continued until troops were sent up from Benares, by whom the place was recovered, and a severe chastisement inflicted on the rebels.

A similar outbreak took place at Jhansi in Bundelkhand on the 4th of June, where such of the British residents as could not make their escape from the town retired into the fort, determined to sell their lives as dear as possible. Although they were only fifty-five, including women and children, they maintained the defence four days under an incessant fire of cannon and musketry, and only surrendered on the promise that all their lives should be spared. But no sooner had the rebels got possession of the fort than they violated their promises, and put all their prisoners to the sword. On the 3rd of June the revolt broke out at Azimgarh, nearly opposite to Benares, but accompanied with such circumstances of forbearance as to make this act, as compared with the other outbreaks, almost seem a virtue; for although the mutineers plundered an escort conveying treasure to Benares, they formed a square with the officers within to protect their lives, and brought carriages for the safe conveyance of the women and children, whom they actually escorted ten miles on the road to Ghazipur! At Benares, a small company of two hundred British soldiers maintained themselves against nearly eight times that number of Sikhs and sepoys who suddenly rose upon them, and held their position in the mint until British reinforcements were sent to their aid, and Benares, the Athens of Brahmanical learning, recovered from the revolters. It is gratifying to add that while this conflict at Benares was at the hottest, seventy Sikh soldiers who had been placed on guard of the government treasury, amounting to six lacs of rupees, defended their trust to the last, and restored it entire to the British troops when the insurrection was quelled.

This rebellion, which had nerved the most timid to deeds of daring and endurance, had also its natural effect in hardening the feelings to the stern modes of suppression and retribution which had to be adopted, and caused deeds to be regarded with toleration which, at other seasons, could not even have been heard of without a shudder. Writing on the 29th of June, a British resident mentions the permanent establishment of the gibbet at Benares, and adds: "Scarcely a day passes without some poor wretches being hurled into eternity. It is horrible, very horrible! To think of it is enough to make one's blood run cold; but such is the state of things here that even fine delicate ladies may be heard expressing their joy at the rigour with which the miscreants are dealt with."

THE DEFENCE OF LUCKNOW

When the rebellion commenced it was of the utmost importance to ensure the safety of Lucknow, the capital of Oudh, containing about 700,000 inhabitants. Accordingly, after the 3rd of May, Sir Henry Lawrence, who was acting as chief commissioner there in the absence of Sir James Outram, made active preparations for the defence of the residency.[c]

Of the acting chief commissioner Lord Roberts says: "Henry Lawrence was apparently the only European in India who, from the very first, formed an accurate estimate of the extent of the danger which threatened our rule in the early part of 1857, and who, notwithstanding his thorough appreciation of the many good qualities of the native soldiers, was not led into a mistaken belief in the absolute loyalty of the native army. Fourteen years before, Lawrence had predicted the Mutiny and the course it would take, and when events shaped themselves as he had foreseen, he gave it as his opinion that the defection would be general and widespread. But while his intimate knowledge of native character led him to this conviction, so great was his influence with the natives — perhaps by reason of that knowledge — that he was able to delay the actual outbreak at Lucknow until his measures for the defence of the residency were completed; and he persuaded a considerable number of sepoys not only to continue in their allegiance but to share with their European comrades the dangers and privations of the siege — a priceless service, for without their aid the defence could not have been made.[c]

The native force at Lucknow consisted of more than four thousand men, having about sixty European officers: the British troops did not number in all one thousand. Here the mutiny, after seven or eight weeks of indignant threats and murmurings, broke out on the evening of the 30th of May, and the commencement was with the usual deeds of violence; but when part of the 32nd regiment and the artillery were brought up, the rebels, after some loss, forsook the cantonments, and retreated towards Delhi. It was merely the first murmur of the storm that was to gather round Lucknow; and, aware of this, Sir Henry Lawrence redoubled his preparations for the strengthening of the defences, and multiplying the means of resistance. The most active of the rebellious emissaries were hanged; two members of the royal family of Delhi and a brother of the ex-king of Oudh were secured and imprisoned in that fortress; and thousands of coolies were employed with spade and pickaxe in repairing batteries, stockades, and trenches.

Everything available for war was brought within the residency, and among these were two hundred guns without carriages, which were discovered in a garden, and which now bristled upon the walls and ramparts of the British defences. While thus employed, it was learned that a body of the rebels were advancing, and Sir Henry Lawrence, with three hundred troops and a few guns, marched out on the 30th of June to oppose them, at the village of Chinhat, about eight miles from Lucknow. But the mutineers were so numerous that Sir Henry was defeated with serious loss, and in consequence of this disaster it was found necessary to withdraw the British troops from the military cantonments to the residency. On the 1st of July orders were given to evacuate the place. This was done accordingly, and 240 barrels of gunpowder and six million rounds of cartridges were lost, whether for attack or defence. The siege of the residency now commenced in earnest, and the defence made by the British is one of the most heroic episodes in the history of this disastrous rebellion. Hemmed in and all but overpowered, they con-

tinued their resistance with unabated constancy, notwithstanding their hopeless condition, and the disasters that multiplied upon them from day to day. On the 2nd of July their brave commander, Sir Henry Lawrence, was mortally wounded by the explosion of a shell that alighted in the chamber where he was reclining on his bed, worn out with anxiety and sickness. He died on the 4th, after appointing Major Banks his successor, and Banks was killed by a musket-shot on the 21st. In this critical situation the siege of Lucknow was continued, while the heroic defenders procrastinated their resistance in the hope of relief.

NANA SAHIB AND THE MASSACRE OF CAWNPORE

In so complex an event as the Indian rebellion, it is difficult, especially within a narrow compass, to follow out the details of the different outbreaks, or even to comprise their names; and hitherto we have been obliged to present only the chief of them, as specimens of the whole. By the end of June the native troops had mutinied at twenty-two stations. Of these stations, one of the most important in the history of this rebellion was Cawnpore. About ten miles higher up the river is Bithur, the residence of Nana Sahib, a miscreant whose name has constituted the foulest blot of this rebellion. This man, a compound of cruelty, craft, and cowardice, was originally named Dandhu Panth, and was the son of a Brahman from the Deccan; but having been adopted in the eastern fashion as a son by Baji Rao, the displaced peshwa of Poona, Nana Sahib, on the death of the latter in 1852, claimed as his lawful inheritance the continuation of the pension of eight lacs of rupees which had been allowed by the British government to the peshwa in consequence of his surrender. But this Hindu form of succession, by which childless princes could have continued successors to their rights at pleasure, had been [as we have seen] repudiated by the company, and the native claims upon it, which had died out with the extinction of these sovereign pensionaries who had no son of their own blood, were disallowed. Thus Nana Sahib, although already possessed of more than £4,000,000 by the death of Baji Rao, was disappointed in his avaricious hopes, and he nursed the spirit of revenge in his fortified palace at Bithur, where he was allowed to retain a bodyguard of two hundred soldiers. These circumstances, with his advantages of an English education, may account for the readiness with which he threw himself into the rebellion, the importance which he acquired in it as a leader, and the fiendish malignity with which he pursued it to the close.

The condition of Cawnpore at the commencement of the general outbreak was such as to cause serious alarm. The native troops in the cantonments consisted of three regiments of infantry and one of cavalry, mustering in all 3,860 men, having 115 European officers, while the other British troops scarcely exceeded 170. Sir Hugh Massey Wheeler was in command of the station; and as the cantonments were on a plain, and without any defences, he proceeded to throw up a breastwork of earth round the hospital and several smaller buildings, which served as a shelter for the Europeans when the storm arrived. And its coming was not long delayed. The native regiments rebelled, and went off in a body to Nana Sahib, who now found himself in a condition to take the field. He therefore immediately marched upon Cawnpore, plundered the treasury, and took possession of the magazine, that unfortunately had not been destroyed; and thus furnished with the sinews of war, he commenced on the 7th of June the siege of the slight earthern fortress that had been hastily thrown up. It was a defence better suited to resist a temporary

riot than to withstand an army or hold out against a siege, and the astonishment was that it could have resisted for a single day, more especially when of the nine hundred persons contained within it 590 were women, children, and non-combatants. But this brave garrison continued their resistance till the 24th, although the cannonade of the besiegers was heavy and their attacks frequent, and although the heat, fatigue, and privations endured in the defence were such as might have quelled the bravest.[c]

A vivid account of the suffering of the besieged was afterwards written by Captain Mowbray Thomson, one of the two survivors of that garrison.[a]

AN EYE-WITNESS' ACCOUNT OF THE CAWNPORE SIEGE

While in happy England the Sabbath bells were ringing, in the day of peace and rest, we were in suspense peering over our mud-wall at the destructive flames that were consuming all our possessions, and expecting a more dreaded fire that was to be aimed at the persons of hundreds of women and children about us. Very few of our number had secured a single change of raiment; some, like myself, were only partially dressed, and even in the beginning of our defence we were like a band of seafarers who had taken to a raft to escape their burning ship.

All through this first weary day the shrieks of the women and children were terrific; and often as the balls struck the walls of the barracks their wailings were heart-rendering; but after the initiation of that first day they had learned silence, and never uttered a sound, except when groaning from the horrible mutilations they had endured. When night sheltered them, our cowardly assailants closed in upon the intrenchments, and harassed us with incessant volleys of musketry. Waiting the assault that was supposed to be impending, not a man closed his eyes in sleep, and throughout the whole siege snatches of troubled slumber, under the cover of the wall, were all the relief the combatants could obtain. The ping-ping of the rifle bullets would break short dreams of home or approaching relief, pleasant visions made horrible by waking to the state of things around; and if it were so with men of mature years, sustained by the fulness of physical strength, how much more terrific were the nights passed within those barracks by our women and children!

As often as the shout of our sentinels was heard, each half-hour sounding the "All's well," the spot from which the voice proceeded became the centre for hundreds of bullets. At different degrees of distance, from fifty to four hundred yards and more, they hovered about during the hours of darkness, always measuring the range by day light, and then pouring in from under the cover of adjacent buildings, or ruins of buildings, the fire of their artillery, or rather of our artillery turned against us. The execution committed by the twenty-four-pounders they had was terrific, though they were not always a match for the devices we adopted to divert their aim. When we wanted to create a diversion, we used to pile up some of the muskets behind the mud-wall, and mount them with hats and shakos, and then allow the sepoys to expend their powder on these dummies, while we went elsewhere.

The sufferings of the women and children from thirst were intense, and the men could scarcely endure the cries for drink which were almost perpetual from the poor little babes; terribly unconscious they were, most of them, of the great, great cost at which only it could be procured. I have seen the children of my brother officers sucking the pieces of old waterbags, putting

scraps of canvas and leather strips into the mouth to try and get a single drop of moisture upon their parched lips. Not even a pint of water was to be had for washing from the commencement to the close of the siege; and those only who have lived in India can imagine the calamity of such a privation to delicate women who had been accustomed to the most frequent and copious ablutions as a necessary of existence. Had the relieving force which we all thought to have been on its way from Calcutta ever seen our beleaguered party, strange indeed would the appearance presented by any of us after the first week or ten days have seemed to them. Tattered in clothing, begrimed with dirt, emaciated in countenance were all, without exception; faces that had been beautiful were now chiselled with deep furrows; haggard despair seated itself where there had been a month before only smiles. Some were sinking into the settled vacancy of look which marked insanity — the old, babbling with confirmed imbecility, and the young raving in not a few cases with wild mania; while only the strongest maintained the calmness demanded by the occasion. Looking back upon the horrible straits to which the women were driven, the maintenance of modesty and delicate feeling by them to the last is one of the greatest marvels of the heart-rending memories of those twenty-one days.[i]

At last, when courage had done its utmost and endurance been wasted out, the garrison was induced to surrender, on the promise that they should be allowed to retire in safety to Allahabad. They were escorted by the rebels to the river side, but there the greater part of the boats prepared ostensibly for their embarkation were drawn up too high in the mud to be launched; and during the delay occasioned by this obstacle three guns were fired from the Nana's camp, as the signal for the massacre to begin. Volleys of musketry were immediately opened upon the boats already launched, when they had reached the middle of the river, and out of the whole flotilla of about forty boats which were embarked on the 27th of June, only one escaped.[c] This was the one under the command of Major Vibart. Captain Mowbray Thomson goes on to describe the last scene witnessed by him at Cawnpore.[a]

As soon as Major Vibart had stepped into his boat, "Off" was the word; but at a signal from the shore the native boatmen, who numbered eight and a coxswain to each boat, all jumped over and waded to the shore. We fired into them immediately, but the majority of them escaped. Before they quitted us, these men had contrived to secrete burning charcoal in the thatch of most of the boats. Simultaneously with the departure of the boatmen, the identical troopers who had escorted Major Vibart to the ghaut opened upon us with their carbines. As well as the confusion by the burning of the boats would allow, we returned the fire of these horsemen, who were about fifteen or sixteen in number, but they retired immediately after the volley they had given us.

Those of us who were not disabled by wounds now jumped out of the boats and endeavoured to push them afloat, but, alas! most of them were utterly immovable. Now from their ambush, in which they were concealed all along the banks, it seemed that thousands of men fired upon us; besides four nine-pounders, carefully masked and pointed to the boats, every bush was filled with sepoys. The scene which followed this manifestation of the infernal treachery of our assassins is one that beggars all description. Some of the boats presented a broadside to the guns, others were raked from stem to stern by the shot. Volumes of smoke from the thatch somewhat veiled the full extent of the horrors of that morning. All who could move were speedily expelled from the boats by the heat. Alas! the wounded were burned

to death; one mitigation only there was to their horrible fate — the flames were terrifically fierce, and their intense sufferings were not protracted. Multitudes of women and children crouched behind the boats, or waded out into deeper water, and stood up to their chins in the river to lessen the probability of being shot. Meanwhile Major Vibart's boat, being of lighter draught than some, had got off and was drifting down the stream, her thatched roof unburned. I threw into the Ganges my father's Ghuznee medal, and my mother's portrait, all the property I had left, determined that they should have only my life for a prey; and with one final shudder at the devilry enacting upon that bank, which it was impossible to mitigate by remaining any longer in its reach, I struck out, swimming for the retreating boat.[b]

Major Vibart's boat contrived to get only ten miles down the river, when it was overtaken, and all within it were killed or taken prisoners except four men, who made their escape by swimming. Of those who survived the massacre at the embarkation, and who were carried back to Cawnpore, the men were murdered, while the women and children were reserved for a more lingering death. All this was accomplished by the orders and under the direction of Nana Sahib; and when the foul work was accomplished, he issued proclamations in which he gloried in the deed, and justified his proceedings, by the charges he attempted to fasten upon the British government and its functionaries.[c]

After the men who had not escaped in the two boats had all been shot at the ghaut, the women and children were dragged out of the water into the presence of the Nana, who ordered them to be confined in one of the buildings opposite the assembly rooms; the Nana himself taking up his residence in the hotel which was close at hand. When Major Vibart's boat was brought back from Soorajpore, that party also was taken into the Nana's presence, and he ordered the men and women to be separated; the former to be shot, and the remainder to join the captives in the dwelling or dungeon beside the hotel. Mrs. Boyes, the wife of Doctor Boyes, of the 2nd cavalry, refused to be separated from her husband; other ladies of the party resisted, but were forcibly torn away, a work of not much difficulty when their wounded, famished state is considered. All efforts, however, of the sepoys to sever Mrs. Boyers from her husband were unavailing; they were therefore all drawn up in a line before the assembly rooms. Captain Seppings asked to be allowed to read prayers; this poor indulgence was given, then they shook hands with one another, and the sepoys fired upon them. Those that were not killed with the volley they despatched with their tulwars. The spy who communicated these facts could not tell what became of the corpses, but there is little doubt they were thrown in the river, that being the native mode of disposing of them.

The wretched company of women and children now consisted of 210, viz.: 163 survivors from the Cawnpore garrison, and 47 refugees from Fathigarh. That Bithur butcher had murdered all the males except three officers, whose lives he spared for some purpose, but for what it is impossible to say. The captives were fed with only one meal a day of dhal and chupatties, and these of the meanest sort; they had to eat out of earthen pans, and the food was served by menials of the lowest caste *(mehter)*, which in itself was the greatest indignity that easterns could cast upon them. They had no furniture, no beds, not even straw to lie down upon, but only coarse bamboo matting of the roughest make. The house in which they were incarcerated had formerly been occupied as the dwelling of a native clerk; it comprised two principal rooms, each about twenty feet long and ten broad, and besides there was a

number of dark closets rather than rooms, which had been originally intended for the use of native servants; in addition to these, a courtyard about fifteen yards square presented the only accommodation for these two hundred most wretched victims of a brutality, in comparison with which hereafter the Black Hole of Calcutta and its sharp but short agonies must sink into insignificance.

Closely guarded by armed sepoys, many of them suffering from wounds, all of them emaciated from lack of food, and deprived of all means of cleanliness, the deep dark horrors of the prisoners in that dungeon must remain to their full extent unknown, and even unimagined. The spies, all of them, however, persisted in the statement that no indignities were committed upon their virtue; and as far as the most penetrating investigation into their most horrible fate has proceeded, there is reason to hope that one, and only one exception, to the bitterest of anguish was allotted to them — immunity from the brutal violence of their captors' worst passions. Fidelity requires that I should allege what appears to me the only reason of their being thus spared. When the siege had terminated, such was the loathsome condition into which, from long destitution and exposure, the fairest and youngest of our women had sunk, that not a sepoy would have polluted himself with their touch.

The advance of General Havelock, and his attempt to liberate them, brought the crisis of their fate. The Nana was persuaded that the general was marching upon Cawnpore only in the hope of rescuing the women and children, and that if they were killed the British forces would retire, and leave India.[i]

JUSTIN McCARTHY'S ACCOUNT OF THE CAWNPORE MASSACRE

It was intimated to the prisoners that they were to die. Among them were three or four men. These were called out and shot. Then some sepoys were sent to the house where the women still were, and ordered to fire volleys through the windows. This they did, but apparently without doing much harm. Some persons are of opinion, from such evidence as can be got, that the men purposely fired high above the level of the floor, to avoid killing any of the women and children. In the evening five men, two Hindu peasants, two Mohammedan butchers, and one Mohammedan wearing the red uniform of the Nana's bodyguard, were sent up to the house, and entered it. Incessant shrieks were heard to come from that fearful house. The Mohammedan soldier came out to the door, holding in his hand a sword-hilt from which the blade had been broken off, and he exchanged this now useless instrument for a weapon in proper condition. Not once but twice this performance took place. Evidently the task imposed on these men was hard work for the sword blades.

After a while the five men came out of the now quiet house and locked the doors behind them. During that time they had killed nearly all the English women and children. They had slaughtered them like beasts in the shambles. In the morning it appeared indeed that the work, however zealously undertaken, had not been quite thorough. The strongest arms and sharpest sabres sometimes fail to accomplish a long piece of work to perfect satisfaction. In the morning it would seem that some of the women, and certainly some of the children, were still alive; that is to say, were not dead. For the five men came then with several attendants to clear out the house of the captives. Their task was to tumble all the bodies into a dry well beyond some trees that grew near. A large crowd of idlers assembled to watch this operation. Then it was seen by some of the spectators that certain of the women and children

were not yet quite dead. Of the children some were alive, and even tried to get away. But the same well awaited them all.

Some witnesses were of opinion that the Nana's officials took the trouble to kill the still living before they tossed them down into the well; others do not think they stopped for any such work of humanity, but flung them down just as they came to hand, the quick and the dead together. At all events, they were all deposited in the well. Any of the bodies that had clothes worth taking were carefully stripped before being consigned to this open grave.

When Cawnpore was afterwards taken by the English, those who had to look down into that well saw a sight the like of which no man in modern days had ever seen elsewhere. No attempt shall be made to describe it here. When the house of the massacre itself was entered, its floors and its walls told with terrible plainness of the scene they had witnessed. The plaster of the walls was scored and seamed with sword-slashes low down and in the corners, as if the poor women had crouched down in their mortal fright with some wild hope of escaping the blows. The floor was strewn with scraps of dresses, women's faded, ragged finery, frilling, underclothing, broken combs, shoes, and tresses of hair. There was some small and neatly severed curls of hair, too, which had fallen on the ground, but evidently had never been cut off by the rude weapon of a professional butcher. These doubtless were keepsakes that had been treasured to the last, parted with only when life and all were going.

There was no inscription whatever on the walls when the house was first entered. Afterwards a story was told of words found written there by some Englishwomen telling of hideous wrong done to them, and bequeathing to their countrymen the task of revenge. This story created a terrible sensation in England, as was but natural, and aroused a furious thirst for vengeance. It was not true. Some such inscription did appear on the walls afterwards, but it is painful to have to say that it was a vulgar, and what would have been called in later times a "sensational" forgery. These English women died without leaving behind them any record of a desire on their part for vengeance. We may be sure they had other thoughts and other hopes as they died. One or two scraps of paper were found which recorded deaths and such like interruptions of the monotony of imprisonment; but nothing more. The well of horrors has been filled up, and a memorial chapel surrounded by a garden built upon the spot. It was right to banish all trace of that hideous crime, and to replace the house and the well, as Mr. Trevelyan says, by "a fair garden and a graceful shrine."

Something, however, has to be told of the Nana and his fortunes. He made one last stand against the victorious English in front of Cawnpore, and was completely defeated. He galloped into the city on a bleeding and exhausted horse; he fled thence to Bithur, his residence. He had just time left, it is said, to order the murder of a separate captive, a woman who had previously been overlooked or purposely left behind. Then he took flight in the direction of the Nepalese marches; and he soon disappears from history. Nothing of his fate was ever known. Many years afterwards England and India were treated to a momentary sensation by a story of the capture of Nana Sahib. But the man who was arrested proved to be an entirely different person; and indeed from the moment of his arrest few believed him to be the long-lost murderer of the English women. In days more superstitious than our own, popular faith would have found an easy explanation of the mystery which surrounded the close of Nana Sahib's career. He had done, it would have been said, the work of a fiend; and he had disappeared as a fiend would do when his task was accomplished.[1]

THE BRITISH REGAIN CAWNPORE

In the meantime Allahabad, situated at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna, was the place of rendezvous for the British troops that could be sent from Calcutta, Benares, and other quarters, and Colonel Havelock, who had arrived at Calcutta from the Persian War, was raised to the rank of brigadier-general, and sent to the recovery of Cawnpore and the relief of the garrison in Lucknow. This gallant veteran, who had entered the army in 1815, and who, notwithstanding his worth, had served twenty-three years before he attained the rank of captain, was now to exhibit, in one short and final campaign, such talents as might have won and which now helped to recover Great Britain's Indian Empire to its former rule. He arrived at Allahabad on the 30th of June, and set out from this place by a forced march under a burning sun, to attack the enemy. He was joined on the way by a body of troops under Major Renaud, which raised his force to fourteen hundred British and nearly six hundred native soldiers, with eight guns. On the morning of the 11th of July he found the rebels, to the number of three thousand five hundred, strongly intrenched at Fathipur, having twelve pieces of cannon, with which they opened fire upon the British as they advanced. But their ardour was quickly damped by discharge of Enfield rifles which killed them from a distance, and with a certainty on which they had not calculated, they were speedily put to the rout, and they fled back to Cawnpore, leaving behind them their ammunition and baggage and all their guns.



SIR HENRY HAVELOCK
(1795–1857)

This victory was won without the loss of a single European killed, but twelve were struck down during the fight by sunstroke, for they had made a forced march of nearly twenty miles before this four hours' engagement commenced. The march upon Cawnpore was resumed, but on the 15th the victors were twice encountered by the rebels, first at the village of Aong, and afterwards at the bridge over the Pandoonudee, eight miles from Cawnpore. In both engagements the revolted sepoys were completely routed, and Havelock pressed forward. The advance of General Havelock was retarded by a rebel army of five thousand men posted behind some villages in front of Cawnpore; but by a few skilful manœuvres, and the gallant daring of the 78th Highlanders, the enemy, although so greatly superior in numbers, and notwithstanding their desperate attempts to rally, were driven at every point from their positions and guns, and sent fleeing in wild confusion.

The British entered Cawnpore in triumph, but they found nothing but the slaughter-house, on the walls of which the blood of the murdered was still warm, the well in which their limbs were still quivering with the recent death-

agony. It was a sight over which the brave conquerors wept like women, until their tears were dried up by the burning desire of vengeance. Wherever a rebel was caught, unless he could prove his innocence of the deed, he was instantly hanged. As for the chief rebels, they were compelled, previously, to cleanse a certain portion of the pool of blood, that was still two inches deep, where the murders had taken place — for to touch blood was, with high-caste natives, to incur damnation, however plentifully they might cause it to shed — and when they shrank back in abhorrence, the lash of the provost-marshal drove them forward to the task. "No one," writes Havelock indignantly, "who has witnessed the scenes of murder, mutilation, and massacre, can ever listen to the word 'mercy' as applied to these fiends. The well of mutilated bodies — alas! containing upwards of two hundred women and children — I have had decently covered in and built up as one large grave."[c]

BRITISH RETRIBUTION

Of the punishment wreaked upon the sepoys, Spencer Walpole[l] has written with severity. He cites the act of one deputy-commissioner who shot without trial 237 sepoys and threw their bodies into a well; reporting his deed with the comment, "There is a well at Cawnpore, but there is also a well at Ujnalla." John Lawrence, as quoted by his biographer, referred to this report as "that nauseous despatch." Walpole goes on to say:

"The pillage which followed the fall of the imperial city was more complete than that which had disgraced its capture by the barbarian, Nadir Shah. Natives were brought forward in batches to be tried by a military commission, or by special commissioners, each one of whom had been invested by the supreme government with full power of life and death. Almost all who were tried were condemned, and almost all who were condemned were sentenced to death. A four-square gallows was erected in a conspicuous place in the city, and five or six culprits were hanged every day. English officers used to sit by, puffing at their cigars, and look on at the convulsive struggles of these victims.[1] More than three thousand men, twenty-nine of whom were members of the royal family, were thus hanged. In the Punjab, excluding those slain in arms, 2,384 sepoys were executed. The governor-general declared that the proceedings of the courts were "indiscriminate judicial murder." "There is," so he wrote to the queen, "a rabid and indiscriminate vindictiveness abroad; not one man in ten seems to think that the hanging and shooting of forty or fifty thousand mutineers can be otherwise than practicable and right."[l]

Fearful would have been the doom of the chief offender if he had but ventured to wait the arrival of the British at Bithur. But Nana Sahib, the murderer of women and children, had performed a consistent part by running away from his strongly fortified palace, and in company with his numerous cut-throats, although they mustered five thousand men, with whom he might have made a decisive stand. On the 19th Bithur was occupied by the British; the evacuated fortress was destroyed, and thirteen guns found in it were carried away.

THE FAILURE TO REACH LUCKNOW

The relief of Lucknow was the next task to be attempted, and leaving General Neill in command at Cawnpore, Havelock crossed the Ganges into

[1] The text is taken word for word from Holmes.[k]

Oudh, and resumed an exhausting march at the height of the rainy season, through an overflowed country, and under the heat of a withering sun. On the 29th of July he was confronted by a rebel army near the town of Unao. Their position was truly formidable, for their right was protected by a swamp that could neither be forced nor turned, their advance was drawn up in a garden inclosure, which had purposely or accidentally assumed the form of a bastion, while the rest of their forces were posted in or behind a village, the houses of which were loop-holed. The flooded state of the country on the British right and the swamp on their left made an attack upon the enemy's front unavoidable. It was gallantly made, although at every disadvantage, and with complete success: the village was set on fire, and its defenders driven out; and by a series of skilful movements on a narrow passage between the village and the town of Unao, the enemy, who were rallied, and drawn up in line upon the plain, were driven from their batteries, deprived of their guns, and put utterly to the rout.

After a brief rest of only three hours, that was more than needful by the fatigue of such a victory, the British advanced against Buserut Gunge, a walled town on the road to Lucknow, with wet ditches, and provided with every means of a strong resistance. But in spite of these obstacles, and a heavy cannonade, the earthworks were scaled, the intrenchments broken through, and the town captured.

Here, however, General Havelock was obliged to pause in his hitherto victorious progress, for he was encumbered with his sick and wounded, and cholera had broken out in his little army. He therefore fell back upon Mangalwar, about six miles from the Ganges, to recruit his troops and wait for reinforcements, for he declared that to advance upon Lucknow in their present condition was to march to certain destruction. On the 5th of August, hearing that the enemy had again rallied at Buserut Gunge, he advanced against them and was again victorious, turning them both in front and flank, and driving them off the field with great slaughter. He then made preparations to return to Cawnpore for reinforcements, and had already sent his baggage across the Ganges, when he heard that the enemy had rallied for a third time at Buserut Gunge, to abide yet another trial upon that fated spot. With four thousand men and six guns, they now varied their mode of defence, but in vain; for Havelock, by a correspondent change in his attack, foiled all their arrangements, captured their redoubts, guns, and batteries, and drove them before him into a retreat that was soon changed into flight.

Wearied and worn out with so many successes, as well as wounds, sickness, and incessant action under a burning sun, the army now recrossed the river and returned to Cawnpore, but not to rest, for they were almost immediately dragged again into the field by a strong body of the enemy who had mustered at Bithur, and were threatening to descend upon Cawnpore. Having united his force to that of General Neill, Havelock, on the 16th of August, advanced upon the rebels, who consisted of four thousand of the mutineers, joined with a portion of Nana Sahib's own troops, and who occupied a position which General Havelock described as one of the strongest he had ever seen. But after an hour of hard fighting, the rebels were driven from their almost impregnable defences with heavy loss, and compelled to retreat to Seorajpur, and if Havelock had possessed a few cavalry, not one of the enemy would have reached that place.

Seldom, if ever, had so small an army made such marches and obtained so many victories in so short a space of time. Between the 12th of July and

the 17th of August it had fought nine battles, and been successful in them all. Reduced by sickness and the sword to seven hundred men, they now took up their quarters at Cawnpore, to wait the arrival of reinforcements under General Sir James Outram, without which it was impossible for them to march to the relief of Lucknow.

SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF DELHI

But leaving Lucknow for the present, we must now turn our attention to the important siege of Delhi, before which the small force under General Barnard had established itself on the 8th of June. The first purpose of the besiegers was merely to maintain their ground and hold the rebels of the city in check, until the arrival of reinforcements should enable them to become the assailants, and they successfully resisted the numerous attacks that continued to be made upon them from the city. Reinforcements, indeed, they continued to receive, but this advantage was more than counterbalanced by the troops of rebels that poured into Delhi, now the great centre and stronghold of the revolt. On the 5th of July General Barnard died of cholera, and was succeeded in the command by General Reed, who on the 16th was obliged from ill health to resign office to Brigadier Wilson. By the middle of the month the besieging army had been raised to nine thousand men, of whom half were Europeans, and in every encounter they succeeded in repelling the enemy with heavy loss.

The arrival of fresh reinforcements of native soldiers, and a siege train from Meerut, on the 4th of September, encouraged the British to turn the blockade into an active siege, which was commenced on the 11th, as soon as the batteries were completed. And it was no easy undertaking; for this ancient city of the Mughals and chief capital of India was strong in its fortifications, that extended about seven miles in circumference, and included an area of about three square miles, while it was defended by a numerous army that expected little mercy, and fought with the courage of despair. After a heavy bombardment of two days from fifty-four siege guns, by which some of the best defences of Delhi were shattered and their cannon silenced, the assault was ordered on the morning of the 14th. While no quarter was to be given to the mutineers, no harm was to be inflicted upon women and children, and the soldiers were warned of the necessity of keeping closely together, instead of straggling from their columns.

In the advance of the four columns of attack it was necessary to blow open the Kashmir gate, to give an entrance to the city; and this hazardous deed was performed, at the almost certain risk of death, by a gallant handful who devoted themselves to the work. Through the gap, the first, second, and third columns rushed and formed within the ruined gate, but as yet the outer works only were won; a fierce resistance was maintained from the interior defences and from the city, which retarded the advance of the besiegers for several days, and it was not till the 20th that the whole external defences of Delhi were in possession of the British, and the gate of the strongly fortified palace blown in.

And now all resistance was at an end. The old king fled from his palace, the inhabitants from the city, and the rebel soldiers from their bastions and ramparts — all that could escape were fleeing in confused crowds, some across the bridge of boats into the Doab country, some down the right bank of the Jumna, and some to the bottom of the Ganges and the Jumna, in their blind hurry to escape the vengeance of the conquerors. Thus Delhi was won, but

not without a loss to the besiegers of 1178 in killed and wounded on the first day of assault, and 177 in the intervening days to the 20th.

THE KING'S SONS KILLED BY HODSON OF HODSON'S HORSE

But before the hopes of the mutineers could be effectually crushed, it was necessary to obtain possession of the phantom of rebel sovereignty, the king of Delhi, and inflict justice upon his murderous family; and attempts were next made to discover the hiding-places in which they lay concealed. Lieutenant Hodson [known to fame as Hodson of Hodson's Horse, from the troops which he raised and commanded], was commissioned for the purpose. He soon found the old man, who could not flee far, and brought him back to Delhi. Learning that three of the king's sons had concealed themselves in the tomb of the Mughal sovereign Humayun, a huge pile of buildings at some distance from Delhi, Lieutenant Hodson on the following morning repaired to the place of refuge, with a company of one hundred soldiers.[c] The incident which followed exposed Hodson to severe censure. An account of what occurred written by Lieutenant Macdowell, who on this occasion shared the command of the British force, is sufficiently interesting for quotation:[a]

"In Humayun's tomb were the princes and about three thousand Mussulman followers. In the suburb close by about three thousand more, all armed, so it was rather a ticklish bit of work. We halted half a mile from the place, and sent in to say the princes must give themselves up unconditionally or take the consequences. A long half hour elapsed, when a messenger came out to say the princes[1] wished to know if their lives would be promised them, if they came out. 'Unconditional surrender,' was the answer. Again we waited. It was a most anxious time. We dared not take them by force, or all would have been lost, and we doubted their coming. We heard the shouts of the fanatics (as we found out afterwards) begging the princes to lead them on against us. And we had only one hundred men, and were six miles from Delhi. At length, I suppose, imagining that sooner or later they must be taken, they resolved to give themselves up unconditionally, fancying, I suppose, as we had spared the king, we would spare them.

"Soon they appeared in a small *ruth* or Hindustani cart drawn by bullocks, five troopers on each side. Behind them thronged about two thousand or three thousand (I am not exaggerating) Mussulmans. Meanwhile Hodson galloped back, and told the sowars (ten) to hurry the princes on along the road, while we showed a front and kept back the mob. They retired on Humayun's tomb, and step by step we followed them. Inside they went up the steps, and formed up in the immense garden inside. The entrance to this was through an arch, up steps. Leaving the men outside, Hodson and myself, with four men rode up the steps into the arch, when he called out to them to lay down their arms. There was a murmur. He reiterated the command, and (God knows why, I never can understand it) they commenced doing so.

"Well, there we stayed for two hours, collecting their arms, and I assure you I thought every moment they would rush upon us. I said nothing, but smoked all the time, to show I was unconcerned; but at last, when it was all done, and all the arms collected, put in a cart, and started, Hodson turned to me and said, 'We'll go, now.' Very slowly we mounted, formed up the troop, and cautiously departed, followed by the crowd. We rode along quietly. You will say, why did we not charge them? I merely say, we were

[1] Called shahzadahs.

one hundred men, and they were fully six thousand. I am not exaggerating; the official reports will show you it is all true. As we got about a mile off, Hodson turned to me and said, 'Well, Mac, we've got them at last'; and we both gave a sigh of relief. Never in my life, under the heaviest fire, have I been in such imminent danger. Everybody says it is the most dashing and daring thing that has been done for years (not on my part, for I merely obeyed orders, but on Hodson's, who planned and carried it out). Well, I must finish my story. We came up to the princes, now about five miles from where we had taken them, and close to Delhi. The increasing crowd pressed close on the horses of the sowars, and assumed every moment a more hostile appearance. 'What shall we do with them?' said Hodson to me. 'I think we had better shoot them here; we shall never get them in.'

"We had identified them by means of a nephew of the king's whom we had with us, and who turned king's evidence. Besides, they acknowledged themselves to be the men. Their names were Mirza Mogul, the king's nephew and head of the whole business; Mirza Kishere, Sultamet, who was also one of the principal rebels, and had made himself notorious by murdering women and children; and Abu Bukt, the commander-in-chief nominally, and heir-apparent to the throne. This was the young fiend who had stripped our women in the open street, and cutting off little children's arms and legs, poured the blood into their mothers' mouths; this is literally the case. There was no time to be lost; we halted the troop, put five troopers across the road behind and in front. Hodson ordered the princes to strip and get again into the cart; he then shot them with his own hand. So ended the career of the chiefs of the revolt, and of the greatest villains that ever shamed humanity.

"Before they were shot, Hodson addressed our men, explaining who they were, and why they were to suffer death; the effect was marvellous, the Mussulmans seemed struck with a wholesome idea of retribution, and the Sikhs shouted with delight, while the mass moved off slowly and silently. One of the sowars pointed out to me a man running rapidly across a piece of cultivated ground, with arms gleaming in the sunlight. I and the sowar rode after him, when I discovered it was the king's favourite eunuch, of whose atrocities we had heard so much. The sowar cut him down instantly, and we returned, well satisfied that we had rid the world of such a monster. It was now four o'clock; Hodson rode into the city with the cart containing the bodies, and had them placed in the most public streets, where all might see them. Side by side they lay where, four months before, on the same spot, they had outraged and murdered our women." [d]

Hodson's plea of necessity for his action in regard to the princes has since been refused and some have not hesitated to characterise the shooting of the princes as an inexcusable murder. Lord Roberts, however, says:[a] "My own feeling on the subject is one of sorrow that such a brilliant soldier should have laid himself open to so much criticism. Moreover, I do not think that under any circumstances he should have done the deed himself, or ordered it to be done in that summary manner, unless there had been evident signs of an attempt at a rescue. But it should be understood that there was no breach of faith on Hodson's part, for he steadily refused to give any promise to the princes that their lives should be spared: he did, however, undoubtedly by this act give colour to the accusation of blood-thirstiness which his detractors were not slow to make." [e]

Justin McCarthy thus sums up the feeling against the deed: "If in cool blood the deed could now be defended, it might be necessary to point out that there was no evidence whatever of the princes having taken any part in the

massacre of Europeans in Delhi; that even if evidence to that effect were forthcoming, Hodson did not wait for or ask for it; and that the share taken by the princes in an effort to restore the dynasty of their ancestor, however it might have justified some sternness of punishment on the part of the English government, was not a crime of that order which is held in civilised warfare to put the life of its author at the mercy of anyone who captures him when the struggle is all over, and the reign of law is safe. One cannot read the history of this India Mutiny without coming to the conclusion that in the minds of many Englishmen a temporary prostration of the moral sense took place, under the influence of which they came to regard the measure of the enemy's guilt as the standard for their right of retaliation, and to hold that if he had no conscience they were thereby released from the necessity of having any. As Mr. Disraeli put it, they were making Nana Sahib the model for the British officer to imitate. Hodson was killed not long after; we might well wish to be free to allow him to rest without censure in his untimely grave." *g*

Soon afterwards two others of the king's sons, who had been equally guilty, were tried before a military commission, condemned to death, and executed. By these terrible acts of justice all hope of the restoration of the Mughal dynasty, or even the pretext of it, which the mutineers had held out, was utterly destroyed. The last act of the recovery of Delhi was to appoint a flying column for the pursuit of the fugitives on the right bank of the Jumna, and into the Doab, and this was done on the 23rd of September, the regiments that composed this force being known during the rest of the war under the name of Greathead's column, from that of Colonel Greathead, its commander.

In this important capture of Delhi, it is worthy of note that the deed was achieved before a single soldier of the many thousands from Britain sent out for the recovery of India had landed upon its shores. What might not, therefore, be anticipated for the complete re-establishment of the British dominion when these troops had arrived? Another gratifying circumstance was the faithful devoted zeal of those native soldiers who remained true to their colours during all the weary months of siege, and the hearty co-operation of the rajah of Patiala, and the Jhind rajah, the former in quelling the revolt of Ambala, and the latter in the operations of the siege. Their services, as well as those of several khans, showed that all India was not against Britain — that there were many who could rightly appreciate the benefits of her rule, and maintain it in the field even against their own countrymen. They were thanked by the governor-general in council, and in the proclamation delivered afterwards it was stated, "These true-hearted chiefs, faithful to their engagements, have shown trust in the power, honour, and friendship of the British government, and they will not repent it."

SIEGE AND RELIEF OF LUCKNOW

After the capture of Delhi, the great object of interest was the relief of the garrison of Lucknow, whose condition was every day becoming more perilous. Already they had endured a long and harassing siege, in which active courage and patient endurance had been equally tried to the utmost; and upon any day, or at any hour, no alternative might be left to them but surrender. Deprived successively of their two brave leaders, the situation of the little garrison was perilous in the extreme. The neighbouring mosques and noblemen's houses, which Sir Henry Lawrence, from a regard to religious buildings and private property, had spared, although he was urged to destroy them, were manned by the enemy's sharpshooters, who kept up an incessant

fire; and as they were within pistol-shot of the British barricades, every part of the residency was exposed to the muskets of about eight thousand men, who discharged their volleys wherever a gap was found or a living object was visible. Thus even the women and children were comparatively under fire in the recesses of the innermost apartments, and the sick in the hospitals were exposed to the same mischievous annoyance, by which several lives were lost.

Nothing could exceed the pertinacity of the enemy, who surrounded the British post with batteries mounting from twenty to twenty-five guns, which were protected by barricades that defied every attempt to silence them by musketry, and who constructed mines under the principal defences of the residency, by which its defenders were constantly in danger of being blown into the air. Every art of warfare which they had learned in the British service was adopted by the mutineers, who were confident in the thousands they could muster for the attack, and in the miserably limited means and numbers of those who resisted. But those who had such overwhelming odds to confront were true to the long-established reputation of their countrymen; and never were British valour and British indomitable resolution more conspicuous than in the defence which this small party maintained against such an oceantide of opposition at Lucknow. To sleeplessness was added the nightly toil of moving heavy guns, repairing breaches, and other fatigue-duties. When opportunity offered, they even assumed the aggressive, and in five sorties which they successively made they spiked two of the enemy's heaviest guns and blew up several of the neighbouring houses, from which the fire had been especially dangerous. But wofully were their numbers thinned, not only by the casualties of such a defence, but by scanty and coarse provisions, which added small-pox and cholera to the list of their other calamities. And what the while of the heroines of Lucknow? They too have erected for themselves an imperishable record, and strong men became stronger at the spectacle of their unfearing, uncomplaining endurance. Many of them were made widows in the siege; and at the bedsides of the sick and wounded, where every one was a Florence Nightingale, they found in active Christian duty the best sources of Christian consolation and hope.

But human endurance, which in this instance seemed to be boundless, has its limits; and from day to day many a wistful eye had looked into the far distance for the expected relief, only to be disappointed, while the messengers whom they sent out for tidings never returned. At length, on the twenty-sixth day of the siege, the garrison was cheered by a letter from Havelock's camp, informing them that the troops were on their march, and in five or six days would probably reach them. But six days elapsed and no aid arrived. They did not learn until thirty-five long days had passed that the relieving force, after such strenuous efforts and signal victories, had been obliged to fall back upon Cawnpore. But their relief from Cawnpore was to issue at last, and not an hour later than the march could be commenced. At that city Sir James Outram, justly called by Napier the "Bayard of India," arrived on the 16th of September with the reinforcements for which Havelock had been so anxiously waiting.

Although, as superior officer and chief commissioner of Oudh, Sir James himself might have undertaken the relief of Lucknow, he chivalrously resigned the whole glory of the enterprise to General Havelock, who had already achieved such deeds in the attempt, offering to accompany him as volunteer. Thus invested with a mission on which his generous heart was

so keenly bent, Havelock crossed the Ganges at the heard of twenty-five hundred men, among which were the gallant 78th Highlanders, to whom his previous victories were chiefly owing, and seventeen guns. The enemy, after retiring at his approach, attempted, on the 21st (September), to make a stand at Mangalwar, but after a four hours' fight they were defeated; and Havelock, pressing forward, was within three miles of the residency of Lucknow, when on the 23rd he found the enemy advantageously posted, with their left resting on the Alambagh, an isolated building with gardens and enclosures, and their centre and right drawn up behind a chain of hillocks. But the strategetic skill and rapid movements of General Havelock, seconded as they were by the gallantry of Sir James Outram, were again successful; the enemy were defeated once more; and after halting his troops, that had marched three days in a heavy deluge of rain, and been scantily provisioned and badly lodged, the victorious commander effected his decisive advance upon the residency.

No wonder that Havelock himself looked back upon the march with astonishment, accustomed as he was to dare all but impossibilities. "Our advance," he writes, "was through streets of flat-roofed, loop-holed houses, from which a perpetual fire was kept up, and thus each forming a separate fortress. I am filled with surprise at the success of the operation, which demanded the efforts of ten thousand good troops. The advantage gained has cost us dear. The killed, wounded, and missing, the latter being wounded soldiers, who, I much fear, some or all have fallen into the hands of a merciless foe, amounted, up to the evening of the 26th, to 535 officers and men." Among those who thus fell was the brave General Neill, a name distinguished in this unhappy war, who was killed on entering the gate leading to the Doolie square.[c] Mr. R. Gubbins, who was present during the siege of Lucknow, wrote the following account of the relief.[a]



RESIDENCY, LUCKNOW

An Eye-witness' Account of the Relief of Lucknow

On the night of the 22nd [the messenger Ungud] brought a letter from General Sir James Outram which announced to us that an army thoroughly appointed had crossed the Ganges on the 19th, and would, D.V., soon relieve us. Here then, at last, were the long-wished-for and expected tidings of relief! Havelock had not disappointed us! The spirits of the garrison, European and native, were greatly raised by the intelligence, which spread like wildfire. Nor were we left after this long in suspense. During the morning of the 23rd of September the weather cleared, and the sound of artillery in the direction of Cawnpore was distinctly heard. By two in the

afternoon the reports became quite loud and frequent. All now was exultation and joy in the garrison.

The guns of the relieving army were heard again the next day and early on the morning of the 25th, and became louder by ten o'clock. About half-past eleven the firing ceased; but, soon after, numbers of the city people were observed flying over the bridges across the river, carrying bundles of property on their heads. An hour later the flight became more general, and many sepoys, matchlock men, and irregular cavalry troopers crossed the river in full flight, many by the bridge, but more by throwing themselves into the river and swimming across it. The guns of our redan battery, and every other gun that could be brought to bear upon the flying enemy, as well as our mortars, opened a rapid fire upon them, which was maintained for upwards of an hour. No sooner did this begin, than the enemy assailed us on every side with a perfect hurricane of shot and shell from all their batteries. Fragments of shell were falling everywhere, and the interior of the residency itself was visited by round shot in places which had never been reached before.

About two o'clock the smoke of our guns was seen in the suburbs of the city, and presently after the rattle of musketry could be heard. At four o'clock the officers at the look-out could clearly distinguish European troops and officers in movement. About five o'clock the column of the 78th Highlanders and Sikhs, accompanied by several mounted officers, was seen to turn into the main street leading to the residency, up which they charged at a rapid pace, loading, shouting, and firing as they passed along. I will here quote the eloquent description of the greeting given to our friends from the account of "a staff officer":

"Once fairly seen, all our doubts and fears regarding them were ended; and then the garrison's long-pent-up feelings of anxiety and suspense burst forth in a succession of deafening cheers. From every pit, trench, and battery — from behind the sand-bags piled on shattered houses — from every post still held by a few gallant spirits, rose cheer on cheer, even from the hospital! Many of the wounded crawled forth to join in that glad shout of welcome to those who had so bravely come to our assistance. It was a moment never to be forgotten."

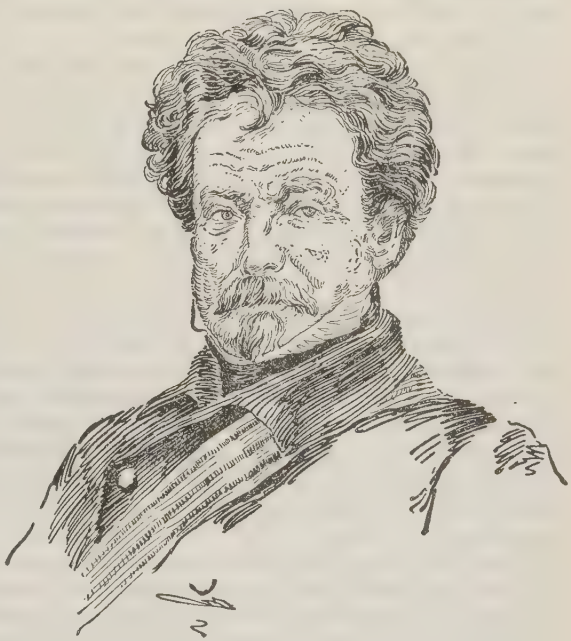
The Highlanders stopped everyone they met, and with repeated questions and exclamations of "Are you one of them?" — "God bless you!" — "We thought to have found only your bones," bore them back towards Dr. Fayrer's house, into which the general had entered. Here a scene of thrilling interest presented itself. The ladies of that garrison with their children had assembled in the most intense anxiety and excitement under the porch outside, when the Highlanders approached. Rushing forward, the rough and bearded warriors shook the ladies by the hand midst loud and repeated gratulations. They took the children up in their arms, and fondly caressing them, passed them from one to another to be caressed in turn, and then, when the first burst of enthusiasm and excitement was over, they mournfully turned to speak among themselves of the heavy loss they had suffered, and to inquire the names of the numerous comrades who had fallen on the way.

It is quite impossible to describe the scene within the intrenchment that evening. We had received no post, nor any but the smallest scrap of news for 113 days since the date of the outbreak at Cawnpore. All had relatives and friends to inquire after, whose fate they were ignorant of, and were eager to learn. Many had brothers, friends, or relatives in the relieving force whom they were anxiously seeking. Everyone wished for news of the outer world, of Delhi, Agra, Calcutta, and of England. Everybody was on

foot. All the thoroughfares were thronged, and new faces were every moment appearing of friends whom one had least expected to see. The happy and excited moments passed quickly, until by degrees the excitement moderated. Gradually quarters were found for the officers and soldiers who had come in. Every garrison was glad to welcome in the new-comers, who were sufficiently worn and exhausted to require early repose.

SIR COLIN CAMPBELL SECURES THE RETREAT FROM LUCKNOW

Though much had been done, the garrison of Lucknow by this last exploit had been reinforced but not relieved. A sufficiency of troops had arrived to lighten the labours of the overwearied defenders and insure their safety for the present, but not to withdraw them from the place around which the coil of siege, after the momentary interruption, was drawn as closely and strongly as ever. Finding it impossible, therefore, to extricate the women, children, and non-combatants, General Havelock and his companions-in-arms resolved to remain with them and abide the brunt of conflict until General Sir Colin Campbell, the newly appointed commander-in-chief, should be able effectually to relieve them. This distinguished hero of the Crimean War had arrived at Calcutta from England on the 14th of August; but, as he was obliged to wait the coming of reinforcements from home, it was not till the 9th of November that he was able to set out from Cawnpore for the effectual relief of Lucknow.



COLIN CAMPBELL
(1792–1863)

Even then, important and difficult as was the task, his force amounted to only 4,550 men and thirty-two guns. On the 12th he arrived at the Alambagh, and there his difficulties commenced, as the residency was to be reached through the heart of the city, where every street, house, and wall was a fortress, a march along which would have been enough to have destroyed thrice the numbers he commanded. But he had been previously informed of all the localities of the city and suburbs, and the positions of the enemy, and he availed himself of this knowledge by making a detour to the right as Havelock had done. It was effected with equal success, although against obstacles equally formidable; and, after a series of desperate skirmishes, he reached the residency on the 17th, his arrival being aided on the part of Havelock and the garrison by a sally, in which the enemy was routed and the way cleared for his entrance.

And now to remove the women and children, the sick, wounded, and civilians, for he saw that the residency must be abandoned! This was a still more difficult task than to lead armed men into the place. But this also was successfully accomplished. By a series of masterly feints Sir Colin distracted the attention of the enemy; and while he kept them massed together in the expectation of an immediate attack, he quietly removed the helpless during the afternoon and night of the 19th, along a line of posts which he formed on the left rear of his position, and conveyed them in safety to Dilkusha, a palace belonging to the kings of Oudh, after which the troops of the garrison followed on the 22nd, and all reached Dilkusha in safety, without the loss of a man. In like manner the whole of the treasure and all the European guns were carried off in safety. So completely the while was the enemy deceived that their fire was kept up on the old British positions many hours after they had been abandoned.

Altogether it was one of the most masterly retreats under trying disadvantages which the history of modern warfare has on record. Only one event occurred to mar the joy of the rescued, and this was the death of the brave Havelock, who expired at Dilkusha on the 24th, by an attack of dysentery, under which his enfeebled frame, worn out with such excessive exertions, rapidly sunk. Undistinguished during a long course of military service since 1815, except among his friends, who knew him to be a master of strategy in all its branches, he had no sooner attained a separate command, and found his right sphere of action, than he crowded within little more than two short months such a series of victories as would have sufficed for a lifetime, and made any commander illustrious. In that brief period he combined the rapidity of Napoleon with the caution and foresight of Wellington, and upon his own limited field was as successful as either, while the tidings of his victories, which reached home in rapid succession, made all men wonder who this new hero was, and why he had been neglected so long. The queen created him a baronet, but it was three days after he had expired at Dilkusha, and thus the wreath that should have decked his brow could only be planted on his grave.

Sir Colin Campbell was now in full retreat to Cawnpore, where the ladies, children, and civilians, a helpless band of two thousand souls, might be left in safety before further military operations could be undertaken; and he had reached Bunnee on the evening of the 27th of November, when he heard heavy firing in the direction of Cawnpore, for which he could not account, as he had received no news from that quarter for several days. But there a desperate battle was going on, and the British arms were in danger. During the absence of Sir Colin, General Windham occupied the military cantonments which lay to the south of that city; but on learning that the Gwalior contingent of rebels were advancing to attack it on the north, he marched on the 26th to encounter them before they could reach Cawnpore, and found them drawn up on the opposite bank of the Pandoonudee, the bed of which river was at that time dry.

The disparity between the two armies was alarming, for while General Windham's force consisted of only twelve hundred infantry, one hundred cavalry, and eight guns, the rebels were about twenty-five thousand men, well provided with artillery. They were gallantly charged, and their advanced troops were driven back; but on their main body coming up, General Windham retired his troops to the canal. On the following day the rebels commenced the attack with a heavy cannonade, that was kept up for five hours, under which the British were obliged to withdraw to their intrenchments

after severe loss, while their tents and camp stores, which they were compelled to leave behind them, were burned by the enemy. It was this firing that arrested the attention of Sir Colin Campbell, and surmising that General Windham was attacked, he hurried forward to the rescue.

On reaching the scene of conflict in the evening, he found the British shut up within their intrenchments, and the rebels in possession of the city. It was necessary to dislodge them; but before the attempt could be made, the helpless survivors of Lucknow under his charge had to be conveyed across the Ganges by a single bridge which the enemy had not destroyed, and it was not until the 30th that the last cart had crossed the bridge, while two or three days more were spent in having them safely forwarded to Allahabad. He was now in readiness for the fight; but his arrival had made the enemy cautious, and it was not until they had been reinforced by the rebels of Oudh and the followers of Nana Sahib that they ventured, on the 6th of December, to make a decisive stand. But they were effectually beaten, with the loss of all their guns and ammunition, and wherever they attempted to rally they were met by British detachments, and so thoroughly routed and dispersed that this Gwalior contingent as an army could no longer be found. Nor did Nana Sahib, who had sent reinforcements to the rebels, escape a merited chastisement; for troops were sent to Bithur who destroyed all his remaining property, discovered and seized his treasures which were concealed in the wells, and soon left him too poor to continue long his rebellion with any hope of success.

While one powerful rebel chief was thus reduced to comparative helplessness, the British government in India had obtained an effective ally in Maharajah Jung Bahadur, the prime minister of the king of Nepal. This prince having offered his aid to the governor-general, which was gladly accepted, crossed the frontier with ten thousand Gurkhas, among the most warlike of the population of India, and in his advance he twice encountered and defeated a rebel army. He then, at the close of the year, established himself at Gorakhpur, to check the rebels of Lucknow in any attempt they might make in an easterly direction after Sir Colin Campbell should have driven them from the city, an event which was anticipated as likely soon to take place.

Indeed, all fear and foreboding as to the result of the Indian Mutiny were now at an end. Reinforcements had been sent from Britain in such numbers that no native army could confront them successfully in the field; the British soldiers were confident in the valour and skill of their well-tried illustrious leader, while the rebels were so daunted by repeated defeats that their courage and confidence were on the wane. The revolt was now in a great measure confined to Rohilkhand, to the territory between Agra and Allahabad, to Bundelkhand, and to Oudh, while the great metropolis of the insurrection after the fall of Delhi was the populous, warlike, and strongly fortified city of Lucknow. To strike a mortal blow, therefore, at the head of the evil, by the final conquest of this place, was the aim of the commander-in-chief after he had effected the liberation of the garrison.

THE RECAPTURE OF LUCKNOW

All being in readiness for this important enterprise, Sir Colin Campbell commenced operations by sending forward two regiments on the 1st of January, 1858, to prevent the rebels from destroying an iron suspension-bridge across the river Kalli-Nuddi. He then commenced his own march two days

after to Fathigarh, where he remained till the 1st of February, restoring order in the disaffected districts of the Doab, after which he proceeded to Cawnpore, for the purpose of crossing the Ganges at that place; and to clear his line of march, strong detachments were sent forward, by one of which, commanded by General Franks, a brilliant victory was gained over an army of rebels twenty-one thousand strong, who were encountered and completely scattered at Badshahgunge, about two miles from Sultanpur.

On the 5th of March Sir Colin was before Lucknow with his whole force collected, and his siege train brought up, the right of his line resting on Bibiapur and the Gumtee rivers, and his left stretching towards the Alambagh. With such a force as was now arrayed against the devoted city, the issue could not long be doubtful. On the 9th the attack commenced, and by the 21st all the strong defences of Lucknow were stormed and won, and the rebels were fleeing in every direction. It was now the hour of triumph for the Asiatic allies of the British, and they did not neglect the opportunity.

"Those stately buildings," says an eye-witness, "which had never before been entered by European foot, except by a commissioner of Oudh on a state day, were now open to the common soldier and to the poorest camp follower of our army. How their splendour vanished like snow in sunshine! The destruction around one, the shouting, the smashing noises, the yells of the Sikhs and natives were oppressive." After a painful description of the spectacle, the writer adds, "It was late in the evening when we returned to camp, through roads thronged with at least twenty thousand camp followers, all staggering under loads of plunder — the most extraordinary and indescribable spectacle I ever beheld — coolies, syces, kitmutgars, dhooly-bearers, Sikhs, grass-cutters, a flood of men covered with clothing not their own, carrying on heads and shoulders looking-glasses, mirrors, pictures, brass pots, swords, firelocks, rich shawls, scarfs, embroidered dresses, all the 'loot' of ransacked palaces. The noise, the dust, the shouting, the excitement were almost beyond endurance. Lucknow was borne away piecemeal to camp, and the wild Gurkhas and Sikhs, with open mouths and glaring eyes, burning with haste to get rich, were contending fiercely against the current, as they sought to get to the sources of such unexpected wealth."

On the whole, it seems to have been but a renewal of the capture and sacking of Jerusalem, Babylon, or Nineveh, as they were exhibited when war was comparatively young, and the passions of men at the wildest. How unfortunate it was for the British that the necessity of their position should have united them with such allies, and made them in some measure responsible for their deeds.

SUCCESSES OF SIR HUGH ROSE IN CENTRAL INDIA: AGAINST THE RANI OF JHANSI

In noticing the leading events of this war, it would be unpardonable to omit the campaign that was carrying on in Central India by Sir Hugh Rose, at the head of the Malwa or Nerbudda field force of about six thousand men, of which twenty-five hundred were British. At the end of January Sir Hugh captured Rathgarh, situated on a pear-shaped hill, and surrounded with precipices, except at the narrowest part, by which, however, the access was very difficult. Although one of the strongest forts in Central India, its difficulties were surmounted and the walls stormed in three days, and such of the rebels as escaped were obliged to use ropes to aid their descent down the rocks. He then advanced to the relief of Sagar, where a European

garrison and about a hundred women and children had been closely besieged for more than half a year; and on his arrival the enemy were glad to raise the siege. Soon after the Garakhot fort yielded almost without a blow, although it was so strong that it might have withstood a siege for months against the whole assailing force.

Sir Hugh Rose, having thus dislodged the rebels from their most available defences, commenced at the end of February his march upon Jhansi, on the way to which there was a mountain-ridge with three passes, that formed the means of a military advance upon Jhansi. The forts of the passes were speedily taken, and Sir Hugh Rose was master of the whole country between Sagar and Jhansi, to the east of the Betwa river.

The attack of Jhansi itself was now the great object of enterprise. It was the richest city in Central India, and one of the most culpable in the massacres and plunders of the rebellion, so that there was scarcely a house in which there was not some booty that had been taken from the English. Its fortress also was strong, not only by its natural position but by the resources of art; and its walls, which were built of granite, from sixteen to twenty feet in thickness, were well embrasured for cannon and loop-holed for musketry, while the place was defended by a garrison of twelve thousand men, headed by a fearless virago, the rani of Jhansi. Altogether, the siege was one of the most desperate undertakings of the war; but the capture of fort and city was certain to be followed by the downfall of the rebellion in Central India. Desperate was the resistance of the men of Jhansi, who were conscious of their crimes, and apprehensive of a just retribution. By the 30th of March the defences both of city and fort were dismantled by the British artillery, but as the ammunition of the besiegers was running short, they resolved to attempt Jhansi by escalade. The assault was made on the 2nd of April, and the city was successfully entered by two storming columns, who fought their way through every obstacle until they met and were concentrated in the palace.

"This was not effected," says Sir Hugh Rose in his graphic description of the siege, "without bloody, often hand-to-hand combats. One of the most remarkable of them was between detachments of her majesty's 85th regiment and 3rd Europeans, and thirty or forty Velaitie sowars, the bodyguard of the rani, in the palace stables under the fire of the fort. The sowars, full of opium, defended their stables, firing with matchlocks and pistols from the windows and loop-holes, and cutting with their tulwars, and from behind the doors. When driven in they retreated behind their horses, still firing, or fighting with their swords in both hands, till they were shot or bayoneted, struggling even when dying on the ground to strike again. A party of them remained in a room off the stables, which were on fire, till they were half burned: their clothes in flames, they rushed out, hacking at their assailants, and guarding their heads with their shields."

Such frantic deeds of despairing resistance, of which the foregoing is a specimen, were multiplied over the streets and buildings of Jhansi before it was taken; and it was well that there was nothing less than the utmost of British courage and firmness to confront them. When all was hopeless both for city and fortress, the rani gave the signal for flight, by mounting a gray horse and making off with only four attendants, with a body of British cavalry in full pursuit; and on the night after the rebels fled from the fort, leaving it wholly defenceless, but not until they had lost five thousand men in the siege and storm. The city was treated with more humanity than it had expected, and the British soldiers, after the storm had ceased, were to be seen

everywhere sharing their rations of food with the wives and children of those who had been the murderers of their countrymen.

After the fall of Jhansi, the capture of Kalpi was the next enterprise to be attempted, and Sir Hugh Rose, directing his march in this direction, encamped about three miles from Kalpi, where he was attacked on the 22nd of May by the rebels, who were put to the rout. Besides these successes, other victories which had been gained by Generals Roberts and Whitlock made Sir Hugh Rose imagine that Central India was now completely cleared of the rebels, and that there would be no further occasion for the services of his troops in that quarter. But his hopes were premature, for the war was not yet ended: the leader of the rebels at Kalpi, whose name was Tantia Topee, had retreated before the fall of the town, and in him the British found the ablest and most impracticable of all the chiefs of the rebellion. He retired to Gwalior, the capital of Sindhia, whose troops he persuaded to fraternise with the rebels; and when the fugitives of Kalpi fled, they joined these new allies, and drove Sindhia from his capital to the British cantonments at Agra, after which they placed Rao Sahib, a nephew of Nana Sahib, upon the throne of Gwalior.

These events called Sir Hugh Rose again into the field; but before his arrival, the principal rebels and Tantia Topee had left Gwalior, taking with them all the treasure they could find, and leaving the rani of Jhansi to abide the encounter, at the head of her rebels of Kalpi and the mutineers of the troops of Sindhia. Sir Hugh found them occupying a cantonment in the neighbourhood of Gwalior, dislodged and defeated them, and drove them in headlong flight into the capital. On the 19th of June, the rebels rallied upon a range of heights in front of the town, being headed by the rani of Jhansi, who was dressed in male attire, and fought gallantly like a common soldier; but they were defeated with the loss of twenty-seven guns, and also of their brave Amazonian leader.[1] Sindhia was thus restored to his capital and throne, and the rebellion in Central India being now at an end, the troops of Sir Hugh Rose were parted into garrisons for Jhansi, Gwalior, and other parts of the country.

With the fall of Lucknow its capital, the kingdom of Oudh might be considered as disarmed; and it now became necessary to determine the line of policy that was to be followed out in the government of this dangerous and rebellious province. This was soon announced by Lord Canning, the governor-general, then at Allahabad, in a proclamation which he issued on the 3rd of March. His first object, he declared, would be to reward those who had been steadfast in their allegiance, and who had aided and supported the British authority; and, after this, the nature of the reward was announced, and the persons who were to enjoy it. Six talukdars (landowners) of Oudh, including two rajahs, were named, and it was declared that these were henceforward to be the sole hereditary proprietors of the lands which they held when the province came under British rule, with such additional rewards as the government should judge fit to confer upon them — but that with these exceptions, the proprietary right in the soil of the province was confiscated to the British government, to be disposed of according to its own judgment. To those talukdars, chiefs, and landholders, with their followers, who should make submission to the chief commissioner of Oudh, surrendering their arms to him and obeying his orders, an indemnity from punishment should be granted, provided that their hands were unstained

[1 Of this Joan of Arc whom Walpole calls "the heroine of the Mutiny," Sir Hugh Rose exclaimed, "the best *man* upon the side of the enemy was the *woman* found dead, the rani of Jhansi."]

[1857–1858 A.D.]

with English blood murderously shed; but for any further indulgence they must throw themselves upon the justice and mercy of the British government. Those among them who should promptly come forward and support the chief commissioner in the restoration of peace and order were to have their claims of restitution to their rights liberally considered; but those who had participated in the murder of Englishmen and Englishwomen were to be excluded from all mercy.

Such was the proclamation sent to Sir James Outram, the chief commissioner, who neither relished its terms nor the ungracious power with which it invested him, and he lost no time in writing from his camp at Chinhat to Lord Canning, remonstrating upon the impolicy of the measure. There were not, he declared, a dozen chiefs and landholders who had not participated in the rebellion; and those who were thus to be summarily dispossessed would betake themselves to their domains and continue their resistance. Hitherto, he alleged, they had been most unjustly treated under British settlement operations, and hence, when the rebellion was at its height, and their country overrun by the rebel soldiery, they had made common cause with the insurgents; and this being the case, they ought now to be treated rather as honourable enemies than as rebels. These, and other such considerations, were urged by Sir James Outram, but with little effect, for although Lord Canning added a short clause more definite in its promises of restitution to those who should give their aid in the establishment of peace and order, no abatement was made to the right of wholesale confiscation, and the punishment of general dispossession.

Had these resolutions been adopted at an earlier period, and when the progress of the British conquest of India was in full career, they might have been passed without question and acted on without scruple. But now the case was different. The British had almost lost their hold of India, and this by the severity of their rule, originating in over-confidence in their power. Such was the general feeling at home when tidings of this widely-spread and all but universal rebellion in her eastern empire had arrived in England; and while reports followed of the victories which British arms were achieving in the East, the popular triumph was accompanied with the surmise that the rebellion had been provoked, and that justice must be done to India. This was manifested even in the India House, when the original draft of Lord Canning's proclamation had arrived; and a despatch, in the form of a letter from the secret committee of the court of directors of the company, was sent to his lordship, animadverting upon his resolutions, and enjoining their mitigation. Great Britain had annexed the kingdom of Oudh to her own dominion without just cause, and notwithstanding its past services and fidelity to her alliance;[1] she had deprived it of its king, and imposed upon it her own rule, and administered its revenues, without regard to those whom the change had reduced from wealth and distinction to utter destitution. Under these circumstances the hostilities carried on in Oudh had rather the character of a legitimate war than that of rebellion, and its people were to be regarded rather with indulgent consideration, "than made the objects of a penalty exceeding in extent and in severity almost any which has been recorded in history as inflicted upon a subdued nation." And in conclusion they added, "We desire that you will mitigate in practice the stringent severity of the decree of confiscation you have issued against the landholders of Oudh. We

[1 The reader will recollect that the reason for the annexation of Oudh was the misgovernment of its rulers who, though friendly to the British, acted very oppressively towards their own subjects.]

desire to see British authority in India rest upon the willing obedience of a contented people: there cannot be contentment where there is general confiscation."

TRANSFER OF THE COMPANY'S POWERS TO THE CROWN

But the days of the company itself were already numbered, and this humane appeal was a graceful close to its existence. The great subject of importance in parliament during the session of 1858 was the suppression of the rebellion in India, and the means of retaining the country under British rule, and for this even the important question of parliamentary reform was postponed.

As it was now certain that measures were about to be introduced by ministers for altering the form of government in India, the company drew up a long, elaborate, and able petition to parliament, setting forth its past services and exertions for the benefit of India[1] and the empire at large, and deprecating the withdrawal of their powers, and the transference of their rule into other hands. [But before the discussions on the subject had terminated, the Palmerston ministry fell and a new scheme introduced by Disraeli met with general disapproval.]

We cannot advert to the discussions that followed, in which every step was followed by a pause or a conflict: all this was only commensurate with the importance of the great question of the future government of the Indian Empire, in which so many mistakes were to be amended and so many evils redressed. The India Bill finally passed the house of commons on the 8th of July, and that of the lords on the 23rd, and received the assent of the crown on August 2nd, the last day of the session. There is a solemnity and vastness of meaning in the simple words by which the transfer is announced in the first clause of the bill, to which the grandeur of the decrees of the Roman senate can present no parallel:

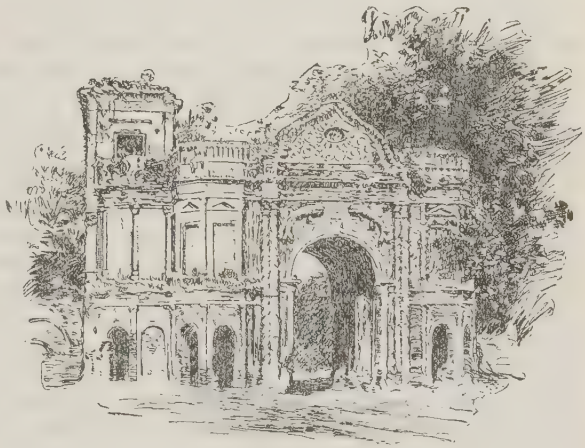
"The government of the territories now in the possession or under the government of the East India Company, and all the powers in relation to government vested in or exercised by the said company, in trust for her majesty, shall cease to be vested in or exercised by the said company, and all territories in the possession or under the government of the said company, and all rights vested, or which, if this act had not been passed, might have been exercised by the said company in relation to any territories, shall become vested in her majesty, and be exercised in her name; and for the purposes of this act, India shall mean the territories vested in her majesty as aforesaid, and all territories which may become vested in her majesty by virtue of any such rights as aforesaid."

While these discussions were going on in the British parliament, the progress of the war in India was such as promised both a speedy and successful termination. A strong garrison was left in Lucknow to control the city and its neighbourhood, while a campaign was opened against the district of Rohilkhand, to which the Lucknow rebels had retired. Every fort that was assailed by the British was taken, and every enemy in the field put to the rout —and hence the little interest that belongs to the narrative of this closing

[1 Of the services of the company, Spencer Walpole writes: "In a single century it had amassed an empire, and had brought one person in every six in the world into subjection. Where else in the world's history can be found a dependency which in the course of three generations produced men of the capacity of Warren Hastings, of Wellesley, and of Dalhousie? And which has produced in the same period among its subordinate officials such men as the two Lawrences, as Havelock and Outram, as Mountstuart Elphinstone and Malcolm, as Metcalfe and Munro?"]

portion of the war. In all these proceedings, also, were to be recognised the masterly intellect and military skill of Sir Colin Campbell, who directed each movement, and who, for his able services, was raised to the peerage with the title of Lord Clyde. The progress towards a general pacification was likewise promoted by the transference of the government of India to the British crown, and the natives were induced to reverence a sovereign power, more especially when aggrandised by remoteness and invisibility, in preference to the authority of men who were present, and known to be subjects like themselves. Accordingly, when a royal proclamation, which was transmitted to India, was published by the governor-general on the 1st of November, it called forth several addresses to the queen, expressive of their loyalty and attachment.

In this proclamation it was announced to the native princes of India that all engagements which had been made with them by the company would be scrupulously maintained and fulfilled; that no extension of territorial possession was sought; and that no aggression upon it should be tolerated, or encroachment upon that of others sanctioned. The British government held itself bound to the natives of its Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bound it to all the other subjects of the British Empire. Upon the important subject of religion, in which the rebellion had originated, the declaration wa explicit: "Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects. We declare it to be our royal will and pleasure that none be in any wise favoured, none molested or disquieted by reason of their religious faith or observances, but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law; and we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us, that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects, on pain of our highest displeasure." It was added that all of whatever race or creed were to be freely and impartially admitted to such offices in her majesty's service as they were qualified to hold. Those who inherited lands were to be protected in all rights connected therewith, subject to the equitable demands of the state; and in framing and administering the law, due regard was to be paid to the ancient rights, usages, and customs of India.



LUCKNOW ENTRANCE GATE, SIKANDRA BAGH
(Where two thousand mutineers were killed in 1857)

With regard to the late rebellion, a general pardon was granted for past offences, except to those who had taken part in the murder of British subjects, or who had given asylum to murderers, knowing them to be such, or who may have acted as leaders or instigators in revolt; but in apportioning

the penalty due to such persons, full consideration should be given to the circumstances under which they had been tempted from their allegiance. To all others still in arms against the government, an unconditional pardon, amnesty, and oblivion was promised, on their return to their homes and peaceful pursuits, and compliance with these conditions before the 1st day of January next.

END OF THE MUTINY

The chief difficulty that still remained was the pacification of Oudh, without which the government of India could not be fully re-established; and to effect this, such decisive measures were adopted, as could only be justified by the necessity of the case, and the warlike, dangerous spirit of the people. A proclamation was issued by Mr. Montgomery, who had been appointed chief commissioner of Oudh, ordering that all talukdars, zamindars, and native inhabitants of the province should deliver up to the servants of government at the nearest police station, within one month from that date, all their cannon, firearms, weapons, and ammunition, under pain of fine and imprisonment for one year, with flogging; and if a landholder, of the confiscation of his lands. The next step was to suppress the rebels who were still in the field, which was no such easy achievement, for they had made Oudh their place of shelter and rallying point for their final stand, and were likely to defend it with the fierceness of despair. They had also for one of their chief leaders the ex-queen of Oudh, a woman of fearless courage and unyielding spirit, who issued a counter-proclamation to the people, warning them not to trust the promises of the British government, and analysing the proclamation of the British sovereign, paragraph by paragraph, with all the shrewdness and caustic severity of a well-practised literary reviewer. The winter campaign was opened in November, and the Oudh chieftains surrendered their hill-forts, or were driven from them after a short and useless resistance.

With the close of the year, the rebellion in Oudh, its last stronghold, had terminated, and an army, originally numbering one hundred and fifty thousand, been routed and dispersed with comparatively little loss to the victors. Resistance indeed continued to be made, but it was the hopeless resistance of broken bands and fugitive chiefs, lurking among the fastnesses of Nepal, beyond the British dominions, and urged by hunger or revenge; and with every attempt their numbers were diminished and their range circumscribed, so that what had lately been armies, were little more than troops of brigands, whose outrages the nearest military station was strong enough to suppress. The British Empire was re-established in India upon a basis more august and imposing than before.[c]

The act for the better government of India (1858), which finally transferred the entire administration from the company to the crown, enacts that India shall be governed by and in the name of the sovereign of England through one of the principal secretaries of state, assisted by a council of fifteen members. The governor-general received the new title of viceroy. The European troops of the company, numbering about twenty-four thousand officers and men, were amalgamated with the royal service, and the Indian navy was abolished. By the Indian Councils Act (1861) the governor-general's council, and also the councils at Madras and Bombay, were augmented by the addition of non-official members, either natives or Europeans, for legislative purposes only; and by another act passed in the same

year high courts of judicature were constituted out of the existing supreme courts at the presidency towns.

It fell to the lot of Lord Canning both to suppress the Mutiny and to introduce the peaceful revolution that followed. As regards his execution of the former part of his duties, it is sufficient to say that he preserved his equanimity undisturbed in the darkest hours of peril, and that the strict impartiality of his conduct incurred alternate praise and blame from the fanatics on either side. The epithet then scornfully applied to him of "Clemency" Canning is now remembered only to his honour.

Peace was proclaimed throughout India on July 8th, 1859; and in the following cold weather Lord Canning made a viceregal progress through the upper provinces, to receive the homage of loyal princes and chiefs, and to guarantee to them the right of adoption. The suppression of the Mutiny increased the debt of India by about forty millions sterling, and the military changes that ensued augmented the annual expenditure by about ten millions. To grapple with this deficit, Mr. James Wilson was sent out from the treasury as financial member of council. He reorganised the customs system, imposed an income-tax and licence duty, and created a state paper currency. The penal code, originally drawn up by Macaulay in 1837, passed into law in 1860, together with a code of civil and criminal procedure.[b]

To Canning's services as governor, Spencer Walpole pays this tribute: "If Dalhousie was the last, and in some respects the greatest of the old type of governors, Canning was the first and one of the greatest of the new class of rulers. That he had defects in his character, and that his defects were attended with serious consequences, it would be absurd to deny. A Clive or a Wellesley, or even a Hastings or a Hardinge, would possibly have stamped out rebellion more rapidly, or confined a revolt within narrower limits. But neither Clive nor Wellesley, neither Hastings nor Hardinge, would have furnished subject India with so grand an example of the nobler features of the British character. The man who maintained his equanimity amidst panic, whose courage never quailed amidst disaster, who, conscious of his own virtue, moved calm amidst obloquy; who, amidst rage and tumult, in the hour of severity never forgot to be just, was a ruler worthy of the great country whose honour, in the hour of her supreme peril, was entrusted to his keeping."[1]



INDIAN JAR. INDIA MUSEUM.



CHAPTER VII

INDIA SINCE THE MUTINY

[1858–1906 A.D.]

Lord Canning left India in March, 1862, and died before he had been a month in England. His successor, Lord Elgin, lived only till November, 1863, when he too fell a victim to the excessive work of the governor-generalship, dying at the Himalayan station of Dharmsala, where he lies buried. He was succeeded by Sir John Lawrence [afterwards Lord Lawrence], the saviour of the Punjab. The chief incidents of his administration were the Bhutan War and the terrible Orissa famine.[b]

The drought of 1865 had caused a dearth in 1866. Unforeseen by the lieutenant-governor of Bengal, it could not be met with imported supplies, and before the following rainy season brought relief a million souls had died of hunger or consequent disease, out of a province containing a population of only four millions. Lord Napier saved Madras from a similar calamity by his foresight, and a year later the sufferings from a drought in Mysore were considerably mitigated by the British rulers.[a]

LORD LAWRENCE'S VICE-ROYALTY (1863–1869 A.D.)

Bhutan is a little Himalayan state to the north of Assam. For some years past the Bhutia highlanders had made frequent inroads in British ground lying at the foot of their hills, and claimed by their chiefs as part of Bhutan. In 1863 the Honourable Mr. Ashley Eden had been sent to treat with the Bhutan government on behalf of the British subjects who had been kidnapped in these raids. The utter failure of the mission was crowned by the insults heaped upon the envoy himself. In fear of his life he had to sign a treaty surrendering the very lands in dispute. After some vain attempts to patch up the quarrel and gain redress for the outrage, Sir John Lawrence, in November, 1864, declared war against Bhutan. A small force entered the hills;

but mismanagement and a sickly season delayed its progress; some of the British troops on one occasion were disgracefully defeated, and not till some months later was the enemy driven to sue for peace and give some pledges for its maintenance.[h]

Great importance also attaches to Lawrence's Afghan policy, the interest of the British power in Afghan affairs having become closer as her frontiers advanced towards Afghanistan in consequence of the annexations following on the Sind and Sikh wars.[a] Of Lawrence's attitude, Bright[c] has said that his "consistent policy, sometimes slightingly spoken of as masterly inactivity, consisted in holding entirely aloof from the dynastic quarrels of the Afghans, in the recognition of any prince who either by force or by popular favour succeeded in establishing himself on the throne, and in attempting to cultivate the friendship of the amir by gifts of money and arms, while carefully avoiding topics of offence."

THE GOVERNORSHIPS OF LORDS MAYO AND NORTHBROOK (1869–1876 A.D.)

Lord Mayo, who succeeded Lawrence in 1869, carried on the permanent British policy of moral and material progress with a special degree of personal energy. The Ambala (Umballa) *darbar*, at which Sher Ali was recognised as amir of Afghanistan, though in one sense merely the completion of what Lord Lawrence had begun, owed much of its success to the personal influence of Lord Mayo himself. The same quality, combined with sympathy and firmness, stood him in good stead in all his dealings both with native chiefs and European officials. His example of hard work stimulated all to their best. While engaged in exploring with his own eyes the farthest corners of the empire, he fell by the hand of an assassin in the convict settlement of the Andaman Islands in 1872.

His successor was Lord Northbrook, whose ability showed itself chiefly in the department of finance. During the time of his administration a famine in Lower Bengal in 1874 was successfully obviated by government relief and public works, though at an enormous cost; the gaekwar of Baroda was dethroned in 1875 for misgovernment and disloyalty, while his dominions were continued to a nominated child of the family; Lord Lytton followed Northbrook in 1876.

QUEEN VICTORIA BECOMES EMPRESS OF INDIA (1877 A.D.)

On January 1st, 1877, Queen Victoria was proclaimed empress of India at a *darbar* of unequalled magnificence, held on the historic "ridge" overlooking the Mughal capital of Delhi. But, while the princes and high officials of the country were flocking to this gorgeous scene, the shadow of famine was already darkening over the south of India. Both the monsoons of 1876 had failed to bring their due supply of rain, and the season of 1877 was little better. The consequences of this prolonged drought, which extended from the Deccan to Cape Comorin, and subsequently invaded northern India, were more disastrous than any similar calamity since the introduction of British rule. Despite unparalleled importations of grain by sea and rail, despite the most strenuous exertions of the government, which incurred a total expenditure on this account of eleven millions sterling, the loss of life from actual starvation and its attendant train of diseases was lamentable. The total number of deaths from disease and want in the distressed tracts in excess of the normal mortality for the two years 1876–1878 is estimated to have raised the

[1878 A.D.]

death-rate forty per cent., or five millions. In the autumn of 1878 the affairs of Afghanistan again forced themselves into notice.[b]

RELATIONS WITH THE AFGHANS

In following the history of the course of affairs in Afghanistan during the nineteenth century, it should be remembered that the Saddozais and Barakzais are two branches of the Durani tribe, which was raised to dominant power by its chief, Ahmed Khan, the founder of an Afghan kingdom under the Saddozai dynasty towards the end of the eighteenth century. His descendants had ruled, amid many vicissitudes, at Kabul, until in 1818 the assassination by the reigning amir of his powerful minister, Fatteh Khan Barakzal, led to a revolt headed by the Barakzai family, which ended in the expulsion of the Saddozai Shah Shuja, and the establishment at Kabul of Dost Muhammed, Fatteh Khan's son; while Shah Shuja took refuge in the Punjab. By this time the political situation of Afghanistan had become materially affected by the consolidation of the formidable military dominion on its eastern frontier in the Punjab, under Ranjit Singh and his Sikh army. Ranjit Singh took advantage of the distracted condition of Afghanistan to seize Kashmir, and in 1823 he defeated the Afghans in a battle which gave him the suzerainty of the Peshawar province on the right bank of the Indus, though an Afghan chief was left to administer it. Ten years later Shah Shuja, the exiled Saddozai amir, made a futile attempt to recover his kingdom. He was defeated by Dost Muhammed, when Ranjit Singh turned the confusion to his own account by seizing Peshawar and driving the Afghans back into their mountains.

At this point begins the continual interference of England and Russia in the affairs of Afghanistan, which has ever since exercised a dominant influence upon all subsequent events and transactions. It has not only transformed the situation of the ruling amirs, but has also profoundly affected the Asiatic policy of the two European governments. Shah Shuja's enterprise in 1833 had been supported by the co-operation of Ranjit Singh, and encouraged by the British viceroy, Lord W. Bentinck. Although the expedition failed, the result was to excite jealousy of the British designs; and the Russian envoy at Tehran instigated the Shah of Persia to attack Herat, the important frontier fortress of northwestern Afghanistan, which was then in the possession of an independent chief. In 1837, in spite of remonstrances from the British representative at Tehran, a Persian army besieged the city, but the appearance of British troops on the southern coast of Persia compelled the Persians to withdraw from Herat in 1838.

The rivalry between England and Russia was now openly declared, so that each movement from one side was followed by a counter move on the Afghan chess-board from the other side. The British ministry had been seriously alarmed at the machinations of Russia and the attitude of Dost Muhammed at Kabul; and it was determined that the most effective means of securing their own interests within the country would be by assisting Shah Shuja to recover his sovereignty. A tripartite treaty was made between Ranjit Singh, the British governor-general of India, and Shah Shuja; and a British army marched up the Bolan pass to Kandahar, occupied that city, pushed on northward to Ghazni, which was taken by assault, and entered Kabul in 1839. As Dost Muhammed had fled across the northern mountains, Shah Shuja was proclaimed king in his stead.

But this ill-planned and hazardous enterprise was fraught with the elements



From a Carbon Print by Braun, Clément & Co.

THE PRINCE OF WALES (AFTERWARDS H. M. KING EDWARD VII) IN INDIA

From the painting by Vasili Vereshchagin

[1878 A.D.]

of inevitable failure. A ruler imposed upon a free people by foreign arms is always unpopular; he is unable to stand alone; and his foreign auxiliaries soon find themselves obliged to choose between remaining to uphold his power, or retiring with the probability that it will fall after their departure. The leading chiefs of Afghanistan perceived that the maintenance of Shah Shuja's rule by British troops would soon be fatal to their own power and position in the country, and probably to their national independence. The attempt to raise taxes showed that it might raise the people; so that for both men and money the shah's government was still obliged to rely principally upon British aid. The result was that after two years' occupation of the country, in the vain hope of establishing a national government under Shah Shuja, the British found their own situation untenable; for the fierce and warlike tribes broke out into incessant revolt, until a serious insurrection at Kabul in the winter of 1841–42 compelled the British army to make an ignominious and disastrous retreat. The whole force was lost on the road between Kabul and Jalalabad; but Jalalabad was successfully defended by its British garrison, and General Nott held out at Kandahar until General Pollock's temporary reoccupation of Kabul in 1842 restored in some degree the military reputation of Great Britain. The British troops then completely evacuated the country. Dost Muhammed, who had been a state prisoner in India, was replaced on the Kabul throne; and the policy of intervention in Afghan affairs was suspended for nearly forty years.

It has been said that the declared object of this policy had been to maintain the independence and integrity of Afghanistan, to secure the friendly alliance of its ruler, and thus to interpose a great barrier of mountainous country between the expanding power of Russia in Central Asia and the British dominion in India. After 1849, when the annexation of the Punjab had carried the Indian northwestern frontier up to the skirts of the Afghan highlands, the corresponding advance of the Russians southeastward along the Oxus river became of closer interest to the British, particularly when, in 1856, the Persians again attempted to take possession of Herat. Dost Muhammed now became the British ally, but on his death in 1863 the kingdom fell back into civil war, until his son Sher Ali had won his way to undisputed rulership in 1868. In the same year Bokhara became a dependency of Russia. To the British government an attitude of non-intervention in Afghan affairs appeared in this situation to be no longer possible. The meeting between the amir Sher Ali and the viceroy of India at Ambala in 1869 had drawn nearer the relations between the two governments; the amir consolidated and began to centralize his power; and the establishment of a strong, friendly, and united Afghanistan became again the keynote of British policy beyond the northwestern frontier of India.

When, therefore, the conquest of Khiva in 1873 by the Russians, and their gradual approach towards the amir's northern border, had seriously alarmed Sher Ali, he applied for support to the British; and his disappointment at his failure so far estranged him from the British connection that he began to entertain amicable overtures from the Russian authorities at Tashkend. In 1869 the Russian government had assured Lord Clarendon that they regarded Afghanistan as completely outside the sphere of their influence; and in 1872 the boundary line of Afghanistan on the northwest had been settled between England and Russia so far eastward as Lake Victoria. Nevertheless the correspondence between Kabul and Tashkend continued, and as the Russians were now extending their dominion over all the region beyond Afghanistan on the northwest, the British government determined, in 1876,

once more to undertake active measures for securing their political ascendancy in that country. But the amir, whose feelings of resentment had by no means abated, was now leaning toward Russia; and upon his refusal to admit a British agent into Afghanistan the negotiations finally broke down.

THE AFGHAN WAR OF 1878–1880

In the course of the following year (1878) the Russian government, to counteract the interference of England with their advance upon Constantinople, sent an envoy to Kabul empowered to make a treaty with the amir. It was immediately notified to him from India that a British mission would be deputed to his capital, but he demurred to receiving it; and when the British envoy was turned back on the Afghan frontier hostilities were proclaimed by the viceroy in November, 1878, and the second Afghan War began. Sir Donald Stewart's force, marching up through Baluchistan by the Bolan pass, entered Kandahar with little or no resistance; while another army passed through the Khyber pass, and took up positions at Jalalabad and other places on the direct road to Kabul. Another force under Sir Frederick Roberts marched up to the high passes leading out of Kuram into the interior of Afghanistan, defeated the amir's troops at the Paiwar Kotal, and seized the Shutargardan pass which commands a direct route to Kabul through the Logar valley. The amir Sher Ali fled from his capital into the northern province, where he died at Mazar-i-Sherif in February, 1879. In the course of the next six months there was much desultory skirmishing between the tribes and the British troops, who defeated various attempts to dislodge them from the positions that had been taken up; but the sphere of British military operations was not materially extended. It was seen that the farther they advanced the more difficult would become their eventual retirement; and the problem was to find a successor to Sher Ali who could and would make terms with the British government.

In the meantime Yakub Khan, one of Sher Ali's sons, had announced to Major Cavagnari, the political agent at the headquarters of the British army, that he had succeeded his father at Kabul. The negotiations that followed ended in the conclusion of a treaty in May, 1879, by which Yakub Khan was recognized as amir; certain outlying tracts of Afghanistan were transferred to the British government; the amir placed in their hands the entire control of his foreign relations, receiving in return a guarantee against foreign aggression; and the establishment of a British envoy at Kabul was at last conceded. By this convention the complete success of the British political and military operations seemed to have been attained; for whereas Sher Ali had made a treaty of alliance with, and had received an embassy from Russia, his son had now made an exclusive treaty with the British government, and had agreed that a British envoy should reside permanently at his court.

Yet it was just this final concession, the chief and original object of British policy, that proved speedily fatal to the whole settlement. For in September the envoy, Sir Louis Cavagnari, with his staff and escort, was massacred at Kabul, and the entire fabric of a friendly alliance went to pieces. A fresh expedition was instantly despatched across the Shutargardan pass under Sir Frederick Roberts, who defeated the Afghans at Charasia near Kabul, and entered the city in October. Yakub Khan, who had surrendered, was sent to India; and the British army remained in military occupation of the district round Kabul until in December (1879) its communications with India were interrupted, and its position at the capital placed in serious jeopardy, by a

general rising of the tribes. After they had been repulsed and put down, not without some hard fighting, Sir Donald Stewart, who had not quitted Kandahar, brought a force up by Ghazni to Kabul, overcoming some resistance on his way, and assumed the supreme command. Nevertheless the political situation was still embarrassing.

Abdurrahman, the son of the late amir Sher Ali's elder brother, had fought against Sher Ali in the war for succession to Dost Muhammed, had been driven beyond the Oxus, and had lived for ten years in exile with the Russians. In March, 1880, he came back across the river, and began to establish himself in the northern province of Afghanistan. The viceroy of India, Lord Lytton, on hearing of his reappearance, instructed the political authorities at Kabul to communicate with him. After pressing in vain for a treaty he was induced to assume charge of the country upon his recognition by the British as amir, with the understanding that he should have no relations with other foreign powers, and with a formal assurance from the viceroy of protection from foreign aggression, so long as he should unreservedly follow the advice of the British government in regard to his external affairs. The province of Kandahar was severed from the Kabul dominion; and the sirdar Sher Ali Khan, a member of the Barakzai family, was installed by the British representative as its independent ruler.



LORD ROBERTS
(1832–)

For the second time in the course of this war a conclusive settlement of Afghan affairs seemed now to have been attained; and again, as in 1879, it was immediately dissolved. In July, 1880, a few days after the proclamation of Abdurrahman as amir at Kabul, came news that Ayub Khan, Sher Ali's younger son, who had been holding Herat since his father's death, had marched upon Kandahar, had utterly defeated at Maiwand a British force that went out from Kandahar to oppose him, and was besieging that city. Sir Frederick Roberts at once set out from Kabul with ten thousand men to its relief, reached Kandahar after a rapid march of 313 miles, attacked and routed Ayub Khan's army on September 1st, and restored British authority in southern Afghanistan. As the British ministry had resolved to evacuate Kandahar, Sher Ali Khan, who saw that he could not stand alone, resigned and withdrew to India, and the amir Abdurrahman was invited to take possession of the province. But when Ayub Khan, who had meanwhile retreated to Herat, heard that the British forces had retired, early in 1881, to India, he mustered a fresh army and again approached Kandahar. In June the fort of

Girisk, on the Helmund, was seized by his adherents; the amir's troops were defeated some days later in an engagement, and Ayub Khan took possession of Kandahar at the end of July. The amir Abdurrahman, whose movements had hitherto been slow and uncertain, now acted with vigour and decision. He marched rapidly from Kabul at the head of a force, with which he encountered Ayub Khan under the walls of Kandahar, and routed his army on September 22nd, taking all his guns and equipage. Ayub Khan fled toward Herat, but as the place had meanwhile been occupied by one of the amir's generals he took refuge in Persia. By this victory Abdurrahman's rulership was established.[d]

Roughly speaking, of the years from the close of 1858, when the government of British India was transferred from the East India Company to the crown, to the commencement of 1900, half were occupied in preparing, in plotting out, and in making a vigorous commencement in the execution of the great projects for the moral and material development of India, of which the latter half saw the application and extension. The schemes which were then put into force, more particularly for the material development of India, for increasing the sytem of railway communications, for fiscal reform, or for the prosecution of irrigation works, had their inception in the preceding period, and more particularly in its second decade. The work of reorganisation, of progress, and of financial reform, which was commenced in 1859 by Lord Canning, though from time to time hindered under his successors by war, was on the whole continuously carried on. In spite of discouragement from famines and plague, from a succession of wars on the northwestern and eastern frontiers, and from the ruinous effect on Indian finance of the continuous fall in the value of silver relatively to gold, the work begun in the first half of the forty-one years under review, and vigorously resumed after 1880, was more or less consistently carried on up to 1900. Thus the whole period forms, as it were, one growth. The first half is inextricably bound up with the second; and while much of the progress of the last twenty years has been in directions previously but little pursued, more has been but the sequence and necessary outcome of the foregoing period.

SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS

The finances of the country, which, during the years immediately preceding 1876 and 1877, had been very carefully husbanded by the Indian government, were in those two years made the subject of a fresh and exhaustive study. Sir John Strachey took charge of the finances in 1876, and his administration marks a new era in Indian finance. He was not destined to reap the fruit of all his labours; but great changes had already been effected by him, and more were in contemplation, when the stress and strain of the Afghan War deferred their execution. The obstructive old internal salt customs frontier line, stretching at one time from the Indus to the Mahanadi in Madras, a distance of 2,300 miles, and guarded by nearly 2,000 men, had been finally abolished. The inland salt duties throughout India were at the same time in great measure equalised. Arrangements had been concluded with certain native states by which, subject to compensation allotted to them, the great Indian sources of salt supply, which lie for the most part within their territories, were made over to the control of the government of India. The consumption of salt at once considerably increased as a consequence of this measure, and the revenue corresponded. Similar reforms had been contemplated, and in a

small measure had been commenced, with regard to the customs revenue from import duties levied in India on cotton goods.

During Lord Mayo's rule administrative measures had been initiated, having for their object the decentralization of the finances, the transfer, that is to say, to the several provincial governments of the direct control of a portion of the public receipts and expenditure within their limits, with corresponding relief and advantage to the central administration. In 1877–1879 these measures were further developed. Certain important local sources of revenue were definitely placed in the hands of the provincial governments, which were left to cultivate and improve them, to augment their produce, and to spend all or a definite part of them, at their discretion. On the other hand, the expenditure in certain branches of administration was transferred to provincial governments, of which the cost would be defrayed from the funds assigned them. Economy and good administration resulted, so far as the finances and the provincial governments were concerned, while the central government was relieved from provincial importunities, of which it could not always measure the relative importance, and from the control of details of provincial administration of which, in truth, it was not a competent judge.

Education had advanced during the twenty years under review, though relatively to area and population it was still in an extremely backward state. A despatch from England in 1854 had laid down with fulness and precision the principles which were to guide the government in state education, and its provisions were continued and enlarged by a subsequent despatch of 1859. These two despatches still form the charter of education in India. The three universities of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay had been incorporated in 1857 by acts of the Indian legislature. Among the several presidencies and provinces Bengal and Madras had on the whole shown the greatest advance; but Bombay, with its large and highly intelligent Parsee population, has always been prominent in respect of education.

The three great codes which pre-eminently do honour to the Indian legislature — the Penal Code, the Code of Criminal Procedure, and the Civil Procedure Code — were passed during the earlier part of the sixth decade of the nineteenth century. The labours of Sir Henry Sumner Maine and Sir Fitz-James Stephen had enriched the Indian statute book with other important acts, such as the Evidence Act, various forest laws, the Criminal Tribes Act, the Christian Marriage Act, the Mohammedan and Parsee Marriage Act, and an Act for the Prevention of the Murder of Female Infants. The relations of landlord and tenant in upper India and in Oudh had occupied the attention of the legislature. A high court of judicature, similar to those already existing in Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras, had been established for the north-west provinces. The police system throughout India had been reorganised; sanitation had been especially recognised as claiming attention; the trade of India had developed from a total in round figures of forty-one millions of imports and forty-three millions of exports in 1859–64 to a total of sixty-two millions of imports and seventy-six millions of exports in 1880–81. Notably the great tea industry had taken firm root, and was assuming ever-increasing proportions. There existed at that date twenty-one jute mills, mostly in Bengal. Brewing had been introduced, and was becoming more and more extended. Steam paper mills and some minor industries had also taken root.

The administrative note, therefore, of the seventeen years from 1859, after the close of the Mutiny, to 1876 was one of moderation and cautious advance. They were years but little removed from the rule of the late East India Company and the great catastrophe of 1857. The whole machinery of govern-

ment, more especially during the earlier part of that period, was successively brought under review, and in almost every department reorganisation more or less complete was projected. It was a time mainly of study and deliberation, preliminary to action; of prudent but thorough overhauling of the administration which had been but recently handed over to the crown.

With the advent in 1880 of Lord Ripon as viceroy the portals of war were closed, and India entered once more upon the pleasant paths of peace. Remission of taxation, encouragement of primary and secondary education, the promotion of local self-government, the amelioration of the status of the agricultural tenant, the recognition and promotion of native claims to a share in directing the internal affairs of India — these were the cardinal points of the policy of 1880 and the years immediately ensuing. During the preceding period the attention of the central government, and the genius of those who inspired it, had been more immediately devoted to the material progress of India. Of that sympathetic and indulgent handling of the native population which characterised the East India Company, the traces become less and less apparent as we pass from the sixth towards the close of the seventh decade. The greatest benefits had been conferred on the people by the fiscal and public works measures introduced during those years. But of any seeking or strengthening of personal touch with them on the part of the administration there is comparatively little trace. Much was done for the people, but in concert with them little was attempted. The steps taken in this direction during the eighth decade mark a return to the more personal and human aspects of administration which before 1857 had been perhaps exclusively prominent, but which of later years might be judged to have fallen too greatly into abeyance. In short, after 1880, and for a brief term of subsequent years, the moral development of India again took an equal place in the foreground, and the characteristic note of the decade which succeeded 1880 is to be found in the greater effort made during that period to combine moral with material progress.

In 1882 India was freed from taxation on her imports, strong liquors and salt excepted. The customs duty thenceforth, and till further changes, was derived entirely from the produce of an export duty on rice, and from import duties on salt and alcohol. At the same time the salt duty was reduced. The estimated loss of revenue consequent on this reduction was £1,400,000. A total of two and one-half millions in taxation was thus remitted to the country. In their *Finances and Public Works of India*,[e] the two Stracheys, writing in 1881, had expressed themselves on the subject in strong terms: "The policy followed by the government of India during the viceroyalty of Lord Lytton was one of absolute free trade, without reserve or qualification, and financial necessities alone prevented that policy from being carried out to the fullest extent. The proceedings of the last three of four years have, however, succeeded in rendering inevitable the almost total abolition of the customs duties, which of all Indian taxes are probably the worst."

It is, however, necessary to add that the abolition of the import duties on cotton goods was carried out against the very general feeling whether of Europeans or of the educated natives of India.

EMPLOYMENT OF NATIVES IN PUBLIC SERVICE

The salaries of the upper grades of the native subordinate executive services were improved in 1882, at an estimated increase of about £50,000 a year. It was declared to be the intention of the British government and of the gov-

ernment of India that a constantly increasing share of the work of the country should be performed by natives of India. Few aspects of Indian administration are more disagreeable at first sight than this, that with few exceptions all the higher posts, which carry with them the larger salaries, are confined to Europeans. Given the conditions and requirements of the administration this is at present inevitable. But it necessarily bears on the face of it that appearance of a monopoly by a foreign caste of the higher grades of employment, which cannot fail to attract hostile criticism. It may confidently be asserted on behalf of the Indian government, that it is ever on the watch to modify the existing state of matters, and is more than desirous of finding occasion for the advancement of natives to the higher ranks of civil employ. Its efforts in this direction have not been rewarded, so far, with any corresponding success. But any native now who, by education, force of character, probity, or good service, can prove his fitness for advancement to the higher grades of employment is no longer debarred from arriving at them.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The system of decentralisation, and of assigning to provincial governments the financial profit and loss on certain branches of administration, was largely extended in 1882. Practically, excepting the departments of army, marine, post office, telegraphs, opium, salt, customs, and for the most part the railways, all branches of the public service, with their receipts and expenditure, may be said to have been then made over to provincial hands. The result has been productive of economy and of good government; but on the other hand the measure has erected something of a barrier between the central government and the internal conduct of affairs. To borrow a term from telegraphy, there is a fault in communication.

In connection with the extension of provincial finance, greater latitude of self-administration was at the same time accorded to municipalities and local bodies throughout India. Few measures that have been greeted on their introduction with comparative indifference are likely, with lapse of time, to take deeper root in the country than the scheme of conferring self-government on municipalities. The aim and ideal of the energetic and highly-trained officers to whom is entrusted the administration of the various districts into which India for executive purposes is divided, has been hitherto government of and for the people, rather than government by or with the people. The prestige of the powerful Indian civil service is based on successes achieved in past years, when the authority of its officers was the only authority, and when, by the energetic and enlightened exercise thereof, great results had been everywhere obtained. Intimate knowledge of native character, and daily experience of the weakness, the jealousies, the animosities, and the trivial aims and pursuits of native society, might well make those who up to the present had been its guides not a little sceptical as to the uses to which local self-government would be put, and doubtful as to the intelligence and interest with which it would be carried into effect. So far as concerns the district or local bodies, these apprehensions have not been without justification. But so far as town and municipal bodies are concerned, the measure of 1882 has met with a degree of success fully equal to any that its authors could have expected. Local self-government in all countries is a plant of slow growth. In India, with its counter-currents of Hindu and Mohammedan, its apathy, its passion for hereditary usages and employment, the indifference of its several units to the general good, the aptitude of the Indian for verbal controversy and inapti-

tude for collective action, any marked or early development of disinterested public spirit could not be counted on. It would be untrue to assert that the results have so far brought India into line with even moderately progressive European countries. But with regard, at least, to the more important towns, it may be affirmed that the measure enforced by the government of Lord Ripon has, up to the present time, proved as useful as its authors hoped, and promises with the progress of years to acquire increasing stability.

It is to be noted that in India, and more especially in Upper India, the Mohammedan element, though considerable, is numerically inferior to the Hindu. The former have thus found themselves, wherever election is the rule of appointment, in danger of being left permanently in a minority. They view with distrust and natural dislike the passing of authority into Hindu hands. Especially is this the case where, as often happens, the hands into which power passes are those of classes of Hindus who, though previously



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of no consideration, of obscure origin, and socially of less than little weight, are enabled by their familiarity with English, and by their education in British colleges, wholly to manipulate and control the municipal councils. In this direction there will for long exist antagonism between Hindu and Mohammedan. Resentment will smoulder on the one side, and on the other there will be little wish to conciliate. In India such differences do not take the form of party, but are inflamed by the virus of race and of religion, and become the more embittered.

The conduct of education and the control of colleges and schools in India is in the hands of the provincial governments. But in this, as in all other departments, the central government retains the ultimate authority. It has been already noted that the main lines on which the system of education in India is carried on were laid down in 1854 and 1859. Since then, necessarily, progress has been made, and fresh developments have called for further instructions. To the three universities of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay have been added universities at Lahore and at Allahabad, respectively the headquarters of the Punjab and north-western governments.

Western education at the most has as yet touched little more than the fringe of Indian life. But the crying defect of education in India is the failure to find means of extending education to girls. Only 402,158 girls were under

instruction in 1896–97, whether in public or private institutions, forming 2.34 of the percentage of school age. Practically, woman in India is wholly uninfluenced by western education. Mothers, wives, or daughters at no time of their existence come under its influence. Whether from a social or political point of view this is lamentable, and the consequences are far-reaching and injurious. The influence of women in India is very considerable, and it is to be feared that it is exerted consistently in a direction opposed to the ethical or educational standards set up in English teaching institutions. But the position of woman in the East, and the strictness with which, after her earlier years, she is guarded from contact with all but the nearest members of her family, oppose barriers which are at present impassable.

In general terms it may perhaps be added that, so far as concerns the masses, to live under British administration, when at its best, is in itself a liberal education. Enlightened codes, justice, equality before the law, social and religious freedom, protection, order, method, moderation in the assessment of fiscal burdens, good and easy means of transport, are no mean lessons in enlightenment to the millions who, till comparatively recent years, have lived in the dark ages of bigoted tyranny and have cowered under violence and misrule.

Great attention was paid by Lord Ripon's government towards carrying out the recommendations of the famine commission of 1880 with regard to the extension of railways. A programme was prepared in 1883–84 covering the ensuing six years, but it was not put into practical effect till Lord Dufferin had assumed the reins of government in 1885. But from that date to the present time the extension of the Indian railway system, whether directly by the state or by aided enterprise, whether for commercial, protective, or military lines, has been pursued with vigour.

CRIMINAL PROCEDURE

A proposed alteration of the Criminal Procedure Code, with the view of conferring criminal jurisdiction over European British subjects upon certain classes of native judicial officers in the interior, caused during 1883 the greatest excitement throughout India.

A bill was accordingly introduced on February 9th, 1883. Immediately there arose the clamour of opposition. On the 20th of February a public meeting of the European inhabitants of Calcutta was held in the town hall, at which a resolution was passed denouncing the principle of the bill, and pledging the community to oppose its progress. From that time the opposition rapidly gathered strength, and later in the year became violent beyond all precedent. The British community, with rare exceptions, united in opposing the bill.

In 1884 the government undertook to agree in select committee to the right being given to European British subjects, when brought for trial before a district magistrate or sessions judge, to claim trial by jury, such as is provided by section 451 of the Criminal Procedure Code, subject to the following conditions: (1) No distinction to be made between European or native district magistrates or sessions judges; (2) the powers of district magistrates under section 446 of the code to be extended to imprisonment for six months or fine of 2 000 rupees. The settlement thus arrived at became law without further opposition in January, 1884, and remains the law on this subject to the present time.

Among other prominent measures of the early years of the eighth decade

was the repeal of the Vernacular Press Acts passed by Lord Lytton. In the opinion of Lord Ripon's government, the Press Acts passed by Lord Lytton (9 and 16 of 1878) constituted a direct departure from the policy with respect to the press in India which had been followed by the government of India for upwards of forty years. It was the aim of these acts to restrain the press, which was stated to have been at that time markedly seditious in its tone. They provided that a paper, after having been warned, would be liable to suspension, and they applied not only to publications of a nature to excite disaffection and endanger the public peace, but also to those affecting private persons and public servants. Other objections apart, it was held by Lord Ripon's government that an invidious exception was thus permitted in favour of the English press; and it was contended that if the Penal Code did not meet such cases, the existing defect in the code might be remedied. Acts 9 and 16 of 1878 were accordingly repealed. Later, in 1898, in consequence of plague riots in Poona, the murder of two British officers in retaliation for alleged insults to native usage and custom in the searching of women's apartments, and of much seditious writing connected therewith in the Bombay press, the Penal and Criminal Procedure codes were respectively amended by Acts 4 and 5 of 1898, which rendered the law in regard to seditious writing very considerably more stringent.

From Lord Ripon's tenure of office date also the revival and reorganisation, in accordance with the recommendations of the famine commission of 1878, of an agricultural department, whether in the government of India or in provincial governments. Such a department had already been brought into existence in 1871, but only to be abolished in 1877. It was not till the tenure of office by Lord Dufferin that the Bengal and Oudh Rent bills actually became law; but they had been framed and prepared and made almost ready for legislative sanction before his predecessor resigned office. They aimed at securing to the cultivating tenant a more stable interest in his holding, and they modified previous legislation principally in this direction. In Bengal, and in a lesser measure in Oudh, the objects aimed at by the legislature met with strenuous and organised opposition. In both provinces the landlord had hitherto enjoyed in a degree unusual in India the power of rack-renting and evicting his tenants. In neither province had he shown solicitude for the tenant by whose labour he so largely profited. The Bengal and Oudh Rent acts dealt with a vast variety of local tenures and sub-tenures and complicated questions of tenant right in a spirit of equity and moderation. The result has been everywhere beneficial. Speaking in general terms, it may be said that legislation was more favourable to the tenant than to the landlord. The dust of controversy has since settled down, and the new legislation has become the rule of practice.

The year 1885 furnishes the high-water mark of peaceful and uninterrupted progress. From that date clouds again began to accumulate around and about the Indian horizon. Before that year was over Great Britain had been nearly plunged into war by a collision between Russian and Afghan troops at Panjdeh, in Central Asia. Over £2,000,000 had been expended in hurried war preparations; commercial and famine railway extension had been arrested, and a large scheme of unremunerative military railways had in part overlaid and superseded it. Then came, almost on the heels of the Panjdeh incident, the outbreak of the Burma War, which in one or other form dragged on for the space of nearly two years. Meanwhile, in view of the approach of Russia in Central Asia, the government of India had decided to increase the effective strength both of its British and native army, the former by ten thousand, the

latter by twenty thousand men, at an estimated annual increase of little less than one and one-half million sterling. Military defence works and measures for more speedy mobilization added largely to prospective military expenditure. Exchange, which had remained for the space of three or four years fairly stationary, again resumed its downward course. A succession of costly frontier wars was entered on; and, as in 1878, before long the attention of the government was once more diverted from all home questions. Finally, though at a later date, came a recurrence of famine and the appearance in India of the bubonic plague. Such, during the period from 1885 to 1900, was the accumulation of disastrous circumstances, some of which it was not in the power of the government of India by the exercise of any prudence or wisdom to avert. Following rapidly one on the other, they again obstructed indefinitely that uncertain and hesitating path of progress which is so soon lost or choked by the sudden and tropical growth of tangled troubles in India.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM

Before, however, all this had finally occurred, one or two measures of importance remain to be noticed, which originated with Lord Dufferin's government, though they were in their final stage put into execution by his successor. They are marked by the desire to conciliate native opinion, and to provide a field for the due expansion of native ambitions, which had uniformly characterised the administration both of Lord Dufferin and of his predecessor. In October, 1886, a strong mixed commission was appointed by the government of Lord Dufferin to inquire into the system under which natives of India were at that time admitted by statute to the covenanted civil service, or to offices formerly reserved exclusively for members of that service; and also their employment in all branches of the public service connected with the civil administration of the country. The commission presented a report at the close of 1887, dealing with all branches of the civil administration. The recommendations of the commission, with comparatively unimportant reservations, were accepted by the government of India and the secretary of state for India, and are at the present moment in force. They have greatly improved and strengthened the prospects of higher employment to all classes of natives of India, and have for some time to come, it may be reasonably anticipated, set at rest agitation on this point.

A measure was introduced by Lord Dufferin's government which concerns rather the military and political than the internal administration of India, but which cannot be wholly regarded as outside the general scope of Indian affairs. At the time of the Panjdeh difficulty in 1885, when war with Russia seemed imminent, all the leading native princes made offers of pecuniary aid. Their offers were refused, but it was intimated to them at a somewhat later date that if they would place a small military force in each state at the disposal of the British government, to be commanded by state officers, but drilled, disciplined, and armed under the supervision of British officers and on British lines, the government would undertake to find the necessary supervising officer, arms, and organisation. The offer was universally accepted, and the Imperial State troops, as they are called, amount at present to nearly 18,000, mainly cavalry and infantry, whose efficiency is very highly thought of. They rendered good service in Chitral and Gilgit, in the wars on the north-west frontier, and in China. The total native state troops are said to number, inclusive of this body, about one hundred and ten thousand, largely an ill-

armed and ill-disciplined rabble. The Imperial Service troops, therefore, amount to about 16 per cent. of the total number.

During the twenty-one years preceding 1880 both upper and southern India had been visited at times by devastating famines. In 1896–97 India was revisited by famine, and the bubonic plague, which has since been constantly present in more or less virulence, first showed itself. The famine of 1896–97 extended over some 310,000 square miles, with a population in round figures of 35 millions, and was most severe in the north-west provinces, in Oudh, and in the central provinces. It lasted from about September, 1896, till October, 1897. At the worst time the total numbers on relief were 4,609,000. The death-rate per mile in the famine districts rose from 32.80, the normal death-rate, to 39.54. The total government expenditure and loss to government is estimated at about seventeen and one-quarter millions. Again, in 1900, famine appeared and proved itself most severe in Bombay, Rajputana, and the central provinces. The tract concerned contained a population of eighty-five millions, of whom perhaps fifty-two millions were severely affected. Of the eighty-five millions, forty-three and one-quarter millions were inhabitants of native states, and forty-one and three-quarter millions were in British territory. At the close of May 1900, 5,802,000 were in receipt of relief. After the rainy season of 1900 distress gradually abated. The expenditure necessary to cope with the famine was estimated at £13,000,000 (at 15 rupees to the £1). The death of adults from starvation is stated to have been of rare occurrence, and due entirely to the apathy of the people themselves. *f*

THIRD BURMESE WAR (1885 A.D.)

The causes which led to this war, and the consequent annexation of Upper Burma, may be briefly narrated. Relations between the British and Burmese governments had for some years been considerably strained, but it was not till the accession of Thibaw to the throne in 1878 that matters became really serious. This potentate opened his reign by a series of more than usually cold-blooded massacres of his nearest male relatives, and it soon became evident that the position of a British envoy at the court of Ava was no longer either a desirable or dignified one. In 1879, therefore, Great Britain ceased to be represented in Mandalay, and matters went from bad to worse. Thibaw lent himself more and more to foreign intrigues; and finally, in the summer of 1885, matters came to a crisis over a dispute that had arisen between the king and a large British mercantile firm called the Bombay-Burma Trading Company, which for years had been engaged in the export of timber from the great teak forests of the king's dominions. The imposition of an impossible fine on this company, coupled with the threat of confiscation of all their rights and property in case of non-payment, led to the British ultimatum of October 22nd, 1885; and by November 9th a practical refusal of the terms having been received at Rangoon, the occupation of Mandalay and the dethronement of the king were determined upon.

At this time, beyond the fact that the country was one of dense jungle, and therefore most unfavourable for military operations, little was known of the interior of Upper Burma; but British steamers had for years been running on the great river highway of the Irawadi, from Rangoon to Mandalay, and it was obvious that the quickest and most satisfactory method of carrying out the British campaign was an advance by water direct on the capital. The total effective of the British force was 9,034 fighting men,

[1885 A.D.

2,810 native followers, and 67 guns; and, for river service, 24 machine guns. The river fleet which conveyed the troops and stores was composed of a total of no less than 55 steamers, barges, launches, etc.

Thayetmyo was the British post on the river nearest to the frontier, and here, by November 14th, five days after Thibaw's answer had been received practically the whole expedition was assembled. On the same day General Prendergast received instructions to commence operations. There is not the slightest doubt that the Burmese king and his country were taken completely by surprise by the unexampled rapidity of the advance. There had been no time for them to collect and organise for the stubborn resistance of which the river and its defences were undoubtedly capable. They had not even been able to block the river by sinking steamers, etc., across it, for, on the very day of the receipt of orders to advance, the armed steamers, the *Irrawaddy* and *Kathleen*, engaged the nearest Burmese batteries, and brought out from under their guns the king's steamer and some barges which were lying in readiness for this very purpose. On the 16th the batteries themselves on both banks were taken by a land attack, the enemy being evidently unprepared and making no resistance. On the 17th of November, however, at Minhla, on the right bank of the river, the Burmans in considerable force held successively a barricade, a pagoda, and the palace and redoubt of Minhla. The attack was pressed home by a brigade of native infantry on shore, covered by a bombardment from the river, and the enemy were defeated with a loss of 170 killed and 276 prisoners, besides many more drowned in the attempt to escape by the river.

The advance was continued next day and the following days, the naval brigade and heavy artillery leading and silencing in succession the enemy's river defences at Nyoungu, Pokoko, and Myingyan. On the 26th of November, when the flotilla was approaching the ancient capital of Ava, envoys from King Thibaw met General Prendergast with offers of surrender and on the 27th, when the ships were lying off that city and ready to commence hostilities, the order of the king to his troops to lay down their arms was received. There were three strong forts here, full at that moment of thousands of armed Burmans, and though a large number of these filed past and laid down their arms by the king's command, still many more were allowed to disperse with their weapons; and these, in the time that followed, broke up into "dacoit" or guerilla bands, which became the scourge of the country and prolonged the war for years. Meanwhile, however, the surrender of the king of Burma was complete; and on November 28th, in less than a fortnight from the declaration of war, Mandalay had fallen, and the king himself was a prisoner, while every strong fort and town on the river, and all the king's ordnance (1,861 pieces), and thousands of rifles, muskets, and arms had been taken. Much valuable and curious "loot" and property was found in the palace and city of Mandalay, which, when sold, realized about 9 lacs of rupees (£60,000). A grant of money was divided among the troops as "prize money."

From Mandalay, General Prendergast made a bold stroke and seized Bhamo on December 28th. This was a very important move, as it forestalled the Chinese, who were preparing to claim the place. But unfortunately, although the king was dethroned and deported, and the capital and the whole of the river in the hands of the British, the bands of armed soldiery, unaccustomed to conditions other than those of anarchy, rapine, and murder, took advantage of the impenetrable cover of their jungles to continue a desultory armed resistance. Reinforcements had to be pressed into the country, and it was in this phase of the campaign, lasting several years, that the most

difficult and most arduous work fell to the lot of the troops. It was in this jungle warfare that the losses from battle, sickness, and privation steadily mounted up; and the troops, both British and native, proved once again their fortitude and courage.

Various expeditions followed one another in rapid succession, penetrating to the remotest corners of the land, and bringing peace and protection to the inhabitants, who, it must be mentioned, suffered at least as much from the "dacoits" as did the troops. The final, and completely successful, pacification of the country was only brought about by an extensive system of small protective posts scattered all over the country, and small lightly-equipped columns moving out to disperse the enemy whenever a gathering came to a head, or a pretended prince or king appeared.

THE DECLINE OF INDIAN PROSPERITY

The first fruits of political complications and military measures, combined with a further fall in the exchange, was the repeal of the then existing licence tax and the reimposition of an income tax in March, 1886; this being the first of a succession of fiscal measures by which in the course of the ensuing eight years the work of Sir John Strachey and Sir Evelyn Baring was gradually but completely undone, and the country again subjected to methods of taxation which it had been the object of their reforms finally to remove.

In introducing the Income Tax Bill in 1886, the financial member of the council said: "With the present year our brief spell of happiness has come to an end. The fat kine have passed on, and the lean kine have come in. Three uninterrupted years of prosperity is a godsend in the annals of every nation; in our Indian annals it is extraordinarily good fortune." In 1885–1886 the fall in exchange which had been temporarily suspended recommenced, and the Burmese War broke out. In 1886 India definitely entered into the region of depression and storm from war, famine, pestilence, and exchange, from which in 1902 she had not yet emerged.

Taking the average net expenditure of the years 1883–1885, and contrasting it with 1895–1896, the Indian expenditure commission found that the increase in the later period amounted to twelve and one-half millions of pounds. To meet the increased expenditure it had therefore become necessary that the resources of the Indian treasury should be increased by about £12,000,000. Thus the taxation on salt and imports, which was abolished by Sir John Strachey and Sir E. Baring, has now been reimposed, and remains in force. Other taxation has been added. The normal growth of revenue during the period of comparison (£5,800,000) was absorbed by the increase of expenditure under "defence and foreign affairs"—in other words, military and political—in India, and apart from the charge for exchange.

Of the total increased expenditure of £12,400,000, not less than £9,786,000, inclusive of exchange, was due to military and political expenditure. From 1886 onwards, with but brief intervals, there has occurred a series of wars and frontier expeditions, some of which, such as the Burmese War of 1886–1887, were extremely costly. The preparation for possible war with Russia amounted, in 1885–1886, to over two millions. The war with Burma cost, in the three years 1885–1886 to 1887–1888, over four millions. Minor expeditions, from 1887–1888 to 1895–1896, cost over five millions. The Tirah campaign of 1897–1898 (though this was of a date later than 1896–1897, the last year of the commission's comparison) cost over three millions—say in all, in round numbers, fourteen millions in eleven years. Increase in military and

political expenditure, and increased loss by exchange (itself partly caused by the increase in military expenditure), are the causes which have led to the reimposition of the customs duties on cotton and other goods, and to the raising of the salt duties. The increased loss by exchange has been checked by closing the Indian mints to the coinage of silver and by the adoption of a gold standard. The further increase of military and political expenditure must largely depend on the policy pursued by the government of India with regard to the tribes on its north-western frontier and to the course of events hereafter in Afghanistan.

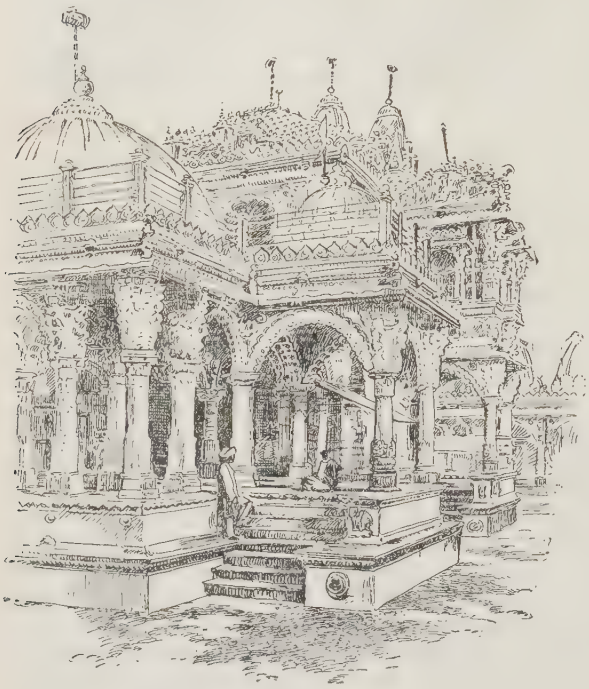
EVENTS ON THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER

Since 1889 India has suffered from a succession of frontier wars. At the close of the Kabul War in 1880 the British cabinet decided to withdraw not from Kabul only, but from Kandahar, and with the exception chiefly of the Pishin and Sibi districts, and of Quetta, the British retired within their former borders. So matters remained till 1883–1884, when the advance of Russia in Central Asia again turned the attention of the government of India to affairs on and beyond the frontier, and led ultimately to the final abandonment of the policy of observation and reserve, which is known as the Lawrence policy. The control of the frontier was transferred in the latter part of the eighth decade from the lieutenant-governor of the Punjab to the government of India in its foreign department.

From that time the policy of non-interference was replaced by increasing activity. From 1885, when war with Russia seemed imminent, there has been more or less continuous movement along one or other part of the frontier and beyond the British border, indicating the gradual development of a prearranged plan of operations. Between the years 1885–1895 there were delimited at various times by joint commissions the Russo-Afghan frontier To the westward, after various disagreements and two military expeditions, the territories comprising the Zhob, Barhan, and Bori valleys, occupied by Pathan tribes, were in 1890 finally incorporated in the general system of the Trans-Indus protectorate. About the same time (in 1889) at the other end of the frontier, where it touches China, the post of British resident in Gilgit had been re-established. The result became very shortly apparent. The government of Kashmir having for the time passed under the direct control of the British authorities through the death of the maharajah, in 1889, a council of regency was established under the supreme direction and authority of the British resident in Kashmir. Acting under his instructions, the council asserted and, with the aid of its troops led by the resident of Gilgit and by other British officers, re-established its supremacy over the petty states of Hunza and Nagar, in the neighbourhood of Gilgit, which it claimed as feudatories. The former chieftains were deposed, and others, more friendly to the British government, replaced them. In 1893 the frontiers of Afghanistan and British India were defined by a joint agreement between the two governments. There followed on the part of the British authorities, interference in Chitral, which had fallen to India, ending in an expedition in 1895 and the ejection of the local chiefs in favour of candidates amenable to British influence.

A more formidable hostile combination, however, awaited the government of India. By the agreement of 1893 with the amir most of the Waziri clan, the Bajouris, and the Afridis had been left outside the limits of the amir's influence and transferred to the British zone. Soon after that date the establishment of the British military authorities of posts within the Waziri country

had led to apprehension on the part of the local tribesmen. In 1895 the occupation of points within the Swat territory for the safety of the road from India to Chitral similarly roused the suspicion of the Swatis. The Waziris and Swatis successively rose in arms, in June and July, 1897, and their example was followed by the Mohmands. Finally, in August the powerful Afridi tribe joined the combination and closed the Khyber pass, which runs through their territory, and which was held by them, on conditions, in trust for the government of India. This led to the military operations known as the Tirah campaign, which proved very costly both in men and money. It was not till February, 1898, that hostilities finally ceased along the border, with a total British loss in all the several engagements with the several tribes of 506 of all ranks killed, 537 dead of disease, 1,428 wounded, and 9 missing — in all 2,480. By the middle of 1898 British authority had been made paramount throughout the whole belt of territory which stretches between the former British frontier and the frontiers of Russia and Afghanistan, and from the Karakoram pass to Pishin.



TEMPLE OF HATHISINH AT AHMEDABAD

VICEROYS, 1880–1906

The viceroys who held office during the period here dealt with were the marquis of Ripon, 1880–84; the marquis of Dufferin and Ava, 1884–88; the marquis of Lansdowne, 1888–95; the earl of Elgin, 1895–99; Baron Curzon of Kedleston, 1899; [and the earl of Minto from 1905]. Few viceroys have been animated by greater zeal, or sustained by a higher conception of duty, than Lord Ripon. In the prime of life, possessed of much ability, an indefatigable worker, and of experience in public affairs, he was greeted on arrival in India with a welcome the more warm in that the public had grown distrustful of his predecessor. Before he laid down office the goodwill with which he had been received had turned into hatred such as had never before dogged the footsteps of an Indian governor-general. So long as Lord Ripon confined himself to raising and improving the status of the native of India his action was followed by the British community, if not with warm approval, at least with kindly good will. But when he proceeded to assimilate the authority of native magistrates over European British subjects to that of British magistrates

themselves, he was rudely made to feel that the government of India, autocratic though it may at times be with the natives, must be more circumspect in dealing with the British community.

The struggle with his fellow countrymen in which Lord Ripon suffered himself to be involved dealt a death-blow to his usefulness as viceroy. Instead of holding the balance between all parties, the viceroy became seemingly a partisan of one against another. When Lord Ripon's name grew to be a symbol between contending factions, nothing remained for him but to withdraw from an office in which he could no longer render useful service. But the Indian historian will hereafter record that to Lord Ripon belongs the distinction of having been the first viceroy openly to recognise and give practical encouragement to the growth of a self-respecting spirit of endeavour and of the desire for some measure of self-government among the more advanced classes of the natives. He sought, as events have shown not unsuccessfully, to assist them in raising themselves from an attitude of passive administrative subjection to a position more worthy both of themselves and of the government under whose liberal rule they live. His generous and kindly recognition of their claims and capacity was warmly responded to by all classes of natives; and if he was condemned to leave Calcutta in whatever disgrace may be thought to attach to the censure of that city, he received from the natives of India throughout his journey to Bombay a spontaneous and enthusiastic ovation, of which the like has never been accorded to his predecessors or successors.

It is greatly to the honour of Lord Dufferin that, though by no means indifferent to popularity among his countrymen, he never for a moment hesitated to continue and to carry further the main lines of the enlightened policy which had been initiated by Lord Ripon. But in Lord Dufferin's sagacious hands the rocks and shoals on which his predecessor foundered were avoided. In raising the status of the native civil service, and in enlarging the basis and extending the attributes of the several legislative councils, Lord Dufferin laid the native population under a lasting debt of gratitude. In the historic interview with the amir of Afghanistan in 1885 at Rawal Pindi, as throughout his treatment of the Panjdeh incident, his characteristic firmness and suavity were equally displayed. His term of office was darkened by financial difficulties, largely owing to the fall in exchange. The conquest of Upper Burma, though it increased his popularity and added to the lustre of his viceroyalty, reopened the floodgates of military expenditure and added to financial troubles.

With the advent of Lord Lansdowne the liberal policy of his immediate predecessors suffered eclipse. As time passed, it became evident that his thoughts were more occupied with affairs beyond the north-west frontier of India than with the interests of good government within its limits. The growing influence exercised over the viceroy by his chief military and political advisers became more and more matter of uneasy comment. Under their influence, and probably with approval in Whitehall, Lord Lansdowne renewed in substance Lord Lytton's policy, and the wars which have drained India of money and men since 1896 were due to the course of action adopted under his auspices in the years preceding. There never was a time since 1838 when Simla was so actively the centre of ambitions and of designs beyond the Indus. The most favoured type of Indian official was no longer the provincial governor or the sagacious resident, but that warden of the marches of Baluchistan, Sir Robert Sandeman, whose unique aim it was to extend the zone of British influence beyond the frontier, and whose method was to participate in

tribal dissensions, and to profit by them. "Sandemania," which has proved so contagious, then first became epidemic in high quarters.

It should be added, however, to the credit of his administration, that Lord Lansdowne grappled successfully with one hideous evil in Hindu social life. He left behind him an act to raise the age of consent among Indian wives from ten to twelve, which, while it provoked much popular clamour, was approved by men of enlightenment of all creeds and races.

During so much of his term of office as was not occupied with combating famine and plague, Lord Elgin was engaged in conflict beyond the frontier with enemies who were none of his own seeking, or in acrid controversy with political friends in England on questions arising out of the political difficulties which had been bequeathed to him by his predecessor. Though the credit of introducing a gold standard into India does not personally rest with Lord Elgin, it was during his term of office that the measure was matured and effect given to it.[f] Lord Curzon became viceroy in 1899. Under him the years 1900–1902 were marked by a great famine which was especially pronounced in the Bombay presidency, Baroda, Hyderabad, and the Central Indian States. Still more terrible were the ravages of the plague, which, beginning in 1896, gradually increased in virulence until in the year 1903 about 842,000, and in 1904 about 1,029,000 persons died of it. The fact that in December and January of 1902–03 about $1,000,000 was expended on the great coronation Durbar at Delhi, when this money might have been devoted to saving human lives, aroused much criticism.

In the year 1903 a British mission under Colonel Younghusband was despatched by the Indian government to Tibet to discuss trade relations and to secure the observance of certain conventions made in 1890 and 1893. In the following March, after long delays and protracted negotiations, the military escort which accompanied the mission became involved in an armed conflict with the Tibetans. After some further delays and negotiations, the expedition then fought its way to the mysterious forbidden city of Lhasa, which was taken on the 3d of August. There a formal treaty was signed by which arrangements were made for commercial intercourse between India and Tibet, and Tibet agreed to pay an indemnity of £500,000, but this sum was later reduced to £166,000.

Lord Curzon's administration was in general a satisfactory one, but in 1905 he became involved in a controversy with Lord Kitchener, the commander-in-chief of the forces in India, over a proposal to increase the powers of the latter, and as Kitchener was sustained by the home government, the viceroy resigned on August 12th. He was succeeded by the earl of Minto.

On September 1, 1904, the presidency of Bengal was divided into two provinces known as East Bengal and Assan. This partition aroused opposition among the Bengalis, and in 1907 the agitation spread into the Punjab; there were signs of latent sedition throughout eastern Bengal and the Punjab; there was some rioting, and the government was obliged to take rather harsh measures. The reasons underlying the movement appear to be the inevitable antagonism of the native Indian to alien rule. Babu Chundra Pal, a Bengali of considerable education, much ability, and of great eloquence, was the chief purveyor of seditious ideas; and it was noted that the Europeanised barristers and others, having a western education, were among the most active in the movement.[a]

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A CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF THE HISTORY OF INDIA (1336–1908 A.D.)

1336 Independent Afghan dynasty (capital Ghor) begins to reign in Bengal.
1347-1357 Earliest Mohammedan dynasty established in the Deccan by Ala-ud-din (capital Gulbargah).
1391 Independent Mohammedan dynasty founded at Ahmadabad in Guzerat.
1484 Imad Shahi dynasty founded at Berar (capital Ellichpur).
1489 Adil Shahi dynasty founded at Bijapur.
1490 Nizam Shahi dynasty founded at Ahmadnagar.
1492 Barid Shahi dynasty founded at Bidar.
1498 Vasco da Gama discovers the Cape route to India and reaches Calicut.
1500 Portuguese factories established at Kananur and Cochin.

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

1505 First Portuguese viceroy in India: the Portuguese discover Ceylon.
1510 The Portuguese viceroy conquers Goa and
1511 Malacca.
1512 Kutab Shahi dynasty founded at Golconda.
1515 Portuguese established at Diu.
1518 Portuguese settle in Ceylon.
1521 The discontented subjects of the emperor of Delhi summon Baber (Zehir-ud-din), the Mughal king of Kabul, to India.
1526 Baber defeats the Delhi emperor in the great battle of Panipat and takes Agra; the Rana Sanga of Mewar (Udaipur) collects a vast host against him.
1527 Baber wins the battle of Kanweh and makes himself master of India.
1530 Death of Baber. His son Humayun succeeds him.
1531 Daman taken and destroyed by Portuguese.
1539 Humayun defeated by Shir Shah who becomes lord of Hindustan; Humayun takes refuge in Persia.
1543 St. Francis Xavier founds Christian settlements in Travancore.
1545 Portuguese viceroy defeats the king of Guzerat at Diu.
1556 Humayun recovers part of his empire, including Delhi. Humayun dies and is succeeded by Akbar the Great under regency of Bairam Khan. He begins a series of wars to recover the empire of Baber.
1558 Portuguese settled at Daman.
1560 Akbar assumes the government in person and exercises a strong and humane government.
1565 Battle of Talikota; the five Mohammedan kings of the Deccan defeat the Hindu rajah of Vijayanagar and overthrow his empire (founded 1118) which splits up into small sovereignties.
1567 Princes of western India league against the Portuguese but are defeated by them.

1568 Akbar takes Chitor and conquers Ajmir.
1570 Akbar obtains Oudh and Gwalior.
1572 Akbar defeats the ruler of Ahmadabad and constitutes Guzerat a viceroyalty. The Afghans expelled from Bengal, and the lower Ganges valley recovered for Akbar.
1578 Orissa annexed to Akbar's empire. Akbar invites Jesuit missionaries to Lahore.
1579 The Englishman, Thomas Stephens visits India.
1581 Kabul added to Akbar's empire.
1586 Kashmir acquired by Akbar.
1592 Sind acquired by Akbar.
1594 Kandahar submits to Akbar.
1596 Akbar subdues Berar.
1600 Charter granted to the English East India Company.

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

1602 First voyage made for the East India Company. Dutch East India Company formed.
1605 Akbar dies and is succeeded by his son Jahangir.
1606 Rebellion of Jahangir's son, Khusru, punished.
1612 The East India Company's first factory founded at Surat. First Danish East India Company founded.
1614 British agency established at Ajmir.
1615 An English embassy despatched to the court of Delhi.
1616 Danish settlements at Tranquebar and Serampur.
1620 Portuguese fleet defeated by the English.
1622 The Dutch massacre eighteen Englishmen at Amboyna. English factory established at Masulipatam.
1627 Shah Jahan succeeds Jahangir; the Mughal Empire at its height.
1634 Portuguese expelled from Bengal.
1638 Aurangzeb, son of Shah Jahan, having seized and plundered Hyderabad becomes governor of the Deccan. The Dutch take Portuguese forts in Ceylon.
1639 English settlement established at Madras.
1650 Shah Jahan renders the kingdom of Bijapur (Deccan) tributary.
1657 The Mahratta, Sivaji, rebels against the king of Bijapur and builds up a Mahratta power in the Deccan.
1658 Aurangzeb, having defeated three brothers and assassinated another, usurps the throne of his father, Shah Jahan. The Dutch take Colombo and the last Portuguese possessions in Ceylon.
1661 Bombay ceded to England by Portugal.
1664 The Dutch take the Portuguese settlements on the Malabar coast. Sivaji pillages Surat.
1666 Shah Jahan dies and is buried in the beautiful Taj Mahal which he had built at Agra.
1668 Bombay transferred to the East India Company. Successful campaign of Aurangzeb in the Deccan.
1670 Second Danish East India Company founded.
1674 French East India Company established at Pondicherry.
1680 Sivaji, having consolidated a strong Mahratta power in the Deccan, dies.
1682 Aurangzeb sets out to conquer the Deccan.
1683-1687 Aurangzeb incorporates the kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda with his empire.
1686 The English attempt to take Chittagong and are driven from Bengal.
1687 Bombay becomes the headquarters of the East India Company.
1693 East India Company's charter renewed.
1698 "General Society trading to the East Indies" formed in England.
1700 Calcutta purchased by the East India Company.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

1707 Death of Aurangzeb, the last great ruler of the Mughal dynasty. War between his sons; Bahadur Shah the victor. The authority of the Mughal power gradually usurped by minor chieftains.
1709 "General Society" unites with English East India Company.
1712 Death of Bahadur Shah. Quarrels between his sons.
1713 Jahandar Shah, son of Bahadur Shah, deposed and strangled; Farrakhsiyyar succeeds.
1714 Kamr-ud-din (Asaf Jah) is appointed governor of the Deccan and becomes founder of the Hyderabad dynasty. The peshwas of Poona begin to found an independent Mahratta power which becomes the head of the Mahratta confederacy.

1716 The Bhonsla king Raghoji establishes a Mahratta power of Nagpur.
1719 Farrakhsiyyar deposed and strangled; Muhammed Shah succeeds. Various French companies consolidated as "Company of the Indies."
1720 Saadat Ali Khan appointed nawab of Oudh, which he makes an independent sovereignty.
1721 Commencement of the foundation of the Mahratta state of Baroda.
1724 The Mahratta dynasty of Sindhia establishes itself at Gwalior.
1733 Foundation of the Mahratta power of Indore, or Holkar's dominions.
1735 Kashmir incorporated with the kingdom of Kabul.
1736 Sindhia's forces invade Hindustan and advance to Delhi.
1739 Persians under Nadir Shah invade India and withdraw after sacking Delhi.
1746 Madras captured by the French under La Bourdonnais.
1748 The English besiege Pondicherry.
1751 French and English having taken sides in the quarrels of the Deccan princes, the English under Clive take Arcot and defend it against the French and their allies.
1753 The French acquire the Northern Circars from the sovereign of the Deccan.
1756 Clive becomes governor of Fort St. David. The fort at Calcutta taken by Siraj-ud-Daula (Surajah Dowlah) and the European prisoners confined in the Black Hole of Calcutta.
1757 Clive defeats Siraj-ud-Daula at Plassey, and establishes Mir Jafar in his place. The British relieve Trichinopoli, besieged by the French, who take the English factory at Vizagapatam. Madura surrendered to the British.
1758 French under Lally take Fort St. David from the British.
1759 Lally fails in the siege of Madras. The British take Masulipatam from the French and obtain eight districts from the ruler of the Deccan. Northern Circars transferred to British. Clive aids Mir Jafar to repel an invasion from Rohilkhand.
1760 The British defeat Lally at Wandewash and take Pondicherry. Bardwan, Midnapur, and Chittagong ceded to the British.
1761 The king of Kabul totally defeats the Mahrattas at Panipat and finally destroys the power of the king of Delhi.
1763 War between the British and the nawab of Bengal.
1764 The great Mughal with Sujah-ud-Daula, ruler of Oudh, aids the nawab of Bengal and is defeated at Baxar. The English make a treaty with the great Mughal who grants them the zemindari of Benares.
1765 Sujah-ud-Daula and the Mahrattas defeated by the British at Korah. The great Mughal empowers Clive to collect the revenues of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa.
1766 Hyder Ali makes himself rajah of Mysore.
1767 War between the peshwa and Hyder Ali. The British and the nizam of the Deccan aid the peshwa. The peshwa makes a separate peace with Hyder. The British retreat and defeat the Mysore troops at Trinomali and Ambur.
1768 Nepal conquered by the Gurkas.
1769 Hyder, joined by the French, makes successful attacks on the British. Treaty of Hyder Ali with the British.
1770 Great famine in Bengal.
1771 War between Hyder and the peshwa. Shah Alam becomes nominal sovereign of Delhi under the real domination of Sindhia.
1772 Marawar war. Impeachment of Clive. Warren Hastings governor of Bengal.
1773 "Regulating Act" for the East India Company passed.
1774 British troops aid Sujah-ud-Daula of Oudh in the Rohilla war. Hastings becomes governor-general.
1775 War with Mahrattas (first Mahratta war) and acquisition of Salsette by the Bombay presidency. The supreme council at Calcutta forces the Bombay government to break faith with the Mahratta chief Ragoba.
1778 War between France and England. Hastings seizes Chandarnagar. War with the Mahrattas renewed.
1780 Hyder Ali overruns the Coromandel Coast and defeats the British at Conjeveram. Independence of Baroda recognised by the British government.
1781 Hyder ravages Tanjore and is defeated at Porto Novo by Sir Eyre Coote, who relieves Vellore.
1782 Sea fights between the British and the French under Suffren. Tipu Sahib succeeds his father Hyder Ali.
1783 Bednor taken by the British and recovered by Tipu, who besieges Mangalore. Indecisive sea fight off Cuddalore between Suffren and Hastings.
1784 The British evacuate Mangalore. Peace with Tipu. Pitt's India Bill, regulating the management of the East India Company, passed.
1786 Lord Cornwallis becomes governor-general of India. Supplementary bills passed.
1787 Impeachment of Warren Hastings.

1788 Tipu Sahib overruns and oppresses Calicut.
1789 Tipu attacks the rajah of Travancore, a British ally. The British make alliance with the peshwa against Tipu. Tipu defeats the rajah of Travancore.
1790 War with Tipu. The rajah of Travancore restored.
1791 Cornwallis takes Bangalore and defeats Tipu, but retreats.
1792 Cornwallis takes Seringapatam and forces Tipu to surrender half his territories, the British retaining his possessions on the Malabar coast.
1793 "Permanent Settlement" (of assessments on land in Bengal).
1795 Sindhia attacks and defeats the nizam of the Deccan. The British take the Dutch forts in Ceylon.
1796 French company of the Indies abolished by the French national assembly.
1798 Lord Mornington (Marquis Wellesley) becomes governor-general. Napoleon Bonaparte opens negotiations with Tipu Sahib; French from Mauritius organise a jacobin club in Seringapatam. Ranjit Singh becomes ruler of Lahore.
1799 British declare war on Tipu and defeat him at Malaveli; they capture Seringapatam, where Tipu is killed. The Kanara district becomes British territory. Maharajah Krishna, representative of the ancient dynasty of Mysore, made sovereign of Mysore.
1800 Sir John Malcolm is sent as ambassador to the king of Persia and concludes an alliance between him and the British government. The East India Company assumes the government of Surat. By treaty with the nizam the East India Company engages to defend Hyderabad against foreign aggression, receives territories in trust (Berar) to defray cost of British troops, and assumes direction of Hyderabad's foreign affairs.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

1801 The East India Company interferes in the disputes for the rule of the Carnatic and takes over the government in perpetuity.
1802 The peshwa, driven from Poona by Holkar, concludes the Treaty of Bassein with the Company. British possessions in Ceylon become a direct dependency of the British crown.
1803 Second Mahratta War. General Wellesley (Duke of Wellington) restores the peshwa. Wellesley defeats the Mahrattas at Assaye. Lake takes Aligarh, wins the battle of Laswari and takes Delhi and Agra. Wellesley defeats the Mahrattas at Argam. Powell overruns Bundelkhand and takes Gwalior. Cuttack conquered by the British. Unsuccessful war in Ceylon. Treaty with Sindhia who surrenders his suzerain rights over the chiefs between the Jumna and Ganges and others.
1804 War with Holkar. Wellesley disperses the predatory bands formed from Sindhia's army. Holkar besieges Delhi which Lake relieves. Holkar's forces destroyed at Dig and Farrakhabad.
1805 Lake besieges Bhartpur, but fails to take it; the rajah of Bhartpur makes a treaty with the British. Treaty with Sindhia, who cedes Gwalior and part of Gohud to the British; treaty with Holkar secures Poona and Bundelkhand to the British.
1806 Sepoy mutiny at Vellore quelled by Colonel Gillespie.
1807 Lord Minto becomes governor-general.
1809 Treaty between the British and Shuja-ul-Mulk king of Kabul. Shuja-ul-Mulk defeated by his brother Mahmud. Treaty between the British and Ranjit Singh. Kashmir becomes an independent kingdom.
1810 Amboyna and the Banda Islands conquered by the Company. The British conquer Mauritius.
1811 The Company's troops conquer Java from the Dutch.
1813 An act of Parliament modifies the political organisation of the East India Company and extends the privilege of trading with India to other persons. A system introduced for the support of government-paid missionaries in India. Lord Moira (Hastings) governor-general. Ranjit Singh obtains possession of Attock.
1814 Disastrous war with Nepal. Amboyna, Banda Islands and Java restored to the Dutch.
1815 The British defeat the tyrant of Ceylon; the whole island becomes British; civil and religious liberty granted to the inhabitants.
1816 Second war with Nepal; the Gurkas defeated at Mukwanpur; a British residency established in Nepal.
1817-1818 Power of the robber Pindharis crushed by the British. Third Mahratta war; the Mahrattas of Poona (peshwa's capital), Nagpur and Indore (Holkar's dominions) rise against the British and are overthrown; Holkar defeated at Mehidpur. Ranjit Singh obtains possession of Multan.
1819 An English factory established at Singapore. Ranjit Singh annexes Kashmir.
1823 Lord Amherst becomes governor-general.

1824 First Burmese war.
1825 Dispute over the succession to Bhartpur. Burmese War ended by Treaty of Yandabu; Assam, Arakan, and Tenasserim ceded to the British.
1826 Bhartpur besieged and taken by Lord Combermere.
1828 Lord William Bentinck becomes governor-general.
1829 Bentinck decrees the abolition of suttee (sati).
1831 Misgovernment in Mysore compels the British to assume the direct administration.
1833 The charter of the East India Company renewed; it is compelled to abandon its trade; a commission, under Macaulay's presidency, appointed to codify the law of India.
1835 Lord Auckland governor-general.
1838 First Afghan war; the British in alliance with Ranjit Singh undertake to restore Shah Shuja.
1839 Ghazni and Kabul taken and Shah Shuja reinstated Death of Ranjit Singh.
1840 The amirs of Sind arise against the British.
1841 Revolt in Kabul; the British envoys murdered; disastrous retreat of the British garrison, only one man reaching Jalalabad alive. The Afghans besiege the British garrisons in Kandahar and Jalalabad.
1842 Lord Ellenborough succeeds Auckland. Afghans defeated at Jalalabad and Kandahar. The British occupy Kabul; they evacuate Afghanistan.
1843 War in Sind; Sir Charles Napier wins the battles of Miani and Hyderabad. Sind annexed.
1845 The English acquire the Danish settlements at Tranquebar and Serampur by purchase. First Sikh War; the Sikhs invade British territory and are defeated at Mudki and Ferozshaw.
1846 Sikhs defeated at Aliwal and Sobraon; Lahore surrenders to the British, Dhuleep (Dhalip) Singh is recognised as rajah of Lahore, and a British garrison is stationed there; the Jalandhar Doab annexed by the British; Kashmir recognised as independent.
1848 Lord Dalhousie becomes governor-general. Murder of British officers at Multan begins the second Sikh War.
1849 Multan taken by the British. Battle of Chilianwala and heavy British losses. Gough destroys the Sikh army at Gujrat. The Punjab annexed to the British dominions. Satara annexed.
1852-1853 Second Burmese War resulting in the annexation of Pegu.
1853 Nagpur and Jhansi escheat to the central government Change in the charter of the East India Company decreasing the company's influence on the government and throwing the Indian civil service open to competition.
1854 Ganges canal opened. Treaty with Baluchistan.
1856 The king of Oudh dethroned for misgovernment and a British commissioner appointed. Lord Canning becomes governor-general. Successful war with Persia.
1857 Religious fears of the sepoys roused by the issue of greased cartridges. First attempt at mutiny suppressed. Formidable mutiny at Meerut and murder of many Europeans; the mutineers escape to Delhi, are joined by the garrison there, and proclaim the king of Delhi sovereign of India; the British destroy the Delhi powder magazine. Mutinies and massacres at Neemuch, Allahabad, Jhansi, Mhow, and other places in the Bengal Presidency. Massacre in Delhi. Nana Sahib besieges Cawnpore. Sir John Lawrence aided by Sikh troops prevents mutiny in the Punjab. The British besiege Delhi. Neill recovers Allahabad. Cawnpore garrison massacred. Mutineers besiege the residency at Lucknow. Massacre of the women and children at Cawnpore. Delhi taken by storm; Hodson shoots down the king's sons. Mutinies in the Bombay Presidency. Outram and Havelock relieve Lucknow. Sir Colin Campbell brings reinforcements from England and finally rescues the Lucknow garrison.
1858 Sir Colin Campbell recovers Lucknow. The revolted city of Jhansi taken by Sir Hugh Rose. Campbell subdues Rohilkhand. Kalpi and Gwalior taken by Rose. Behar reduced. End of the East India Company; its territories and powers transferred to the crown; Canning receives the title of viceroy.
1862 Lord Elgin viceroy. Death of the ex-king of Delhi, Bahadur Shah, the last of the great Mughals.
1863 Sir John Lawrence viceroy.
1865 War with Bhutan ended by the cession by the Bhutias of the eighteen Dwars of Bengal and Assam in return for a subsidy.
1866 Terrible famine and flood in Orissa.
1869 Lord Mayo viceroy; interview at Ambala with Sher Ali, amir of Afghanistan.
1872 Lord Mayo assassinated at the Andaman Islands. Lord Northbrook viceroy.
1874 Famine in Lower Bengal. Gaikwar of Baroda deposed for incapacity and a new gaikwar established.

1876 Lord Northbrook resigns and is succeeded by Lord Lytton. Treaty with the khan of Kalat; the British Government undertakes to uphold the khan's authority.
1877 Queen Victoria proclaimed empress of India. Severe famine in India.
1878 Acts restraining the liberty of the press passed. Sher Ali receives a Russian mission and declines to admit a British one. Second Afghan War; the British invade Afghanistan.
1879 By the Treaty of Gandamak the British frontier is advanced towards Afghanistan and a British resident admitted at Kabul. Murder of the British resident and his escort. A punitive expedition under General Roberts takes Kabul. The amir deposed.
1880 Lord Lytton resigns and is succeeded by Lord Ripon. Abdurrahman Khan proclaimed amir of Kabul. Disaster at Maiwand; a British force is defeated by a son of the deposed amir and the remnant besieged in Kandahar. March of General Roberts to relieve Kandahar; he routs the enemy before the walls. The British withdraw from Afghanistan.
1881 Government of Mysore restored to the Hindu dynasty.
1882 Abolition of cotton duties; salt duties reduced; increased administrative powers conferred on provincial governments.
1883 Controversy over the Ilbert Bill concerning the extension of the powers of covenanted civil servants.
1884 The Ilbert Bill passed with a reservation granting European British subjects the right of trial by jury. Lord Dufferin viceroy. The Indian national congress, designed to oppose the exclusive conduct of Indian affairs by the ruling race, holds its first annual session.
1885 Collision between Afghans and Russians at Panjdeh leads to preparations for war in India; the affair arranged diplomatically. Burmese War; Ava and Mandalay occupied and the king Thibaw taken.
1886 Upper Burma formally annexed.
1887 Civil service reform. British Baluchistan incorporated with India.
1888 Hazara expedition. A British expedition expels the Tibetans from Sikkim. Lord Lansdowne viceroy.
1889 Burmese War ends.
1890 China acknowledges the British protectorate over Sikkim.
1891 Manipur expedition.
1892 Indian Councils Act passed.
1893 Frontier between India and Afghanistan defined.
1895 Opium inquiries; the report declares against repressive measures. Chitral expedition. Lord Elgin viceroy.
1896 Famine and plague in India.
1897 Burma made a lieutenant-governorship. The Waziris, Swatis, Mohmands, and Afridis rise against the British; the Tirah campaign undertaken in consequence.
1899 Lord Curzon of Kedleston viceroy. Nushki district and Niabat in Baluchistan transferred to British management.
1900 Severe famine.
1903 842,000 people die of the plague.
1904 An expedition captures Lhasa, the capital of Tibet. 1,029,000 people die of the plague.
1905 Lord Curzon resigns and is succeeded by the earl of Minto.
1907 Disturbances in Bengal and the Punjab.





BOOK VIII

THE COLONIAL WORLD

CHAPTER I

THE HISTORY OF AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

DISCOVERY AND EXPLORATION

Owing to its position at the antipodes of the civilised world, Australia has been longer a *terra incognita* than any other region of the same extent. Its first discovery is involved in considerable doubt, from confusion of the names which were applied by the earlier navigators and geographers to the Australasian coasts.

The ancients were somehow impressed with the idea of a Terra Australis which was one day to be revealed. The Phœnician mariners had pushed through the outlet of the Red Sea to eastern Africa, the Persian Gulf, and the coasts of India and Sumatra. But the geographer Ptolemy, in the 2nd century, still conceived the Indian Ocean to be an inland sea, bounded on the south by an unknown land, which connected the Chersonesus Aurea (Malay Peninsula) with the promontory of Prasum in eastern Africa. This erroneous notion prevailed in mediæval Europe, although some travellers like Marco Polo heard rumours in China of large insular countries to the southeast.

The investigations of Mr. R. H. Major make it appear probable that the Australian mainland was known as "Great Java" to the Portuguese early in the sixteenth century; and the following passage in the *Descriptionis Ptolemaicæ Augmentum* of Cornelius Wytfliet,[h] printed at Louvain in 1598, is perhaps the first distinct account that occurs of the country: — "The Australis Terra is the most southern of all lands, and is separated from New Guinea by a narrow strait. Its shores are hitherto but little known, since, after one

voyage and another, that route has been deserted, and seldom is the country visited, unless when sailors are driven there by storms. The Australis Terra begins at one or two degrees from the equator and is ascertained by some to be of so great an extent, that if it were thoroughly explored it would be regarded as a fifth part of the world."

It was in 1606 that Torres, with a ship commissioned by the Spanish government of Peru, parted from his companion Quiros (after their discovery of Espiritu Santo and the New Hebrides), and sailed from east to west through the strait which bears his name, while in the same year the peninsula of Cape York was touched at by a vessel called the *Duyfhen* or *Dove* from the Dutch colony of Bantam in Java, but this was understood at the time to form a part of the neighbouring island of New Guinea. The Dutch continued their attempts to explore the unknown land, sending out in 1616 the ship *Endraght*, commanded by Dirk Hartog, which sailed along the west coast of Australia from lat. 26° 30′ to 23° S. This expedition left on an islet near Shark's Bay a record of its visit engraved on a tin plate, which was found there in 1801. The *Pera* and *Arnhem*, Dutch vessels from Amboyna, in 1618 explored the Gulf of Carpentaria, giving to its westward peninsula, on the side opposite to Cape York, the name of Arnhem Land. The name of Carpentaria was also bestowed on this vast gulf in compliment to Peter Carpenter, then governor of the Dutch East India Company. In 1627 the *Guldene Zeepard*, carrying Peter Nuyts to the embassy in Japan, sailed along the south coast from Cape Leeuwin, and sighted the whole shore of the Great Bight. But alike on the northern and southern seaboard, the aspect of New Holland, as it was then called, presented an uninviting appearance.

An important era of discovery began with Tasman's voyage of 1642. He, too, sailed from Batavia; but, first crossing the Indian Ocean to the Mauritius, he descended to the 44th parallel of S. lat., recrossing that ocean to the east. By taking this latter course he reached the island which now bears his name, but which he called Van Diemen's Land, after the Dutch governor of Batavia. In 1644 Tasman made another attempt, when he explored the northwest coast of Australia, from Arnhem Land to the 22nd degree of latitude, approaching the locality of Dirk Hartog's discoveries of 1616. He seems to have landed at Cape Ford, near Victoria River, also in Roebuck Bay, and again near Dampier's Archipelago. But the hostile attitude of the natives, whom he denounced as a malicious and miserable race of savages, prevented his seeing much of the new country and for half a century after this no fresh discoveries were made.

The English made their first appearance on the Australian coast in 1688, when the northwestern shores were visited by the famous buccaneer Captain William Dampier, who spent five weeks ashore near Roebuck Bay. A few years later (1697) the Dutch organised another expedition under Vlamingh, who, first touching at Swan River on the west coast, sailed northward to Shark's Bay, where Hartog had been in 1616. Dampier, two years later, visited the same place, not now as a roving adventurer, but with a commission from the English admiralty to pursue his Australian researches. This enterprising navigator, in the narrative of his voyages, gives an account of the trees, birds, and reptiles he observed, and of his encounters with the natives. But he found nothing to invite a long stay. There was yet another Dutch exploring squadron on that coast in 1705, but the results were of little importance.

It was Captain Cook, in his voyages from 1769 to 1777, who communicated the most important discoveries, and first opened to European enterprise and

settlement the Australasian coasts. In command of the bark *Endeavour*, 370 tons burden, and carrying 85 persons, amongst whom were Sir Joseph Banks and Dr. Solander, returning from the Royal Society's expedition to observe the transit of Venus, Cook visited both New Zealand and New South Wales. He came upon the Australian mainland in April, 1770, at a point named after Lieutenant Hicks, who first sighted it, on the shore of Gipps' Land, Victoria, S. lat., 38°, E. long. 148° 53′. From this point, in a coasting voyage not without peril when entangled in the barrier reefs of coral, the little vessel made its way up the whole length of the eastern sides of Australia, rounding Cape York, and crossing Torres Strait to New Guinea. In his second expedition of Australasian discovery, which was sent out in 1773, Cook's ship, the *Resolute*, started in company with the *Adventure*, commanded by Captain Furneaux. The two vessels separated, and Cook went to New Zealand, while Furneaux examined some parts of Tasmania and Bass Strait. The third voyage of Cook brought him, in 1777, both to Tasmania and to New Zealand.



William Dampier
(1652–1715)

Next to Cook, twenty or thirty years after his time, the names of Bass and Flinders are justly honoured for continuing the work of maritime discovery he had so well begun. To their courageous and persevering efforts, begun at their private risk, is due the correct determination of the shape both of Tasmania and the neighbouring continent. The French admiral Entrecasteaux, in 1792, had made a careful examination of the inlets at the south of Tasmania, and in his opinion the opening between Tasmania and Australia was only a deep bay. It was Bass who discovered it to be a broad strait, with numerous small islands. Captain Flinders survived his friend Bass, having been associated with him in 1798 in this and other useful adventures. Flinders afterwards made a complete survey in detail of all the Australian coasts, except the west and northwest. He was captured, however, by the French during the war, and detained a prisoner in Mauritius for seven years.[b]

THE FOUNDING OF NEW SOUTH WALES

New South Wales, the oldest of the Australian group, was founded in 1788. The more immediate reason for its occupation arose from the necessity of finding an outlet for British criminals, who, until that time, had been sent to America. On the 13th of May, 1787, the "first fleet," as it has ever since been called, consisting of eleven vessels, sailed from Portsmouth. In these 348 free persons — officers, guards, women, children, etc., were embarked, together with 504 male and 192 female prisoners. Captain Arthur Phillip,

R.N., was in charge of the expedition, which arrived after a tedious voyage of eight months.

The first attempt to land was made at Botany Bay, so named by Sir Joseph Banks from the profusion of wild flowers abounding there. The harbour was found to be spacious, but exposed to easterly gales, and the land, where it was not swampy, was composed of sand hills. It did not seem to be suitable for a permanent settlement, and Captain Phillip determined to select another site. He soon fixed upon the promontory where Sydney now stands, and there he disembarked on the 26th of January, 1788. Immediately on his arrival, he endeavoured to make the infant settlement independent of supplies from Europe, but his first attempts to farm at Parramatta, then called Rose Hill, were unsuccessful.

Captain Phillip ruled with rare ability until 1792 — often under circumstances of considerable difficulty. He was succeeded by Captain John Hunter, R.N., a man of firm character and of generally sound judgment. If he had met with more loyal co-operation from his officers he might have effected greater good. A few free settlers arrived, and agriculture made some progress.



THE MUSEUM, COLLEGE STREET, SYDNEY

The rich district of the "Cow-pastures," about forty miles to the southwest of Sydney, was discovered by some cattle, which, having escaped from the herd, increased and multiplied. Two churches were built, one at Sydney and the other at Parramatta, the former being named St. Phillip — not in honour of the apostle, but of the first governor.

Captain Philip Gidley King was the third governor. Van Diemen's Land was now colonised as a penal settlement, and a futile attempt was made to settle at Port Phillip by Captain David Collins. Several free settlers arrived, and grants of farms upon the river Hawkesbury were made to them. For a time they prospered, but one of those floods, to which the rivers are so subject, destroyed £3,500 worth of produce. Danger of absolute starvation ensued, as this valley was the granary of the colony. Maize and flour sold at 2*s.* 6*d.* per pound. A 2 lb. loaf reached the price of 5*s.* For many months the inhabitants adopted stringent measures to restrict consumption. The growth of garden vegetables was encouraged, and sea-fishing was undertaken. The crisis had passed when Captain King's term of office expired. He left the colony in August, 1806.

Captain William Bligh, the hero of the mutiny of the *Bounty*, succeeded him. The fact that he had been unfortunate in his control of men should

have warned the English government against his appointment to so difficult a charge as that of a penal settlement. Almost immediately upon his arrival he was involved in disputes with the officers of the New South Wales corps, whose conduct was in many respects open to censure. The measures which were adopted by Captain Bligh during the collision which ensued were, to say the least, ill-advised. The opposition to them culminated in an overt act of rebellion. The officers of the corps deposed him from his office on the 26th of January, 1808. He was placed on board the *Porpoise*, with the object of returning to England, but he lingered about Van Diemen's Land and the coast until the arrival of the newly appointed governor, Colonel Lachlan Macquarie.

The earlier difficulties of colonisation had now been surmounted. The state of the settlement was well described by Macquarie himself in his vindication of the policy from the aspersions cast upon him. He says that on his arrival:

"I found the colony barely emerging from infantile imbecility, and suffering from various privations and disabilities. The country impenetrable beyond forty miles from Sydney, agriculture in a yet languishing state, commerce in its early dawn, revenue unknown, threatened with famine, the public buildings in a state of dilapidation and mouldering to decay, the few roads and bridges formerly constructed rendered almost impassable, the population in general oppressed by poverty, no public credit or private confidence, the morals of the great mass of the populace in the lowest state of debasement, and religious worship almost totally neglected. Such was the state of New South Wales when I took charge of its administration, on January 1st, 1810. I left it in February last (1821), reaping incalculable advantages from my extensive and important discoveries in all directions, including the supposed almost impassable barrier called the 'Blue Mountains,' to the westward of which are situated the fertile plains of Bathurst, and in all respects enjoying a state of private comfort and public prosperity which I trust will at least equal the expectation of his majesty's government." He goes on to say that in 1810 there were: population, 11,590, sheep, 25,888, cattle, 9,544; acres in cultivation, 7,615; and that in October, 1821, the population was 38,778; sheep, 290,158; cattle, 102,939; acres in cultivation, 32,267.

The means Macquarie adopted for the reformation and elevation of the prisoners formed matter for keen controversy. He invited to his table, and appointed as magistrates men from the convict population whom he supposed to be reformed. These and other marks of favour towards the emancipists were deeply resented by the free settlers and by the military, who then constituted society.

The controversy excited much interest in England, and Mr. John Bigge was sent out in 1819 with the fullest powers for investigation. Serious doubts were entertained in Downing Street, not only as to the wisdom of Macquarie's policy, but also whether transportation had not, in consequence of it, ceased to be a terror to evildoers. After an inquiry spread over two years, three separate reports were forwarded; a continuation of transportation was recommended, but several improvements in discipline were suggested. The governor's avowed patronage of prisoners was censured, and his liberality in the issue of pardons and indulgences was severely animadverted upon.

Governor Macquarie's financial policy had been rather singular. The balance of trade had caused a scarcity of coin. Private individuals were auth-

orised to issue promissory notes for 5*s.*, redeemable in copper. This "currency" was soon depreciated to the extent of 25 per cent. It was the origin of the slang term "currency," a name bestowed upon the native-born youth as contradistinguished from the "sterling," by which term the immigrant was known. Another expedient to prevent the exportation of the Spanish dollar, a coin then much in use, was to punch out the centre. The "dump" passed for 1*s.* 3*d.*, and the remaining ring was declared to be still worth 5*s.* Old colonists were for many years familiar with the phrase the "holy dollar," but were not aware of the origin of it.*f*

ABOLITION OF TRANSPORTATION: GOLD AND SHEEP

Governor Macquarie was succeeded as governor in 1821 by Sir Thomas Brisbane, the distinguished astronomer, in whose administration (1822–25) the first legislative council met, trial by jury in criminal cases was substituted for trial by military juries, and the censorship of the press was abolished. A penal colony established at Moreton Bay in 1824 afterward developed into the colony of Queensland, the capital city of which was named from Governor Brisbane. In 1825 Sir Ralph Darling became governor and established many needed reforms, particularly in regard to the land system. It was during his administration that the movement to put an end to the system of convict transportation attained new force by the alliance of the governor with the exclusionists. In 1831 he was superseded by Sir Richard Bourke of whom it has been said that he revolutionised the whole system of government, and inaugurated a new era for the colony.

Free grants of land, excepting such as were for public purposes, were abolished, thus doing away with one of the greatest sources of fraud and discontent. The convict system was remodelled and regulated, abuses in "assignment" were rectified and the severity of punishments mitigated. The immigration of women was encouraged in order to remedy the defect due to the extraordinarily disproportionate numbers of men in the colony; a law providing for more liberal religious equality was enacted. In the six years of Governor Bourke's administration the population of New South Wales had almost doubled.

In 1838 Sir George Gipps became governor, remaining at the head of the colonial government until 1846. A violent temper and great obstinacy made the new governor unpopular in the extreme, but his administration was marked by great progress in many directions. It was a period of rapid growth in the new districts of Victoria (Australia Felix or Port Phillip) and in South Australia. The abolition of transportation in 1840 was followed by the encouragement of free immigration. In 1841 the population passed 130,000. Extravagant speculation, undue inflation, overtrading and overproduction led to a crisis which was precipitated by a fall in the price of wool in England and a severe drought in 1841–42. Land sales fell from £316,000 in 1840 to £90,000 in the following year, and in 1842 the sales barely defrayed the expenses of the survey.

Sir Charles Fitzroy was governor from 1846–1855. His administration was marked by several occurrences of importance. By 1851 the population of New South Wales had reached 190,000 while Victoria and South Australia aggregated about 80,000 inhabitants each.*a*

At Summerhill Creek, 20 miles north of Bathurst, in the Macquarie plains, gold was discovered, in February, 1851, by Edward Hammond Hargraves, an Australian gold miner returned from California. The

intelligence was made known in April or May; and then began a rush of thousands — men leaving their former employments in the bush or in the towns to search for the ore so greatly coveted in all ages. In August it was found at Anderson's Creek, near Melbourne; a few weeks later the great Ballarat gold field, 80 miles west of that city, was opened; and after that, Bendigo, now called Sandhurst, to the north. Not only in these lucky provinces, New South Wales and Victoria, where the auriferous deposits were revealed, but in every British colony of Australasia, all ordinary industry was left for the one exciting pursuit. The copper mines of South Australia were for the time deserted, while Tasmania and New Zealand lost many inhabitants, who emigrated to the more promising country. The disturbance of social, industrial, and commercial affairs, during the first two or three years of the gold era, was very great. Immigrants from Europe, and to some extent from North America and China, poured into Melbourne, where the arrivals in 1852 averaged 2,000 persons in a week. The population of Victoria was doubled in the first twelvemonth of the gold fever.[b]



GOVERNMENT HOUSE, SYDNEY

In the year of the gold discovery Victoria was established as an independent colony. Two years later (1853), the imperial parliament enacted as law the new constitution drawn up by the New South Wales legislative council which made the colony self-governing on a responsible representative basis.[a]

Any one, who had patiently studied the statistics of Australia during the opening years of the nineteenth century might have been puzzled to name the advantages which were likely to result from the foundation of the settlement. Yet there were, even at that time, causes in operation which were slowly securing success for the colony. In 1791 the same ship which had brought out a load of fever-stricken convicts carried a young man, John MacArthur, who had bought a commission in the corps which the government decided to form for New South Wales, and who was resolute to seek his fortune in the colony. Three years afterwards, when land was granted to officers, MacArthur purchased sixty Bengal ewes and lambs which had been imported from Calcutta, and two Irish ewes and a young ram. The Indian sheep produced coarse hair, but by crossing the two breeds, MacArthur had the satisfaction to see the lambs of the Indian ewes bear a mingled fleece of hair and wool. He had the perspicacity to infer from this circumstance that the climate of the colony was suited to the production of wool, and he had the courage to speculate on the conclusions which he formed. It so happened that a flock of Merino sheep was on sale at the Cape of Good Hope, that its value was not understood by the Dutch, and that an agent whom MacArthur

employed succeeded in securing five ewes and three rams from among them. Taking every precaution to preserve the breed pure, MacArthur subsequently added to his flock 1,200 sheep which he purchased at the Cape. In 1801 he carried to England specimens of the wool which he had obtained from his flock; and in 1804 he succeeded in obtaining a grant of 5,000 acres of land and an assignment of convicts for the prosecution of his experiment. Confident as MacArthur was, he could hardly have foreseen, and he did not himself live to see, the full consequence of what he was doing. In 1800 New South Wales possessed 6,757 sheep, or probably as many sheep as there were people in the colony; in 1821 she had 120,000 sheep, or about three sheep for every person in the colony. In 1834, when the population had risen to between 50,000 and 60,000, the sheep had increased to 1,000,000. In 1839, when the population exceeded 100,000, the sheep numbered 3,000,000. In 1856 the colony contained 265,000 persons and 7,700,000 sheep. In the next twenty-five years the population was trebled, and the huge stock of sheep increased more than fourfold.

Ministry succeeded ministry at short intervals, and it was some years before constitutional government worked smoothly. The powers of the new parliament were utilised for extending representative institutions. Vote by ballot was introduced; the number of members in the assembly was increased to 80, and the franchise was granted to every adult male after six months' residence in any electoral area. Meanwhile the material progress of the colony was unchecked.

During the *régime* of Sir John Young, afterwards Lord Lisgar, who succeeded Sir William Denison in 1861, several important events occurred. The land policy of previous governments was entirely revised, and the Land Bill, framed by Sir John Robertson, introduced the principle of deferred payments for the purchase of crown lands, and made residence and cultivation, rather than a sufficient price, the object to be sought by the crown in alienating the public estate. This measure was followed by similar legislation in all of the Australian colonies. It was during the governorship of Sir John Young that the distinction between the descendants of convicts and the descendants of free settlers, hitherto maintained with great strictness, was finally abandoned. In 1862 the agitation against the Chinese assumed importance, and the attitude of the miners at Lambing Flat was so threatening that a large force, military and police was despatched to that gold-field in order to protect the Chinamen from ill treatment by the miners. The railways were gradually extended, and the condition of the country roads was improved. The only drawback to the general progress and prosperity of the country was the recrudescence of bushranging, or robbery under arms, in the country districts. This crime, originally confined to runaway convicts, was now committed by young men born in the colony, familiar with its mountains and forests, who were good horsemen and excellent shots. It was not until a large number of lives had been sacrificed, and many bushrangers brought to the scaffold, that the offence was thoroughly stamped out in New South Wales, only to reappear some years afterwards under somewhat similar conditions.

The earl of Belmore was governor from 1868 to 1872. Sir Hercules Robinson, afterwards Lord Rosmead, was sworn in as governor in 1872. During his rule the long series of political struggles, which prevented any administration from remaining in office long enough to develop its policy, was brought to an end by a coalition between Sir Henry Parkes and Sir John Robertson. Lord Augustus Loftus became governor in 1879, in time to inaugurate the first international exhibition ever held in Australia. The census taken during the

following year gave the population of the colony as 751,468. The railway to Melbourne was completed in 1880; and in 1883 valuable deposits of silver were discovered at Broken Hill, near the western frontier of New South Wales.

In 1889 the premier, Sir Henry Parkes, gave his adhesion to the movement for Australasian federation, and New South Wales was represented at the first conference held at Melbourne in the beginning of 1890. Lord Jersey assumed office January 15, 1891, and a few weeks afterwards the conference to consider the question of federating the Australian colonies was held at Sydney. A board of arbitration and conciliation to hear and determine labour questions and disputes was formed and by later legislation its powers have been strengthened.[n] Sir William Duff, who followed Lord Jersey, died in 1895, and was succeeded by Lord Hampden, who in 1899 gave way to Earl Beauchamp. Federation was not so popular in New South Wales as in some of the colonies; and when the federation bill came before the people there was doubt as to the outcome, but those favouring the measure carried the day, and New South Wales entered the union.[a]



St. Mary's Cathedral and Hyde Park, Sydney

THE SETTLEMENT OF VAN DIEMEN'S LAND

When Van Diemen's Land, as the island of Tasmania was first called, was first occupied in 1803 it was intended to devote it to colonisation of the more dangerous criminals, particularly the Irish rebels of 1798. For almost a quarter of a century it was little but a convict settlement under the control of the governor of New South Wales, represented by a lieutenant-governor at Hobart Town. In 1810 the total population was only 1,300. Bushranging was rife, and there was no guarantee of safety to either life or property. In December, 1825, Van Diemen's Land, its population being then over 8,000, was separated from New South Wales and made a separate colony under the governorship of Sir George Arthur, who continued in control until 1836. He was an able man, and a strict and perhaps at times a rather autocratic disciplinarian. But strict discipline was exactly what the colony demanded and the administration of Governor Arthur marked the beginning of a new era for the island that was to prepare the way for the still better time to come when the convict transportation should cease. During this period too occurred the expeditions against the aborigines known as the Black War. This was an attempt to hem in by a cordon drawn across the island the remainder of the native tribes which had been giving trouble to the rapidly growing sheep raising communities. An inglorious campaign in which 3,500 regular and volunteer troops were employed resulted in the expenditure of £30,000 but nothing more. In 1837 conciliatory methods prevailed where force had failed and the remnants of the native population were removed *en masse* to Flinder's

Island. Sir John Franklin of Arctic exploration fame, succeeded Sir George Arthur as governor in 1836 and free immigration soon commenced. For years the political history of Van Diemen's Land is confined almost exclusively to agitation against transportation. The system known as "assignment" was tried and failed. The introduction of "probation gangs" was infinitely worse. At length a league was formed with the other colonies and in 1853 this iniquitous system, so long a blot on the fair fame of Australia, was abolished. Even the old name of the island was changed to that of Tasmania in the effort to efface from memory the awful *régime* which the name of Van Diemen's Land must ever recall.[a]

THE CONVICT SYSTEM IN VAN DIEMEN'S LAND

It mattered little in earlier times whether the convict was located at Hobart Town, in the bleak and inhospitable regions of Macquarie Harbour, or later still at Port Arthur or on Maria Island — there was no material difference in the nature of the punishments inflicted on him, and it would be a stretch of the imagination to suppose that worse things have ever happened in Siberia. Weighted down with heavy chains, which made walking exceedingly difficult, the convict was required to toil in the woods or in the immediate neighbourhood of his prison, from day to day and month to month, without hope of his fetters ever being removed or the exactions upon his powers of physical endurance made less irksome or hard to bear. If he complained that he was too ill to continue with his gang, no relief was forthcoming. His physical weakness was called malingering, and his complainings only increased the brutality of his jailers and sent him to the triangle, where fifty lashes, and sometimes a hundred, upon his bared back and loins were applied as a preventive of any complaints in future. Flogging was resorted to sometimes for the most trivial breaches of prison discipline, and the cat was painfully in evidence upon many occasions when there was not the slightest justification for recourse to that method of punishment. Solitary confinement, for days and even weeks upon the most inadequate sustenance, was frequently the sequel to the barbarous lash, and if the convicts survived the trying ordeal, they emerged from it with a fixed determination to revenge themselves whenever they had a chance, by taking the lives of those whose cruelties had converted their hearts to stone and made them utterly reckless and desperate, careless of prolonged existence after the accomplishment of the deeds of vengeance they had resolved to perpetrate upon their inhuman persecutors. Many of them succumbed before they had the opportunity, and straight from the triangle to the dead-house was the last record of some who ceased to live before the full number of lashes could be inflicted upon them. It was an offence to some of the prison officials if a convict endured his flagellation unflinchingly, and then the cat was applied more ferociously to break his spirit and ensure submissiveness. But the cruellest part of the proceedings at these penal establishments was when a man was called upon to flog a fellow convict, and, if he refused to comply, straight away he was fastened to the triangle and as many lashes administered as suited the whim of the monster whose odious command had been disobeyed. Orders of this description, however, were sometimes given effect to by convicts of weaker spirit who dreaded the lash more than anything else, and if they displayed any merciful feelings by making their strokes lighter than it was considered they should be, they were instantly threatened with flagellation, and the force of their strokes was increased accordingly.

The discipline was so rigorous and the punishments so severe at these

penal establishments, that instances occurred where convicts took each other's lives so that they themselves might suffer death, and suicide was by no means infrequent.

Incredible as it may seem, but only two well substantiated by positive testimony, incidents of this kind sometimes happened. Convicts, maddened to despair, brooded over the sufferings inflicted upon them, and seeing no possible means of escape, resolved to face death as the only release from tortures and agonies which were truly revolting. Utterly careless of their lives, three or four of these men who were subjected to treatment so diabolical would conspire amongst each other to put an end to sufferings which were beyond endurance. How was this to be accomplished? They decided the question in this way: they drew lots, and one of their number — the man who drew the shortest straw — was to be murdered by the others, so that they might be hanged for his murder. The man who drew the shortest straw was called the lucky one, and he was soon despatched out of his misery. There was no effort to deny how he had come by his death; self-accusation served the purpose of his murderers, and they were executed for a crime which they had arranged amongst themselves to commit in order that the scaffold might claim its voluntary victims. "Anywhere, anywhere out of the world," it mattered not how ignominiously, was a welcomed termination to their miserable and brutalised existence in the penal prisons of Van Diemen's Land. The instruments of torture at these places were various, and always too ready at hand: the iniquities of the Spanish Inquisition were perpetrated with impunity upon helpless victims, and the poor wretches courted death and met it voluntarily and unflinchingly, as though it had been a heaven-sent deliverance from their dreadful trials. It is with shame one has to admit that such things were not only possible under the convict system, but that they actually took place in the penal establishments of Van Diemen's Land and Australia until the exposure of these inhuman outrages led to their discontinuance. Had the British government and people of a past generation been sooner apprised of them, it is only just to their feelings of humanity to believe that drastic measures would have been taken at a much earlier period to punish those who were responsible for these atrocities, and to reform the transportation system.



GEORGE STREET, SYDNEY

More convicts were sent to Van Diemen's Land than anywhere else;

the stations there were more romantically situated and isolated to an extent that removed them from public supervision, and permitted abuses to exist which might have been checked if Macquarie Harbour, for instance, had been nearer to the capital. Van Diemen's Land gained a greater notoriety than any other colony in connection with the system of transportation, and the desperate escapes which were made from its prisons invested the colony with a degree of interest and attention specially its own. The capital itself was a hotbed of all sorts of crime and iniquity in the days of Governor Sorell, one of the earliest governors, and for years afterwards. It was quite a common thing for officers and others to keep female convicts as their mistresses, and vice and immorality were the outcomes to be expected from a system which allowed free settlers and military men to make their own selection of "assigned prisoners" as servants. Free and bond appear to have been tarred with the same brush, if reliance can be placed on the early chroniclers of existing social conditions. The written pictures of life in Hobart Town indicate pretty clearly that the military portion of the population could do exactly what they pleased, and, as may be inferred, the morals of the place did not improve from this unbridled license. Drunkenness was very rampant, and illicit intercourse between bond and free was too general to be regarded as a subject for remonstrance or reproach. In those days murders and other personal outrages were of frequent occurrence, and floggings and hangings were spectacles that could be witnessed at intervals which were neither few nor far between. Occasionally, as many as six or eight condemned prisoners were launched into eternity upon the same morning; and, as far as floggings are concerned, the billets of the official flagellators were no sinecures. The victims were many, and the punishments unmercifully severe and sometimes fatal. In the prisons themselves, not only in Hobart Town, but at Macquarie Harbour, Port Arthur, and Maria Island, crimes were committed of a nature too revolting to be recounted in these pages. Any one desirous of perusing the unsavoury details need not go so far away as Sydney or Hobart to get nauseated with that kind of reading. All he has got to do is to refer to the evidence given before select committees of the house of lords and house of commons, and he will find that the convict system has never been too severely condemned, nor the brutalities and villainies practised under that system overdrawn for the purposes of sensationalism. The wonder is that these penal stations were not broken up long before the mandate went forth to abolish them.[c]

SOUTH AUSTRALIA

The settlement of South Australia as a separate and distinct colony originated with a few gentlemen in London. Negotiations were opened with the imperial government in 1831 with a view to obtaining a charter giving certain concessions to the projectors. Possibly from the affair not being in proper hands in the first instance, the negotiations came to nought. They were resumed in 1834, when a meeting was held in Exeter Hall for discussing the principles on which the new colony was to be established. Edward Gibbon Wakefield, an advanced political economist for those days, had thought out a system of colonisation, which he maintained was the only true system possessing the elements of stability and success. His system was based on two principles: in all cases to sell the land for a fair and reasonable value, and to devote the proceeds to the introduction of labour from the mother country. He maintained that the worst thing that could happen

to a new country was to give the land away in large blocks; and he found a striking illustration of this in the history of Western Australia. Grants of land of 20,000 or 50,000 acres had been made to favoured individuals, but they had turned out to be utterly worthless. The "fathers and founders" of the colony of South Australia resolved to start it on the principles laid down by Mr. Wakefield.

Now, the object of the originators of this colony of South Australia was to combine labour and capital. They who had money were to emigrate by means of their own resources, purchase land in limited blocks, as far as possible within given areas, and the money received for the land was to be used in bringing out labour. By this means it was believed there would be a healthy combination of capital and labour, and the population would be concentrated within certain surveyed districts, where the early settlers would be able to help one another.

At the outset it was resolved that the price of land should be 12*s.* an acre, to be increased after a fixed time to £1 per acre. Men of means would bring



Post Office and Town Hall, Adelaide

out their money, purchase land on which they would settle, and with the money paid for it immigrants would be introduced into the new settlements, whose labour would be available for working the land and making it productive. These preliminary points being settled, an application was made to the imperial parliament for an act, by an association of gentlemen calling themselves "The South Australian Association." In August of 1834 the act was passed. This act defined the limits of the new colony, gave power to persons approved by the privy council to frame laws, establish courts, appoint officers, chaplains, and clergymen of the Church of England or Scotland, and to levy duties and taxes. Three or four commissioners were to be appointed by the crown to carry the act into execution. The lands of the crown in the colony were to be surveyed and open for purchase by British subjects, or let on rent for three years — the purchase-money and rent to be employed in conducting the emigration of poor peasants from Great Britain or Ireland to the South Australian province or provinces.

One clause deserves to be specially mentioned, because to it the colony owes to a large extent the good order of its people and the security to life and property which have distinguished it from the very beginning Clause

22 provides "That no person or persons convicted in any court of justice in Great Britain or Ireland, or elsewhere, shall at any time, or under any circumstances, be transported as a convict to any place within the limits hereinbefore described."

In the colonies of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, and more recently in Western Australia, the taint of convictism seriously deteriorated the pure stream of social and moral health of the community. The evils of this system of letting the penal scum and felonry of Great Britain into these new lands was known to the founders of South Australia, who were not ignorant of the early social life of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, and they resolved that from the first hour of its history the new colony should be preserved from this fatal taint.[e]

The colony began its actual existence with the arrival at Holdfast Bay on December 28, 1836, of the first governor, Captain Hindmarsh and a company of settlers. Hindmarsh proved a poor administrator and in a little over a year was superseded by Colonel Gawler. The course of colonial progress in South Australia was similar to that in the other colonies. Speculation was followed by a period of distress and confusion. The prices of food products rose enormously: flour sold at £100 per ton. Colonel Gawler's policy of undertaking extensive public works to keep the unemployed busy was not approved by the colonial secretary and he was superceded by Captain, afterward Sir George Grey and at the same time the authority of the South Australian Company was abolished. Governor Grey's reforms were efficacious and ere long the colony was on a self supporting basis and growing rapidly. In the administration of Colonel Robe, who became governor in 1845, were made the important discoveries of copper at Kapunda and Burra Burra. Sir Henry Fox Young, who succeeded as governor in 1848, had to face the serious crisis growing out of the discovery of gold in Victoria in 1851, the rush to the gold fields threatening for a time to depopulate the colony. But the increased prosperity of the succeeding years more than made up for the temporary set-back. In the year 1853 a new constitution establishing a responsible government on a representative basis was adopted, and although there were thirty-one changes of ministry in the succeeding twenty-two years it can be said to have worked satisfactorily.[a]

From its origin as the venture of private enterprise, South Australia has passed through orderly stages of evolution up to the zenith of democratic government. Such alterations as have been made in the constitution have been in the direction of a still further enlargement of the franchise. Payment of members proved to be the corollary of manhood suffrage. It was held that an unrestricted right of selection was unavailing if the area of selection was limited to the few who had been specially favoured by fortune. In 1887 a temporary act was passed for the payment of £200 a year to each member of both houses, and in 1890 the law was made permanent. Thus was rendered possible the direct representation of all classes. Soon afterwards the parliamentary labour party came into existence; this forms a considerable proportion of the membership of both houses, and includes in its ranks men of the highest intelligence, industry, and eloquence. In 1894 the principle of "one man vote" was extended to that of "one adult one vote" by the inclusion of women as voters on terms of absolute equality with men. Experience has demonstrated that, owing to the intrusion of the personal element, general elections have often failed to afford conclusive evidence of the state of the popular will. Attention has therefore been directed towards the referendum as a means of obtaining an unquestionable verdict on important public issues.

Although no general statute had been formulated on the subject up to 1902, custom has definitely established the practice. Undoubtedly the practical application of the referendum in South Australia facilitated the adoption of this principle in the ratification and in the method of amendment of the commonwealth constitution. The right of the second chamber to suggest amendments to bills which it has not power to amend was borrowed by the commonwealth from the constitution of South Australia, as also was the idea of a simultaneous dissolution of both houses as a means of overcoming possible deadlocks between the chambers.

The existence of South Australia as a colony was co-terminous with the reign of Queen Victoria. The colony was established only a few months before the accession of that monarch, and South Australia ceased to be a colony by entering the commonwealth as a state within a few days of the close of the Victorian Age.[i]

VICTORIA

The early attempts to colonise the Victoria district were fruitless. Fears that the French contemplated a settlement in the region led the government to send Lieutenant Grimes to examine the country as early as 1802. He visited the site of the present city of Melbourne, but his report was unfavourable, as was that given by Colonel Collins who was dispatched thither in the succeeding year with instructions to found a settlement at Port Phillip and who returned without completing his mission. A number of similar failures are to be recorded during the first two decades of the nineteenth century. The real founders of Victoria were undoubtedly the Hentys, sons of a Sussex banker who had gone out to Australia as members of the unfortunate Swan River Colony in 1829, and in 1834 established several sheep farms in the neighbourhood of the present Portland. In May, 1835, colonists from Van Diemen's Land established themselves at Geelong. In the August following, John P. Fawkner and his associates laid the foundation of Melbourne, which, after some hesitation, was recognised by the appointment of a magistrate by the Sydney government. In 1839 Governor Latrobe was appointed by the New South Wales government as its representative in what was then known as the Port Phillip district, holding office until he became the first governor of the colony of Victoria in 1851. The jealousy between the Sydney and Melbourne governments was intense and bitter for many years, and the former threw every obstacle in the way of the separation of Port Phillip. The justice of the demand was too apparent to be resisted however and in July, 1851, the Port Phillip district, renamed the colony of Victoria, began its independent existence. In 1851 the population of the colony aggregated 90,000. In the same year gold was discovered at Ballarat, and in 1852 the new settlers entering the colony numbered over 70,000. At the end of ten years (1861) the population was six times that of 1851. Local self-government was introduced in 1853, and responsible government established under a new constitution in 1855. In the same year discontent in the gold fields, due to an exorbitant license fee charged all miners culminated in an armed revolt. The difficulty was eventually overcome by the substitution of an export duty on gold for the licence fee.

The political history of Victoria was for some decades little more than the story of bitter struggles between the liberal, or democratic party, firmly ensconced in the lower branch of the legislature and the conservatives who controlled the council. The widest divergence has been upon the question of

protection or free trade, the democratic assembly declaring for the former while the conservative council stood out firmly for the latter policy. So bitter was the struggle and so uncompromising were the partisans, that on several occasions all legislation came to an end and the whole fabric of society



GRAMMAR SCHOOL, MELBOURNE

was shaken to its foundations. In 1891 began an era in which the collectivist idea dominated the legislation to an unprecedented degree. The principle of "one man one vote" was established: old age pensions and "eight hour" laws enacted, and tribunals for fixing a minimum wage provided.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA

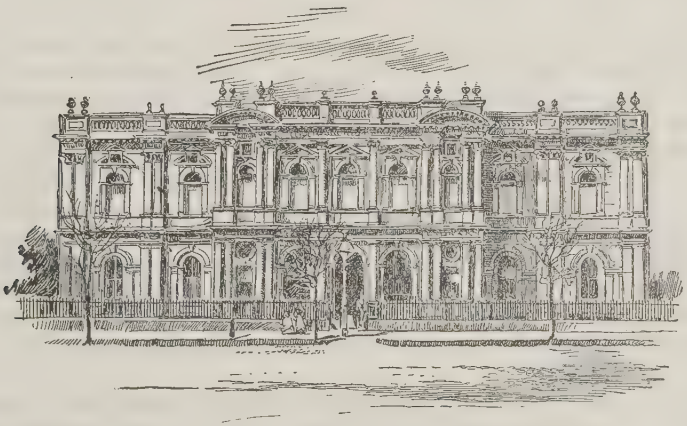
The earliest settlement in Western Australia was made in 1825 by Major Lockyer who was despatched thither with a company of convicts to head off a threatened French occupation. In three years the settlers returned to New South Wales. In 1827 Captain (Sir James) Sterling reported favourably on the availability of the Swan River region, and in 1829 he was sent out as lieutenant-governor of a new colony established under the auspices of an association of London promoters. But the colony did not prosper.[a] The fault was an ignorance of the first principles of colonisation. Vast tracts of land were sold or granted to individuals. The colony was to be exempted as a favour, from any importation of convicts. The settlers were to be allowed 200 acres of land for every labouring man, woman, or child above ten years of age, that they should import into the colony; and forty acres of land were given for every amount of £3 imported into the settlement in any shape. Thus land superabounded in proportion to capital, and the capital brought in, though so scanty in proportion to the land, abounded in proportion to the labour. The richest of the colonists could obtain no labourers; and they sat down upon their lands, surrounded by their rotting goods, their useless tools, and the frames of houses which there were no hands to erect — without shelter, and certain soon to be without food, if more labour could not be obtained. Instead of more, there was daily less, as the few labourers who were on the spot made use of their first exorbitant earnings to possess them-

selves of enough of the cheap land to make them their own masters. They made up their minds that the secret of the success of other settlements, pitied for their liability to convict immigration, was in their convict labour; and the Swan River colonists petitioned the government at home to send them convicts to save them from destruction. Some of the settlers wandered away, as they could find opportunity, to other colonies, stripped of everything or carrying the mere wrecks of their expensive outfit.

In 1849 the entire population was only 4,622. In the following year the prayer of the colonists that the colony be made a penal settlement was acceded to by the imperial government, and during the ensuing eighteen years over 10,000 convicts were transported. In 1868 at the unanimous request of the other Australian colonies th transportation ceased. Until this was done the colony made no material progress. In 1870 under the energetic governorship of Sir Frederick Weld a new era in colonial progress was inaugurated. A systematic exploration of the interior was undertaken and surveys made for railroad and telegraph lines. The discovery of gold at Kimberley in 1882 and at Yilgarn in 1887 still further added to the progress of the colony. In October, 1890, the colony was granted a new constitution providing a responsible representative government. Sir John Forrest who had served the colony well as one of the pioneers in opening up the interior, and later as the principal champion of the self-government movement became its first premier, and guided the colony safely into the confederation. The progress made during the decade of his premiership is evidenced by the growth in population which increased from 45,290 in 1890 to 195,000 in 1900.

QUEENSLAND

The history of Queensland dates from the planting of a penal colony at Moreton Bay (Brisbane) in 1824. It proved almost impossible however to attract free settlers to the colony, and little by little the penal station fell into



PUBLIC LIBRARY, MELBOURNE, VICTORIA

disuse. In 1841 there were only 200 people in the settlement. By 1842 it was practically deserted. In that year it was declared open to free settlers only, and a slight immigration took place. In 1844 there was a considerable group of "squatter" stations about Moreton Bay and on the Darling Downs,

and the future prosperity of the region as a stock raising community had begun. By 1849 there were in the colony 72,000 cattle and over a million sheep. By 1859 the population of the district had reached 25,000 and despite the protests of New South Wales it was constituted an independent colony under the name of Queensland. A constitution conferring all the rights and privileges of self-government was granted and Sir George Bowen became the first governor. The first premier, Mr. Robert George Wyndham Herbert, held office continuously until 1866, during which period the north and west interiors were rapidly opened to settlement. The collapse of a government loan in 1866 during the brief ministry of Mr. Arthur Macalister, precipitated a panic, and an easily quelled revolt among the workers on the railroads. The discovery of gold at Gympie in 1867 was followed by a big "rush" to the region and prosperity was restored. Sugar planting, begun in 1862, became one of the leading industries of the colony, but led to the introduction of coolie and Kanaka labourers. Their restriction and control has since become one of the burning questions of Queensland politics. The decade, 1890–1900, was chiefly notable for the rise of the labour party as a power in politics, and the disappearance of the "squatter" as a dominant factor.[a]

AGRARIAN LEGISLATION: CHINESE EXCLUSION

The history of Australia since 1873 is mainly comprised in its industrial progress, for, with the exception of the advent of the labour party and the federation government, there have been no occurrences of such political importance as to call for special mention. The four eastern states had the privilege of responsible government bestowed on them at various dates between 1855 and 1860. After the establishment of responsible government the main questions at issue were the secular as opposed to the religious system of public instruction, protection as opposed to a revenue tariff, vote by ballot, manhood suffrage, abolition of transportation and assignment of convicts, and free selection of lands before survey; these, and indeed all the great questions upon which the country was divided, were settled before the year 1873. With the disposal of these important problems, politics in Australia became a struggle for office between men whose political principles were very much alike, and the tenure of power enjoyed by the various governments did not depend upon the principles of administration so much as upon the personal fitness of the head of the ministry, and the acceptability of his ministry to the members of the more popular branch of the legislature. For the most part, therefore, the history of the colonies is a catalogue of their domestic events, such a thing as a foreign policy being quite unknown. The leading politicians of all the states have felt the cramping effects of mere domestic legislation, albeit on the proper direction of such legislation depends the well being of the people, and to this sense of the limitations of local politics was due, as much as to anything else, the movement towards federation.

Taking the states as a whole, agrarian legislation has been the most important subject that has engrossed the attention of their parliaments, and every state has been more or less engaged in tinkering with its land laws. The main object of all such legislation is to secure the residence of the owners on the land. The object of settlers, however, in a great many, perhaps in the majority of instances, is to dispose of their holdings as soon as possible after the requirements of the law have been complied with, and to avoid permanent settlement. This has greatly facilitated the formation of large

estates devoted chiefly to grazing purposes, contrary to the policy of the legislature, which has everywhere sought to encourage tillage, or tillage joined to stock rearing, and to discourage large holdings. The importance of the land question is so great that it is hardly an exaggeration to say that it is usual for every parliament of Australia to have before it a proposal to alter or amend its land laws. Since 1870 there have been four radical changes made in New South Wales. In Victoria the law has been altered five times, and in Queensland and South Australia six times.

Apart from the settlement of agrarian questions, recent Australian politics have concerned themselves with the prevention or regulation of the influx of coloured races, the prevention or settlement of labour disputes, and federation. The agitation against the influx of Chinese commenced very soon after the gold discoveries, the European miners objecting strongly to the presence of these aliens upon the diggings. The allegations made concerning the Chinese really amounted to a charge of undue industry. The Chinese were hard working and had the usual fortune attending those who work hard. They spent little on drink or with the storekeepers and were therefore by no means popular. The Chinese difficulty, so far as the mining population was concerned, was solved by the exhaustion of the extensive alluvial deposits. The nearness of China to Australia always appeared to the Australian democracy as a menace to the integrity of the white settlements; but the absence of any federal authority made common action difficult.

In 1888 an important conference on the Chinese question held in Sydney and attended by delegates from all the states, resolved that the number of Chinese privileged to land should be so limited as to prevent the people of that race from ever becoming an important element in the community. The New South Wales parliament ultimately passed a law which in some respects went much beyond the agreement arrived at. Under the New South Wales law masters of vessels were forbidden to bring to the colony more than one Chinese to every 300 tons, and a poll-tax of £100 is charged on every Chinese landing. In Victoria, Queensland, and South Australia no poll-tax was imposed, but masters of vessels may bring only one Chinese to every 500 tons burden. West Australian legislation was until recently similar to that of the three last-named states, but has now been superseded by the Coloured Immigrants Restriction Act. Tasmania allows one Chinese passenger to every 100 tons, and imposes a poll-tax of £10. These stringent regulations have had the effect of greatly restricting the influx of Chinese, but in spite of all precautions there is still some immigration. The only other alien race present in large numbers in Australia are the Polynesians in Queensland, where they number about 9000. Of late years there has been an influx of Hindus and other Eastern races. But a very large proportion of the Asiatics, whose entrance into the colonies it was desired to stop, were British subjects, and the imperial government refused to sanction any measure directly prohibiting in plain terms the movement of British subjects from one part of the empire to another. Eventually, the difficulty was overcome by the application of an educational test to the coloured races seeking admission to the states, whereby they are required to write out in some European language an application for permission to enter the colony in which they propose to reside. The agitation which this restrictive legislation caused was promoted and kept alive almost entirely by the trades unions, and was the first legislative triumph of the labour party, albeit that party was not at the time directly represented in parliament.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The labour movement in Australia may be traced back to the early days when transportation was in vogue, and the free immigrant and the time-expired convict objected to the competition of the bond labourer. The great object of these early struggles being attained, labour directed its attention mainly to securing shorter hours. It was aided very materially by the dearth of workers consequent on the gold discoveries, when every man could command his own price. When the excitement consequent on the gold finds had subsided, there was a considerable reaction against the claims of labour, and this was greatly helped by the congested state of the labour market; but the principle of an eight-hours day made progress, and was conceded in several trades. In the early years of the seventies the colonies entered upon an era of well-being, and for about twelve years every man, willing to work and capable of exerting himself, readily found employment. The labour unions were able to secure in these years many concessions both as to hours and wages. In 1873 there was an important rise in wages, in the following years there were further advances. For five years thereafter these high wages ruled; but in 1886 there was a sharp fall, though wages still remained very good.

In 1888 there was an advance, and again in 1889. In 1890 matters were on the eve of a great change and wages fell, in most cases to a point 20 per cent. below the rates of 1885. In 1893 came the bank crisis and great restriction in trade. Almost the first effect of this restriction was a reduction in wages, which touched their lowest in 1895, and fell to a point below that of any year since 1850. Since then there has been a marked recovery, and wages stood in 1900 at about the same level as in 1873. During the whole period from 1873 onwards, prices, other than of labour, have been steadily tending downwards, so that the cost of living in 1900 was much below that of 1873. Taking everything into consideration the reduction was, perhaps, not less than 40 per cent., so that though the nominal or money wages in 1873 and 1900 were the same, the actual wages were much higher in the latter year. Much of the improvement in the lot of the wage earners has been due to the labour organizations, yet so late as 1881 these organizations were of so little account, politically, that when the law relating to trades unions was passed in New South Wales, the English law was followed, and it was simply enacted that the purposes of any trades union shall not be deemed unlawful (so as to render a member liable to criminal prosecution for conspiracy or otherwise) merely by reason that they are in restraint of trade. After the year 1884 labour troubles became very frequent, the New South Wales coal miners in particular being at war with the colliery owners during the greater part of the six years intervening between then and what is called the Great Strike. The strong downward tendency of prices made a reduction of wages imperative; but the labouring classes failed to recognize any such necessity, and strongly resented any reductions proposed by employers. It was hard indeed for a carter drawing coal to a gasworks to recognise the necessity which compelled a reduction in his wages because wool had fallen 20 per cent. Nor were other labourers, more nearly connected with the producing interests, satisfied with a reduction of wages because produce had fallen in price all round. Up to 1889 wages held their ground, although work had become more difficult to obtain, and some industries were being carried on without any profit.

THE GREAT STRIKE OF 1890

It was at such an inopportune time that the most extensive combination of labour yet brought into action against capital formulated its demands. A strike of the Newcastle miners, after lasting twenty-nine weeks, came to an end in January, 1890, and throughout the rest of the year there was great unrest in labour circles. On September 6th the silver mines closed down, and a week later a conference of employers issued a manifesto which was met next day by a counter-manifesto of the Intercolonial Labour Conference, and almost immediately afterwards by the calling out of 40,000 men. The time chosen for the strike was the height of the wool season, when a cessation of work would be attended with the maximum of inconvenience. Sydney was the centre of the disturbance, and the city was in a state of industrial siege, feeling running to dangerous extremes. Riotous scenes occurred both in Sydney and on the coal fields, and a large number of special constables were sworn in by the government. Towards the end of October 20,000 shearers were called out, and many other trades, principally concerned with the handling or shipping of wool, joined the ranks of the strikers, with the result that the maritime and pastoral industries throughout the whole of Australia were most injuriously disturbed. The "Great Strike," as it was called, terminated early in November 1890, the employers gaining a decisive victory. The colonies were, however, to have other and bitter experiences of strikes before labour recognized that of all means for settling industrial disputes strikes are, on the whole, the most disastrous that it can adopt.

One result of the strike of 1890 was the planting of a colony of communistic Australians in South America. Another effect of the Great Strike was in a more practical direction. New South Wales was the first country which endeavored to settle its labour grievances through the ballot-box and to send a great party to parliament as the direct representation of labour, pledged to obtain through legislation what it was unable to obtain by strikes and physical force. Several attempts had been made by individuals belonging to the labour party to enter the New South Wales parliament, but it was not until 1891 that the occurrence of a general election gave the party the looked-for opportunity for concerted action. The results of the election came as a complete surprise to the majority of the community. The labour party captured 35 seats out of a house of 125 members; and as the old parties almost equally divided the remaining seats, and a fusion was impossible, the labour representatives dominated the situation. It was not long, however, before the party itself became divided on the fiscal question; and a protectionist government coming into power, about half the labour members gave it consistent support and enabled it to maintain office for about three years, the party as a political unit being thus destroyed. The events of these three years taught the labour leaders that a parliamentary party was of little practical influence unless it was able to cast on all important occasions a solid vote, and to meet the case a new method was devised. The party therefore determined that they would refuse to support any person standing in the labour interests who refused to pledge himself to vote on all occasions in such way as the majority of the party might decide to be expedient. This was called the "solidarity pledge," and, united under its sanction, what was left of the labour party contested the general election of 1894. The result was a defeat, their numbers being reduced from 35 to 19, but a signal triumph was won for solidarity. Very few of the members who refused to take the

pledge were returned, and the adherents of the united party were able to accomplish more with their reduced number than under the old conditions.

The movement towards forming a parliamentary labour party was not confined to New South Wales; on the contrary, it was common to all the colonies except West Australia, and its greatest triumphs have been achieved in New Zealand and South Australia. Like the organisation in New South Wales, the labour party of South Australia owes its origin to the failure of the Great Strike of 1890. In that year the Trades and Labour Council of Adelaide summoned a conference of labour representatives, at which a proposal for the formation of a parliamentary party was drawn up and adopted. The political programme of the new party was comprehensive and popular, and almost immediately on its adoption three representatives of labour won seats in the second chamber (legislative council), and at the ensuing general election of 1893 the party secured 8 seats in the assembly out of a total of 54, and 6 out of 24 in the council, thereby gaining a controlling vote in both



BOURKE STREET, MELBOURNE

houses. In 1900 it controlled 12 votes in the popular house and 8 in the council. The members of the South Australian labour party differ in one important respect from those of New South Wales. They are all persons who have worked for their living at manual labour, and this qualification of being an actual worker is one that was strongly insisted upon at the formation of the party and strictly adhered to, although the temptation to break away from it and to accept as candidates persons of superior education and position has been very great. In Victoria the labour party has not been so conspicuous as in New South Wales and South Australia. The members of the Victorian assembly are not divided into such distinct parties as are the members of the popular houses of the other colonies, and the labour party has therefore not been able to determine the real balance of power. In Queensland the labour party numbered, in 1900, 21 out of 72 members in the elective branch of parliament, a larger proportion than in any other state; but only for a brief period [toward the close of 1899] have parties been so evenly divided as to give the labour party the balance of power.

FEDERATION

The question of federation was not lost sight of by the framers of the original constitution which was bestowed upon New South Wales. In the report of the committee of the legislative council appointed in 1852 to prepare a constitution for that colony [an intercolonial assembly was suggested]. But it was not until the necessities of the colonies forced them to it that an attempt was made to do what the framers of the original constitution suggested. Federation at no time actually dropped out of sight, but it was not until thirty-five years later that any practical steps were taken towards its accomplishment. Meanwhile a sort of makeshift was devised, and the imperial parliament passed a measure permitting the formation of a federal council, to which any colony that felt inclined to join could send delegates. Of the seven colonies New South Wales and New Zealand stood aloof from the council, and from the beginning it was therefore shorn of a large share of the prestige that would have attached to a body speaking and acting on behalf of a united Australia. The council had also a fatal defect in its constitution. It was merely a deliberative body, having no executive functions and possessing no control of funds or other means to put its legislation in force. Its existence was well-nigh forgotten by the people of Australia until the occurrence of its biennial meetings, and even then but slight interest was taken in its proceedings. The council held eight meetings, at which many matters of intercolonial interest were discussed. In 1889 Sir Henry Parkes addressed the other premiers on the desirability of a federal union for purposes of defence. The immediate result was a conference at Parliament House, Melbourne, of representatives from each of the seven colonies. This conference adopted an address submitting certain resolutions which affirmed the desirability of an early union, under the crown, of the Australiasian colonies, and provided that steps should be taken for the appointment of delegates to a national Australasian convention, to consider and report upon an adequate scheme for a federal convention. In accordance with this understanding, the various Australasian parliaments appointed delegates to attend a national convention to be held in Sydney. On the 2nd of March, 1891, the convention held its first meeting. Sir Henry Parkes was elected president, and he moved a series of resolutions embodying the principles necessary to establish the structure of a federal government.

On the 31st of March Sir Samuel Griffith, as chairman of the committee on constitutional machinery, brought up a draft Constitution Bill, which was carefully considered by the convention in committee of the whole and adopted on the 9th of April, when the convention was formerly dissolved. The bill, however, fell absolutely dead. Not because it was not a good bill, but because the movement out of which it arose had not popular initiative, and therefore failed to reach the popular imagination. Even its authors recognized the apathy of the people, and parliamentary sanction to its provisions was not sought in any colony.

Although the bill of 1891 was not received by the people with any show of interest, the federation movement did not die out; on the contrary, it had many enthusiastic advocates, especially in the colony of Victoria. In 1894 an unofficial convention was held at Corowa, at which the cause of federation was strenuously advocated, but it was not until 1895 that the movement obtained new life, by reason of the proposals adopted at a meeting of premiers convened by Mr. G. H. Reid of New South Wales. At

this meeting all the colonies except New Zealand were represented, and it was agreed that the parliament of each colony should be asked to pass a bill enabling the people to choose ten persons to represent the colony in a federal convention; the work of such convention being the framing of a federal constitution to be submitted to the people for approval by means of the referendum. During the year 1896 Enabling Acts were passed by New South Wales, Victoria, Tasmania, South Australia, and West Australia, and delegates were elected by popular vote in all the colonies named except West Australia, where the delegates were chosen by parliament. The convention met in Adelaide on the 22nd of March 1897, and, after drafting a bill for the consideration of the various parliaments, adjourned until the 2nd of September. On that date the delegates reassembled in Sydney, and debated the bill in the light of the suggestions made by the legislatures of the federating colonies. In the course of the proceedings it was announced that Queensland desired to come within the proposed union; and in view of this development, and in order to give further opportunity for the consideration of the bill, the convention again adjourned. The third and final session was opened in Melbourne on the 20th of January, 1898, but Queensland was still unrepresented; and, after further consideration, the Draft Bill was finally adopted on the 16th of March and remitted to the various colonies for submission to the people. In its main provisions the bill of 1898 followed generally that of 1891, yet with some very important alterations.



POST OFFICE, SYDNEY

The constitution was accepted by Victoria, South Australia, and Tasmania by popular acclamation, but in New South Wales very great opposition was shown, the main points of objection being the financial provisions, equal representation in the senate, and the difficulty in the way of the larger states securing an amendment of the constitution in the event of a conflict with the smaller states. As far as the other colonies were concerned, it was evident that the bill was safe, and public attention throughout Australia was fixed on New South Wales, where a fierce political contest was raging, which it was recognised would decide the fate of the measure for the time being. The fear was as to whether the statutory number of 80,000 votes necessary for the acceptance of the bill would be reached. This fear proved to be well founded, for the result of the referendum in New South Wales showed 71,595 votes in favour of the bill and 66,228 against it, and it was accordingly

lost. In Victoria, Tasmania, and South Australia, on the other hand, the bill was accepted by triumphant majorities. West Australia did not put it to the vote, as the Enabling Act of that colony only provided for joining a federation of which New South Wales should form a part. The existence of such a strong opposition to the bill in the mother colony convinced even its most zealous advocates that some changes would have to be made in the constitution before it could be accepted by the people; consequently, although the general election in New South Wales, held six or seven weeks later, was fought on the federal issue, yet the opposing parties seemed to occupy somewhat the same ground, and the question narrowed itself down to one as to which party should be entrusted with the negotiations to be conducted on behalf of the colony, with a view to securing a modification of the objectionable features of the bill. The new parliament decided to adopt the procedure of again sending the premier, Mr. Reid, in conference, armed with a series of resolutions affirming its desire to bring about the completion of federal union, but asking the other colonies to agree to the reconsideration of the provisions which were most generally objected to in New South Wales. The other colonies interested were anxious to bring the matter to a speedy termination, and readily agreed. Accordingly a premiers' conference was held in Melbourne at the end of January, 1899, at which Queensland was for the first time represented. At this conference a compromise was effected; something was conceded to the claims of New South Wales, but the main principles of the bill remained intact. The bill as amended was submitted to the electors of each colony and again triumphantly carried in Victoria, South Australia, and Tasmania. In New South Wales and Queensland there were still a large number of persons opposed to the measure, which was nevertheless carried in both colonies. New South Wales having decided in favour of federation, the way was clear for a decision on the part of West Australia. The Enabling Bill passed the various stages in the parliament of that colony, and the question was then submitted by way of referendum to the electors. The result of the voting (in five colonies in 1899, and in West Australia in 1900) was as follows:—

New South Wales, for 107,420 against 82,741; Victoria, for 152,653 against 9,804; Queensland, for 35,181 against 28,965; South Australia, for 65,990 against 17,053; West Australia (1900), for 44,704 against 19,691; Tasmania, for 13,437 against 791.

In accordance with this verdict, the Colonial Draft Bill was submitted to the imperial government for legislation as an imperial act.

Under an act of the British parliament, dated July 9th, 1900, passed under the auspices of Mr. Chamberlain, secretary of state for the colonies, a proclamation was issued, September 17th of the same year, declaring that, on and after the 1st of January, 1901, the people of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Queensland, Tasmania, and West Australia should be united in a federal commonwealth under the name of the Commonwealth of Australia. The act which gave authority for the issue of this proclamation embodied and established (with such variations as had been accepted on behalf of the colonies) the constitution agreed to at the premiers' conference of 1899. It was cordially welcomed in the mother country, and finally became law amid signs of general approval. The difficulties arose with regard to the right of appeal to the queen in council. By clause 74 of the original bill this right was very seriously curtailed; Mr. Chamberlain wished to preserve it as in the case of Canada, while, in order to disarm colonial opposition, he suggested that the judicial committee of the privy council should be

strengthened by the appointment of four colonial members with the rank of lords of appeal.[d] A compromise was, however, ultimately agreed upon by which in cases involving non-Australian interests the right of appeal should be fully maintained, while, in questions between the commonwealth and a single state, or between two states, leave to appeal might be given by the high court of Australia. The commonwealth was successfully inaugurated in 1901 with Lord Hopetoun, who had won golden opinions as governor of Victoria a few years before, as governor-general, and with Mr. Barton, who had taken the lead among the Australian delegates in making the constitution, as prime minister. Lord Hopetoun was succeeded in 1903 by Lord Tennyson, and he in turn in 1904 by Lord Northcote. Mr. Barton remained prime minister until 1903, when he resigned to become a judge of the high court. He was succeeded by Mr. Deakin. In April, 1904, a labour ministry under Mr. Watson came into power, but in August gave way to a liberal ministry under Mr. Reid. In the following July Mr. Deakin again became prime minister. The new system has not always given satisfaction, but it seems to work more smoothly as time goes on.[a]

Provisions of the Commonwealth Act

The provisions of the Commonwealth Act passed in 1900 were as follows: The six colonies entering the commonwealth were denominated original states, and new states might be admitted, or might be formed by separation from or union of two or more states or parts of states; and territories (as distinguished from states) might be taken over and governed under the legislative power of the commonwealth. The legislative power is vested in a federal parliament, consisting of the sovereign, a senate, and a house of representatives, the sovereign being represented by a governor-general. The senate was to consist of the same number of members (not less than six) for each state, the term of service being six years, but subject to an arrangement that half the number would retire every three years. The house of representatives was to consist of members chosen in the different states in numbers proportioned to their population, but never fewer than five. The first house of representatives was to contain seventy-five members. For elections to the senate the governors of states, and for general elections of the house of representatives the governor-general, would cause writs to be issued. The senate would choose its own president, and the house of representatives its speaker; each house would make its own rules of procedure; in each, one-third of the number of members would form a quorum; the members of each must take oath, or make affirmation of allegiance; and all alike would receive an allowance of £400 a year. The legislative powers of the parliament have a wide range, many matters being transferred to it from the colonial parliaments. The more important subjects with which it deals are trade, shipping, and railways; taxation, bounties, the borrowing of money on the credit of the commonwealth; the postal and telegraphic services; defence, census, and statistics; currency, coinage, banking, bankruptcy; weights and measures; copyright, patents, and trade marks; marriage and divorce; immigration and emigration; conciliation and arbitration in industrial disputes. Bills imposing taxation or appropriating revenue must not originate in the senate, and neither taxation bills nor bills appropriating revenue for the annual service of the government may be amended in the senate, but the senate may return such bills to the house of representatives with a request for their amendment. Appropriation laws must not deal with other matters.

Votes for the appropriation of the revenue shall not pass unless recommended by the governor-general. The constitution requires the assent of the sovereign to all laws. The executive power is vested in the governor-general, assisted by an executive council appointed by himself. He has command of the army and navy, and appoints federal ministers and judges. The ministers are members of the executive council and must be, or within three months of their appointment must become, members of the parliament. The judicial powers are vested in a high court and other federal courts, and the federal judges hold office for life or during good behaviour. The high court has appellate jurisdiction in cases from other federal courts and from the supreme courts of the states, and it has original jurisdiction in matters arising under laws made by the federal parliament, in disputes between states, or residents in different states, and in matters affecting the representatives of foreign powers. Special provisions were made respecting appeals from the high court to the sovereign in council. The constitution set forth elaborate arrangements for the administration of finance and trade during the transition period following the transference of departments to the commonwealth.

The constitution, parliament, and laws of each state, subject to the federal constitution, retained their authority; state rights were carefully safeguarded, and an inter-state commission was given powers of adjudication and of administration of the laws relating to trade, transport, and other matters. Provision was made for necessary alteration of the constitution of the commonwealth, but so that no alteration could be effected unless the question had been directly submitted to, and the change accepted by, the electorate in the states. The seat of government was to be within New South Wales, not less than 100 miles distant from Sydney, and of an area not less than 100 square miles. Until other provision was made, the governor-general was to have a salary of £10,000, paid by the commonwealth.

The federal system has proved as satisfactory as could perhaps be reasonably expected. There has, however, been considerable friction at times between the central government and separate states. Late in 1905 New South Wales expressed dissatisfaction because the question of the capital had not been settled, and in 1907 the same state came in conflict with the commonwealth over the question of federal taxation of state imports. In 1906 West Australia threatened to secede because the central government had failed to order a survey for a transcontinental railway. The problem of national defence and the question of taking over debts contracted by the separate states prior to the union are among the important questions now attracting attention.[a]

New Zealand

The first European discoverer of New Zealand was the famous Dutch navigator, Tasman, who sailed about the islands in 1642, but it remained practically unknown until 1769, when Captain Cook made a careful examination of its coast. He visited the islands several times, and introduced pigs, fowls, and several European vegetables. From Cook's final voyage in 1777 to 1814 little is known of it, but during this period a few white men, mostly shipwrecked sailors and runaway convicts from Australia, settled along its coasts. In 1814 Rev. Samuel Marsden, colonial chaplain of New South Wales, established the first mission in the islands at the Bay of Islands. Other missions, both Catholic and Protestant, were soon formed, and in thirty years a great

part of the native Maori population had at least nominally accepted Christianity.

The country had been officially declared a possession of Great Britain as early as 1787, but fifty years elapsed before a systematic attempt at colonisation was made. In 1837 the New Zealand Association was formed under the auspices of Lord Durham, and largely through the exertion of Edward Gibbon Wakefield, upon whose "system" South Australia was established. This association failed in obtaining a charter for colonising because of the hesitating policy of the ministry, but it awakened interest in the colonisation movement. A second organisation was formed by the resourceful Wakefield in 1839, known as the New Zealand Land Company, with Lord Durham as governor. Wakefield determined not to risk another failure, therefore, in the name of the new company the ship *Tory* was secretly despatched to the islands with a company of colonists under Col. Wm. Wakefield, a brother of the promoter. By him the settlement of Wellington was formed. The colony of New Zealand thus came into existence independent of crown authority. The hands of the government being forced it proceeded to attach the settlements in New Zealand to the colony of New South Wales with Captain William Hobson as resident lieutenant-governor. There was some conflict between the land company's settlers and Governor Hobson, but they ultimately recognised his authority. In February, 1840, an assembly of Maori chiefs at Waitangi acknowledged their submission to the British crown. In the following September, Governor Hobson hoisted the British flag over the newly founded town of Aukland, which in 1841 became the capital of the colony.



JAMES COOK
(1728–1779)

May 3, 1841, New Zealand was proclaimed a separate crown colony. The early history of the colony is a long and tedious tale of quarrels over land titles between the land company, later settlers, and Maori chiefs. Hostilities between the settlers and natives were inevitable. One of the most serious wars was that led by Hone Heke in 1845. Other and more serious revolts occurred in 1863 and 1864, the suppression of which was accomplished only by the aid of several regiments of British troops and the co-operation of warships. An imperial act granted the colony representative government in 1852. Gold was discovered in 1862 and the colony grew rapidly. A new immigration policy adopted in 1870 still further stimulated the growth. The population leaped from 267,000 in 1871 to 501,000 in 1881.[a]

HISTORY, 1882–1902

Between 1882 and 1902 five governors represented the crown in New Zealand. Of these Sir Arthur Gordon quitted the colony in June, 1882. His

successor, Sir William Drummond Jervois, arrived in January, 1883, and held office until March, 1889. The earl of Onslow, who followed, landed in June, 1889, and resigned in February, 1892. The next governor, the earl of Glasgow, remained in the colony from June, 1892, to February, 1897, and was succeeded in August of the last-mentioned year by the earl of Ranfurly. The cabinets which administered the affairs of the colony during these years were those of Sir Frederick Whitaker, Sir Harry Atkinson (3), Sir Robert Stout (2), Mr. Ballance, and Mr. Seddon. Except in one disturbed month, August, 1884, when there were three changes of ministry in eighteen days, executives were more stable than in the colony's earlier years. The party headed by Mr. Ballance and Mr. Seddon held office without a break for more than eleven years, a result mainly due to the general support given to its agrarian and labour policy by the smaller farmers and the working classes.

The industrial history of New Zealand during these two decades may be divided into two unequal periods. Thirteen lean years — marked, some of them by great depression — were followed by seven years of prosperity. The colony, which in 1882 was under a cloud, has not often been busier and more self-confident than in 1902. A division into two periods also marks the political history of the same time; but here the dividing line is drawn in a different year. Up to December, 1890, the conservative forces which overthrew Sir George Grey in 1879, controlled parliament in effect, though not always in name; and for ten years progressive legislation was confined to a mild experiment in offering crown lands on perpetual lease, with a right of purchase (1882), and a still milder instalment of local option (1881). In September, 1889, however, Sir George Grey succeeded in getting parliament to abolish the last remnant of plural voting. Finance otherwise absorbed attention; the task of successive ministries was to make the colony's accounts balance, and search for some means of restoring prosperity. The years 1884, 1887, and 1888 were notable for heavy deficits in the treasury. Taxation, direct and indirect, had to be increased, and as a means of gaining support for this, in 1888 Sir Harry Atkinson gave the customs tariff a distinctly protectionist complexion. The commercial revival came but slowly. The heavy borrowing and feverish speculation of the seven years 1872–79 must in any case have been paid for by reaction. The failure of the City of Glasgow Bank in 1879 precipitated this, and the almost continuous fall in the price of wool and wheat, together with the dwindling of the output of alluvial gold, postponed recovery. The principal local bank — the Bank of New Zealand — was in an unsound condition, and until in 1895 it was taken under control and guaranteed by the colony, the fear of its collapse overshadowed the community. The financial and commercial improvement which began in 1895 was doubtless to some extent connected with this venturesome but apparently successful stroke of policy.

SOCIALISTIC NEW ZEALAND

During the years 1882–90 the leading political personage was Sir Harry Atkinson. In December, 1890, he was overthrown by the progressives under John Ballance. Atkinson's party never rallied from this defeat, and a striking change came over public life, though Ballance, until his death in April, 1893, continued the prudent financial policy of his predecessor. The change was emphasised by the active intervention in politics of the trade unions. These bodies, impelled by a socialistic movement felt throughout Australia and New Zealand, decided in 1889 and 1890 to exert their influence in returning work-

men to parliament, and where this was impossible, to secure pledges from middle class candidates. This plan was first put into execution at the general election of 1890. The number of labour members thus elected to the general assembly was small, never more than six, and no independent labour party was formed. But the influence of labour in the progressive or, as it preferred to be called, liberal party, was considerable, and the legislative results noteworthy. These did not interfere with the general lines of Atkinson's strong and cautious finance, though the first of them was the abolition of his direct tax upon all property, personal as well as real, and the substitution therefor of a graduated tax upon unimproved land values, and an income-tax also graduated, though less elaborately. The income-tax is not levied on incomes drawn from land. In 1891 the tenure of members of the legislative council or nominated upper house, which had hitherto been for life, was altered to seven years. In 1892 a new form of land tenure was introduced, under which large areas of crown lands have since been leased for 999 years. In the same year a law was also passed authorising government to repurchase private land for closer settlement. At first the owner's consent to the sale was necessary, but in 1894 power was taken to buy land compulsorily. So energetically was the law administered by John Mackenzie, minister of lands from 1891 to1900, that in March, 1901, more than a million acres had been repurchased and subdivided, and over 6,000 souls were living thereon.

On Ballance's sudden death his place was taken by Richard Seddon, minister of mines in the Ballance cabinet, whose first task was to pass the Electoral Bill of his predecessor, which provided for granting the franchise to all adult women. This was adopted in September, 1893. In 1893 was also enacted the Alcoholic Liquor Control Act, greatly extending local option. In 1894 the Advances to Settlers Act authorised state loans on mortgage to farmers at 5 per cent., and about £2,500,000 has been lent in this way, causing a general decline in the rate of interest. The same year also saw the climax of a series of laws passed by the progressives affecting the relations of employers and workmen.

Meanwhile the keystone of the regulative system had been laid by the passing of the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act, under which disputes between employers and unions of workers are compulsorily settled by state tribunals; strikes and lock-outs are virtually prohibited in the case of organised work-people, and the conditions of employment in industries may be, and in many cases are, regulated by the awards of public boards and courts. The Arbitration Act, consolidated and extended in 1900, was soon in constant use. The Old Age Pensions Bill, which became law in November, 1898, by 1902 had become the means of conferring a free pension of £18 a year, or less, upon 12,300 men and women of 65 years of age and upwards whose private income was less than £1 a week. About 1,000 of these pensioners were Maori. The total cost to the colony was about £205,000 annually. In 1900 the English system of compensation to workmen for accidents suffered in their trade was adopted with some changes. In 1895 borrowing on a large scale was begun, and in seven years as many millions were added to the public debt. Before this the Ballance ministry had organised two new departments, those of labour and agriculture. The former supervises the labour laws, and endeavours to deal with unemployment; the latter has done much practical teaching and inspecting work, manages experimental farms, and is active in stamping out diseases of live stock, noxious weeds, and adulteration.[1]

Blessed with a climate resembling that of England, New Zealand has been

properly regarded as the future Britain of the southern hemisphere. The progress which the colony has made has both encouraged and apparently justified the prediction. Yet there are few subjects on which ordinary people betray greater ignorance than on the position of New Zealand. Sir Charles Dilke[m] has pointed out that, though "the future of the Pacific shores is inevitably brilliant, it is not New Zealand, the centre of the water hemisphere, which will occupy the position that England has taken in the Atlantic, but some country such as Japan or Vancouver, jutting out into the ocean from Asia or America, as England juts out from Europe." New Zealand, separated from Australia by more than a thousand miles of stormy ocean, can never prove to Australia what England has proved to Europe. Her own advantages of soil and climate may raise her to greatness. She will not rise to greatness as the emporium of Australian trade.[i]

The election on December 6th, 1905, resulted in an overwhelming majority for the Seddon ministry. In the following June Mr. Seddon died suddenly while returning from a visit to Australia. A ministry was formed by Sir Joseph Ward to follow Mr. Seddon's policy. In September, 1907, a royal proclamation was issued to the effect that the colony should henceforth be called the Dominion of New Zealand.[a]

The Maoris

The Maoris are one of the most important families of the brown Polynesian stock, being those who have developed its peculiar mental and physical characteristics to the highest degree. This is due in part to their having to maintain themselves in a far less favourable climate than their fellows of the tropical islands. They became skilful hunters and fishers, and good agriculturists; and the amount of skill and energy necessitated in these pursuits in building houses and canoes, in making clothing, and in forming the various weapons and implements which they required from stone, wood, or shell, furnished the needful stimulus for an active and healthy existence. War, too, as among all savage tribes, occupied them greatly, and the construction of forts and defences was added to the regular labours of every community.



LIGHT HOUSE ON THE COAST OF NEW SOUTH WALES

The earliest European settlers thus found the Maoris in a state of civilisation not often to be met with among a barbarous and savage people. They lived together in villages, in huts well constructed of wood and reeds, ornamented with ingenious and fanciful carvings, and painted with gay-coloured arabesques. They protected their villages with ditches and palisades, and surrounded them with extensive plantations. They manufactured flax from a native plant, and from it wove mats and clothing, which they dyed with various kinds of bark and roots, and ornamented with the bright feathers of birds; and they made cloaks of great value from the dressed skins of their dogs. Their faces and some parts of their bodies were elaborately and elegantly tattooed, more largely in the men than the women, and the heads of

the great chiefs were skillfully embalmed and preserved, either as trophies of the fight or in affectionate remembrance of the dead. Although they had no written language, they had numerous songs and proverbs, legends and traditions, transmitted orally from generation to generation. They knew every plant and bird and insect of the country they inhabited, and designated them by distinctive names; and they distinguished the various kinds of rock with a keen talent of observation. They had words in their language for the four seasons, and they divided the year into thirteen months, all of which had appropriate names, the year commencing with the first new moon after a particular star, called Puanga, began to be visible in the morning. They had names for all the chief stars, and also for many constellations, which were called after their resemblance to canoes, houses, garments, weapons, etc. They had measures derived from the human body, as the span, the stride, and the fathom. They had no regular barter, but whatever a friend asked for was given, on the understanding that the giver might in his turn have anything he took a fancy to; but all valuable property appears to have been held by the tribe, and could only be exchanged in this way with other family tribes. They had numerous games of skill or chance, many of them exactly similar to our own, as flying kites, skipping-ropes, cat's-cradle, gymnastic poles, wrestling, hide-and-seek, stilts; as well as dancing, diving, and many others. They had a firm belief in a future state, and an elaborate mythology and system of temples, priests, omens, and sacrifices. They were great orators, and a son of every chief had to learn the traditions, laws, and rites of his tribe, and to be an orator and a poet as well as a warrior, a hunter, and a seaman.

The dark side of their character was the practice of cannibalism, which prevailed extensively at the time when Europeans first visited them. But this vile practice seems always to have been associated with a superstitious belief in the transfer of the qualities of the victim to his devourer. This became one of the chief incentives to war, as to eat the bodies of the slain was supposed to impart courage and ferocity to those who partook of them, and likewise to make their triumph over their enemies complete.[k]

The rapid decrease of the Maori population for many years seemed to foretell its early extinction as a race, but during very recent years there appears to have been a slight increase in numbers. In 1840 estimates placed the native population at over 100,000, which had decreased to 65,000 in 1856 and to 45,740 in 1874. By 1896 the Maori population was only 39,800, but in 1901 it had risen again to 43,143.[a]





CHAPTER II

THE HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICA

THE DISCOVERY OF THE CAPE

The Cape of Good Hope was discovered by Bartholomeu Dias, the Portuguese navigator, in 1487. He first landed at Algoa Bay, having, after exploring the west coast, been driven out to sea by a storm. Thus accidentally doubling the Cape, he saw it on his way back, and gave it the name of the Cape of Storms *(Cabo Tormentoso)*. The king of Portugal, however, gave it the more auspicious name it now bears, as its discovery afforded a hope of a new and easier way of reaching India, the great object of all the maritime expeditions of that age.

The great navigator Vasco da Gama doubled the Cape in 1497, and carried the Portuguese flag into the Indian seas. His countrymen, however, attracted by the riches of the East, made no permanent settlement at the Cape, although they frequently touched there on the voyage to India. But the Dutch, who, on the decline of the Portuguese power, established themselves in the East, early saw the importance of the place as a station where their vessels might take in water and provisions. They did not, however, colonise it till 1652, when the Dutch East India Company directed Jan van Riebeek, with a small party of colonists, to form a settlement there. The country was at that time inhabited by a people called Quæquæ, but to whom the Dutch seem to have given the name of Hottentots. The Riebeek settlers had at first great difficulties and hardships to endure, and their territory did not extend beyond a few miles round the site of the present Cape Town, where they first fixed their abode. They gradually, however, extended their limits, by driving the natives back or reducing them to serfdom. These colonists, although under Dutch authority, were not wholly of that nation, but consisted partly of persons of various nations, especially Germans and Flemings, with a few

Poles and Portuguese. They were for the most part people of low station or indifferent character; there was, however, a small number of a higher class, from whom was selected a council to assist the governor. About the year 1686 the European population was increased by a number of the French refugees who left their country on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Our limits forbid our attempting to trace the history of the Cape Colony during the lengthened period it remained under the Dutch government. We may, however, mention some of its prominent incidents, the effects of which are visible in the colony to this hour.

The Dutch, partly by so-called contracts, partly by force, gradually deprived the Hottentots of their country. They reduced to slavery a large part of that unfortunate people whom they did not destroy. They introduced a number of Malays and negroes as slaves. They established that narrow and tyrannical system of policy which they adopted in other colonies, prescribing to the farmers the nature of the crops they were to grow, demanding from them a large part of their produce, and harassing them with other exactions tending to discourage industry and enterprise. There is no doubt that to this mischievous policy is due the origin of those unsettled habits, that dislike to orderly government, and that desire to escape from its control, which characterise a considerable part of the so-called Dutch Boers of the present day — qualities utterly at variance with the character of the Dutch in their native country, which were strongly manifested at the Cape, long before they came under British rule and under those influences to which some exclusively attribute the insubordination of those men. The attempts of the Boers to escape from the Dutch power, and so form an independent government beyond the borders of the colony, especially in the district since called Graaf-Reinet, are strikingly similar to their proceedings at a later date under the British government. The Gumti river formed the boundary between the Hottentot and Kaffir races, and was early adopted by the Dutch as their eastern limit; but about the year 1740 they began to pass this river, and came into collision with the Kaffirs, and in 1780 they extended their frontier to the Great Fish river.

In 1795 the colonists, having imbibed the revolutionary principles then prevailing in Europe, attempted to throw off the yoke of the Dutch, upon which the British sent a fleet to support the authority of the prince of Orange, and took possession of the country in his name. As, however, it was evident that Holland would not be able to hold it, and that at a general peace it would be made over to England, it was ruled by British governors till the year 1802, when, at the Peace of Amiens, it was again restored to Holland. In 1806, on the renewal of the war, it was again taken by the British under Sir David Baird, and has since remained in their possession, having been finally ceded by the king of the Netherlands at the peace of 1815. At this time the limit of the colony was formed by the Great Fish river and the line of the mountains south of Bushman Land to the Buffals river and the Atlantic, the area being about one hundred and twenty thousand square miles, and the population little over sixty thousand. A summary may be given of the chief events which have taken place since 1806.

KAFFIR WARS AND THE GREAT TREK

The first of these wars took place in 1811–1812, and the second in 1819, when the boundary of the colony was extended to the Keiskamma. The third occurred in 1835, under Sir Benjamin d'Urban, when the boundary was

advanced to the Kei; but on the recall of that officer the country between the Kei and Keiskamma rivers was restored to the Kaffirs. The fourth Kaffir War took place in 1846, and after being conducted by governors Maitland and Pottinger, it was terminated by Sir Harry Smith in 1848. The fifth war broke out at the end of 1850, and after being carried on for some time by Governor Sir H. Smith, it was conducted in 1852 by Governor Cathcart, and brought to a conclusion only in March, 1853. During its progress an armed police had been organised for the protection of the frontier, and British Kaffraria was subsequently formed into a crown colony, reserved at first for occupation by Kaffirs.

In 1820, British emigrants, to the number of five thousand, arrived at Algoa Bay, and laid the foundation of the settlements on the eastern frontier which have since become the most thriving part of the colony, including the important towns of Grahamstown and Port Elizabeth. In 1834 the great measure of slave-emancipation took effect in the Cape Colony. It has been of immense service in raising the character and condition of the Hottentots and other races before held in bondage, though many of the vices begotten by the state of slavery still adhere to them. This measure gave great offence to the Dutch Boers of the colony, and completed their already existing disaffection to the British rule.

In 1835–1836 a large number of these people resolved to free themselves from the British government by removing with their families beyond the limits of the colony. With this object they sold their farms, mostly at a great sacrifice, and crossed the Orange river into territories inhabited chiefly by tribes of the Kaffir race. After meeting with great hardships and varied success in their contests with the natives, a part of their number, under one Peter Retief, crossed the Drakenberge and took possession of the district of Natal, where they established a republican government, and maintained their ground against powerful nations of Zulu Kaffirs till 1842, when they were forced to yield to the authority of the British government, which took possession of Natal.

The Boers beyond the Orange river and west of the Drakenberge still, however, retained a sort of independence till 1848, when, in consequence of the lawless state of the country, and the solicitation of part of the inhabitants, the governor, Sir Harry Smith, declared the supremacy of the crown over the territory, which was thenceforth called the Orange River Sovereignty. Shortly after this, in consequence, it was alleged, of certain acts of the British government in Natal, Andrew Pretorius, an intelligent Boer of that district, crossed the Drakenberge mountains with his followers, and after being joined on the western side by large numbers of disaffected Boers, raised the standard of rebellion. Upon this the governor, Sir H. Smith, crossed the Orange river at the head of a detachment of troops, and encountered and defeated the rebels in a short but brilliant skirmish at Boem Plaats. After this Pretorius and the most disaffected part of the Boers retreated to beyond the Vaal river (the northern limit of the sovereignty), where they established a government of their own. They were subsequently, in 1852, absolved from their allegiance to the British crown by treaty with the governors and her majesty's commissioners for settling frontier affairs.

In 1853–1854, in consequence of the troubled state of the Orange River Sovereignty, and the difficulty of maintaining with becoming dignity the authority of her majesty there, it was resolved to abandon the country to the settlers, mostly Dutch Boers. This was carried into effect by a special commissioner, Sir George Clerk, sent from England for the purpose; and the

country, under the name of the Orange Free State, was constituted a republic, with a president at its head, assisted or controlled by an assembly called the *volksraad* (people's council), elected by nearly universal suffrage.

THE CONVICT AGITATION

After the British government had felt itself compelled to discontinue the sending of convicts to New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, the subject of transportation became one of great difficulty, the more so that an unusually large number of prisoners was then on its hands in consequence of the prosecutions arising out of the disturbed state of Ireland. Under these circumstances an order in council was passed in 1848, under authority of the Act of 5, George IV, authorising the secretary of state to send certain convicts to such colonies as he might think proper. A circular was sent by Earl Grey, then colonial secretary, to the governor of the Cape (among other colonial governors), requesting him to ascertain the feelings of the colonists regarding the reception of a certain class of convicts.

Unfortunately, owing to some misunderstanding, a vessel, the *Neptune*, was despatched to the Cape before the opinion of the colonists had been received, having on board 289 convicts, among whom were John Mitchell, the Irish rebel, and his colleagues. When the news reached the Cape that this vessel was on her way, the people of the colony became violently excited; and goaded to fury by the inflammatory articles in the local newspapers, and guided by a few demagogues, they established what was called the Anti-Convict Association, by which they bound themselves by a pledge to cease from all intercourse of every kind with persons in any way connected "with the landing, supplying, or employing of convicts." On the 19th of September, 1849, the *Neptune* arrived in Simon's Bay; and when the intelligence reached Cape Town, the people assembled in masses, and their behaviour was violent and outrageous in the extreme. The governor, after adopting several resolutions, and again abandoning them under the pressure of popular agitation, agreed not to land the convicts, but to keep them on board ship in Simon's Bay till he received orders to send them elsewhere. Even this concession did not satisfy any but a small number of more moderate men. The mass of the population, under the guidance or domination of a few agitators, continued to do all in their power to prevent the convicts and all the officers of the government from obtaining supplies. When the home government became aware of the state of affairs it immediately sent orders directing the *Neptune* to proceed to Van Diemen's Land, and the agitation ceased. This agitation did not, however, pass away without important results, since it led to another movement, the object of which was to obtain a free representative government for the colony. This concession, which had been previously promised by Lord Grey, was granted by her majesty's government, and, in 1853, a constitution was established of almost unexampled liberality.

In 1857 an almost incredible delusion arose in the Amaxosa tribe of British Kaffraria. It was predicted among them that, on condition of a complete sacrifice of their lives and property, a resurrection would take place on a certain day, in which all the dead warriors and great men of the nation would arise in new strength; and acting upon this faith nearly a third of the tribe or about fifty thousand, perished in a national suicide. The tracts thus depopulated were afterwards peopled by European settlers, among whom were many of the German legion which had served with the English army in

the Crimea, and a body of upwards of two thousand industrious North German emigrants, who proved to be a valuable acquisition to the colony.

Public works in the colony marked an era in the opening, in November, 1863, of the railway from Cape Town to Wellington, begun in 1859, and, in 1860, of the great breakwater in Table Bay, long needed on that perilous coast. In 1865 the province of British Kaffraria was incorporated with the colony, under the title of the Electoral Divisions of King William's Town and East London. In the same year several important modifications of the constitution were adopted.

The discovery of diamonds in the districts north of the Orange river in 1867 drew the attention of the whole world to the colony, and gave new life and impetus to every branch of industry, leading to the annexation of the large territory of Griqualand west to the British crown. The Basutos, a division of the Bechuana Kaffirs, occupying the upper valleys of the Orange river, had subsisted under a semi-protectorate of the British government from 1848 to 1854; but having been left to their own resources on the abandonment of the Orange Sovereignty, they fell into a long exhaustive warfare with the Boers of the Free State. On the urgent petition of their chief Moshesh they were proclaimed British subjects in 1868, and their territory became part of the colony by act of government of 1871.[i]

The year 1870 marks the dawn of a new era in South Africa. From that date the development of modern South Africa may be said to have fairly started, and in spite of political complications, arising from time to time, the progress of Cape Colony down to the outbreak of the Transvaal War of 1899 was steadily forward. The discovery of diamonds on the Orange river in 1867, followed immediately afterwards by the discovery of diamonds on the Vaal river, led to the rapid occupation and development of a tract of country which had hitherto been but sparsely inhabited. In 1870 Dutoitspan and Bultfontein diamond mines were discovered, and in 1871 the still richer mines of Kimberley and De Beers. These four great deposits of mineral wealth are still richly productive, and although not technically within the confines of Cape Colony till 1880, to-day they constitute the greatest industrial asset which the colony possesses.

At the time of the beginning of the diamond industry, both Cape Colony and the Boer republics, as well as all the rest of the colonies of South Africa, were in a very depressed condition. Ostrich-farming was in its infancy, and agriculture but little developed. The Boers, except in the immediate vicinity of Cape Town, were a primitive people. Their wants were few, they lacked enterprise, and the trade of the colony was restricted. Even the British colonists at that time were far from rich. The diamond industry therefore offered considerable attractions, especially to colonists of British origin. It was also the means at length of demonstrating the fact that South Africa, barren and poor on the surface, was rich below the surface. It takes ten acres of Karroo to feed a sheep, but it was now seen that a few square yards of diamondiferous blue ground would feed a dozen families. By the end of 1871 a large population had already gathered at the diamond fields, and immigration continued steadily, bringing new-comers to the rich fields. Among those who emigrated to South Africa at that time was Mr. Cecil Rhodes.

So far back in the history of the colony as 1858, the then governor, Sir George Grey, had prepared for the home authorities a scheme for the federation of the various colonies and states of South Africa, but this proposition was not entertained at the time. In 1875, Lord Carnarvon, who was secretary of state for the colonies, and who had been successful in aiding to bring about

the federation of Canada, turned his attention to a similar scheme for the confederation of South Africa. The new parliament at Cape Town, which had received its privileges of self government in 1872 appears to have resented the despatch in which he propounded his suggestions, and passed a resolution stating that any scheme in favour of confederation must in their opinion originate within South Africa itself. James Anthony Froude, the distinguished historian, was sent out by Lord Carnarvon to further his policy in South Africa. As a diplomatist and a representative of the British government, the general opinion in South Africa was that Froude was not a success, and he entirely failed to induce the colonists to adopt Lord Carnarvon's views. Lord Carnarvon, still bent on confederation, now appointed Sir Bartle Frere governor of Cape Colony and high commissioner of South Africa.

Frere had no sooner taken office as high commissioner, than he found himself confronted with serious native troubles in Zululand and on the Kaffir frontier of Cape Colony. In 1877 there occurred an outbreak on the part of the Galekas and the Gaikas. A considerable force of imperial and colonial troops was employed to put down this rising, and the war was subsequently known as the Ninth Kaffir War. This war was the last of a long series which the colonists waged on the eastern frontier ever since the colony came into existence. At its conclusion the Transkei, the territory of the Galeka tribe, under Kreli, was annexed by the British. In the meantime Lord Carnarvon had resigned his position in the British cabinet, and the scheme for confederation which he had been pushing forward was abandoned. As a matter of fact, at that time Cape Colony was too fully occupied with native troubles to take into consideration very seriously so great a question as confederation. A wave of feeling spread amongst the different Kaffir tribes on the colonial frontier, and after the Gaika-Galeka War there followed in 1879 a rising in Basutoland under Moirosi, whose cattle-raiding had for some time past caused considerable trouble. His stronghold was taken after very severe fighting by a colonial force, but, their defeat notwithstanding, the Basutos remained in a restless and aggressive condition for several years.

In 1880 the colonial authorities endeavoured to extend to Basutoland the Peace Preservation Act of 1878, under which a general disarmament of the Basutos was attempted. Further fighting followed on this proclamation, which was by no means successful, and although peace was declared in the country in 1883, the colonial authorities were very glad in 1884 to be relieved of the administration of a country which had already cost them £3,000,000. The imperial government then took over Basutoland as a crown colony, on the understanding that Cape Colony should contribute for administrative purposes £18,000 annually. In 1880, Sir Bartle Frere, who by his energetic and statesmanlike attitude on the relations with the native states, as well as on all other questions, had won the esteem and regard of loyal South African colonists, was recalled by Lord Kimberley, the liberal secretary of state for the colonies, and was succeeded by Sir Hercules Robinson. Griqualand West, which included the diamond fields, was now incorporated as a portion of Cape Colony.

THE AFRIKANDER BOND

The Boer War of 1881, with its disastrous termination, naturally reacted throughout South Africa; and as one of the most important results, in the year 1882 the first Afrikander Bond congress was held at Graaf-Reinet. The organisation of the Bond developed into one embracing the Transvaal, the

Orange Free State, and Cape Colony. Each country had a provincial committee with district committees, and branches were distributed throughout the whole of South Africa. At a later date the Bond in the Cape Colony dissociated itself from its republican branches. The general lines of policy which this organisation endeavoured to promote may best be gathered from *De Patriot*, a paper published in the colony, and an avowed supporter of the organisation. "The Afrikander Bond," it said, "has for its object the establishment of a South African nationality by spreading a true love for what is really our fatherland. The British government keep on talking about a confederation under the British flag, but that will never be brought about. They can be quite certain of that. There is just one obstacle in the way of confederation, and that is the British flag. Let them remove that, and in less than a year the confederation would be established under the free Afrikander flag."

The fact is that, from 1881 onwards, two great rival ideas came into being, each strongly opposed to the other. One was that of imperialism — full civil rights for every civilised man, whatever his race might be, under the supremacy and protection of Great Britain. The other was nominally republican, but in fact exclusively oligarchical and Dutch. The policy of the extremists of this last party was summed up in the appeal which President Kruger made to the Free State in February, 1881, when he bade them "Come and help us. God is with us. It is his will to unite us as a people — to make a united South Africa free from British authority." The two actual founders of the Bond party were Mr. Borckenhagen, a German who was residing in Bloemfontein, and Mr. Reitz, afterwards state secretary of the Transvaal.

In 1882 an act was passed in the Cape legislative assembly, empowering members to speak in the Dutch language on the floor of the house, if they so desired. By this act an increase of influence was given to the Dutch leaders. The head of the Afrikander Bond at this time in Cape Colony, and the leader of Dutch opinion, was Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr, a man of undoubted ability and astuteness. His influence over the Dutch members was supreme, and in addition to directing the policy of the Bond within the Cape Colony, he supported and defended the aggressive expansion policy of President Kruger and the Transvaal Boers. In 1884 Mr. Hofmeyr led the Bond in strongly supporting the Transvaal Boer raiders in Bechuanaland.

Fortunately, however, for the peace of Cape Colony at that time, Sir Charles Warren removed the invading Boers from Stellaland and no rebellion occurred. Nevertheless the Bond party was so strong in the house that they compelled the ministry under Sir Thomas Scanlen to resign in 1884. The logical and constitutional course for Mr. Hofmeyr to have followed in these circumstances would have been to accept office and himself form a government. This he refused to do. He preferred to put in a nominee of his own who should be entirely dependent on him. Mr. Upington, a clever Irish barrister, was the man he selected, and under him was formed in 1884 what will always be known in Cape history as the Warming-pan ministry. This action was denounced by many British colonists, who were sufficiently loyal, not only to Great Britain, but also to that constitution which had been conferred by Great Britain upon the Cape Colony, to desire to see the man who really wielded political power also enacting as the responsible head of the party. It was Mr. Hofmeyr's refusal to accept this responsibility, as well as the nature of his Bond policy, which won for him the political sobriquet of the "Mole."

Open and responsible exercise of a power conferred under the constitution of the country, Englishmen and English colonists would have accepted and

even welcomed. But that subterranean method of Dutch policy which found its strongest expression in Pretoria, and which operated from Pretoria to Cape Town, could not but be resented by loyal colonists. From 1881 down to 1898, Mr. Hofmeyr practically determined how Dutch members should vote, and also what policy the Bond should adopt at every juncture in its history. The influence of this action on Cape politics was a demoralising one. Other well-known politicians at the Cape subsequently found it convenient to adapt their views a good deal too readily to those held by the Bond. In justice to Mr. Hofmeyr, however, it is only fair to say that after the Warren expedition in 1884, which was at least evidence that Great Britain did not intend to renounce her supremacy in South Africa altogether, he adopted a less hostile or anti-British attitude.

Recognising the difficulties of the position, Mr. Rhodes from the outset of his political career showed his desire to conciliate Dutch sentiment by considerate treatment and regard for Dutch prejudices. Mr. Rhodes was first returned as member of the house of assembly for Barkly West in 1880, and in spite of all vicissitudes this constituency remained loyal to him. He supported the bill permitting Dutch to be used in the house of assembly in 1882, and early in 1884 he first took office, as treasurer-general, under Sir Thomas Scanlen. Mr. Rhodes had only held this position for six weeks when Sir Thomas Scanlen resigned, and later in the same year he was persuaded by Sir Hercules Robinson to proceed to British Bechuanaland as special commissioner in succession to Mr. Mackenzie. In 1885 the territories of Cape Colony were further extended, and Tembuland, Bomvaniland, and Galekaland were formally added to the colony. In 1886 Sir Gordon Sprigg succeeded Sir Thomas Upington as prime minister.

The period from 1878 to 1885 in Cape Colony had been one of considerable unrest. In this short time there occurred a series of native disturbances which were followed by the Boer War of 1881, and the Bechuanaland disturbances of 1884. In spite, however, of these drawbacks, the development of the country proceeded. The diamond industry was flourishing. In the year 1888, a Customs Union Bill was passed by the Cape parliament, and this in itself constituted a considerable development of the idea of federation. Shortly after the passing of the bill the Orange Free State entered the union. An endeavour was also made then, and for many years afterwards, to get the Transvaal to join. But President Kruger, consistently pursuing his own policy, hoped through the Delagoa Bay railway to make the South African Republic entirely independent of Cape Colony.

Another event of considerable commercial importance to the Cape Colony, and indeed to South Africa, was the amalgamation of the diamond-mining companies, chiefly brought about by Mr. Cecil Rhodes, Mr. Alfred Beit, and Mr. Barnato in 1889. One of the principal and most beneficent results of the discovery and development of the diamond mines was the great impetus which it gave to railway extension. Lines were opened up to Worcester and West Beaufort, to Grahamstown, Graaf-Reinet, and Queenstown. Kimberley was reached in 1885. In 1890 the line was extended northwards on the western frontier of the Transvaal as far as Vryburg in Bechuanaland. In 1889 the Free State entered into an arrangement with the Cape Colony whereby the main trunk railway was extended to Bloemfontein, the Free State receiving half the profits. Subsequently the Free State bought at cost price the portion of the railway in its own territory. In 1891 the Free State railway was still further extended to Viljoen's Drift on the Vaal river, and in 1892 it reached Pretoria and Johannesburg.

THE RHODES ADMINISTRATION

In 1889 Sir Henry Loch was appointed high commissioner and governor of Cape Colony in succession to Sir Hercules Robinson. In 1890 Sir Gordon Sprigg, the premier of the colony, resigned, and a government was formed under Cecil Rhodes. Prior to the formation of this ministry, and while Sir Gordon Sprigg was still in office, Mr. Hofmeyr approached Mr. Rhodes and offered to put him in office as a Bond nominee. This offer Mr. Rhodes declined. When, however, he was invited to take office after the downfall of the Sprigg ministry, he asked the Bond leaders to meet him and discuss the situation. His policy of customs union and railway union between the various states, added to the personal esteem in which he was at this time held by many of the Dutchmen, enabled him to undertake and to carry on successfully the business of government.

The colonies of British Bechuanaland and Basutoland were now taken into the customs union existing between the Orange Free State and Cape Colony. Pondoland, another native territory, was added to the colony in 1894, and the year was marked by the passage of the Glen Grey Act, a departure in native policy for which Mr. Rhodes was chiefly responsible. It dealt with the natives residing in certain native reserves, and in addition to providing for their interests and holdings, the principle of the duty of some degree of labour devolving upon every able-bodied native enjoying these privileges was asserted and a small labour tax was levied. In the session of 1895 Mr. Rhodes was able to report to the Cape parliament that the act then applied to one hundred and sixty thousand natives.

During 1895 Sir Hercules Robinson was reappointed governor and high commissioner of South Africa in succession to Sir Henry Loch, and in the same year Mr. Chamberlain became her majesty's secretary of state for the colonies.

With the development of railways, and the extension of trade between Cape Colony and the Transvaal, there had grown up a closer relationship of political questions. Whilst premier of Cape Colony, by means of the customs union and in every other way, Mr. Rhodes endeavoured to bring about a friendly measure of at least commercial federation among the states and colonies of South Africa. He hoped to establish both a commercial and a railway union. To this policy President Kruger and his government offered every possible opposition.

In the year 1895 the Jameson raid occurred, and Mr. Rhodes' complicity in this movement compelled him to resign the premiership of Cape Colony in January, 1896. [Sir Gordon Sprigg thereupon became premier for the third time.] As Mr. Rhodes' complicity in the raid became known, there naturally arose a strong feeling of resentment and astonishment among his colleagues in the Cape ministry, who had been kept in complete ignorance of his connection with any such scheme. Mr. Hofmeyr and the Bond were loud in their denunciation of him. After his resignation, Mr. Rhodes was proceeding to the north, when he received a summons from the chartered company to go to London; but after interviews with the directors in London, he went back to Rhodesia, and was present in the country during the Matabele rebellion. While hostilities were still proceeding in Matabeleland, Mr. Rhodes went unarmed to a meeting of Matabele *indunas* (chiefs) in the heart of the Matoppo hills. The result was not a massacre of the great white chief, as was foretold at the time, and as has occurred on similar occasions in attempted

negotiations with Bantu tribes, but a peace which terminated the rebellion. It was a master-stroke of diplomacy and courage.

In 1897 Sir Alfred Milner was appointed high commissioner of South Africa and governor of Cape Colony in succession to Sir Hercules Robinson, who was created a peer under the title of Baron Rosmead. In 1898 commercial federation in South Africa advanced another stage, Natal entering the customs union.

THE MINISTRY OF W. P. SCHREINER

In the following year the Cape parliamentary election occurred, and the result was the return to power of a Bond ministry under Mr. W. P. Schreiner. From this time until June, 1900, Mr. Schreiner remained in office as head of the Cape government. During the negotiations which preceded the war in 1899, feeling at the Cape ran very high, and Mr. Schreiner's attitude has been freely discussed. As head of a party, dependent for its position in power on the Bond's support, his position was undoubtedly a trying one. At the same time, as prime minister of a British colony, it was strongly felt by loyal colonists that he should at least have refrained from openly interfering between the Transvaal and the imperial government during the course of most difficult negotiations. But however excellent his intentions, his publicly expressed disapproval of the Chamberlain-Milner policy probably did more harm than his private influence with Mr. Kruger could possibly do good.

Early in June, 1899, the Cape Dutch politicians began to realise that President Kruger's attitude was not so reasonable as they had endeavoured to persuade themselves, and Mr. Hofmeyr, accompanied by Mr. Herholdt, the Cape minister of agriculture, visited Pretoria. If any emissary could accomplish anything in the way of persuading Mr. Kruger, it was assuredly Mr. Hofmeyr. Much was looked for from his mission by moderate men of all parties, and by none more so, it is fair to believe, than by Mr. Schreiner. But Mr. Hofmeyr's mission, like every other mission to Mr. Kruger to induce him to take a reasonable and equitable course, proved entirely fruitless. He returned to Cape Town disappointed, but probably not altogether surprised at the failure of his mission.

On July 11th, after seeing Mr. Hofmeyr on his return, Mr. Schreiner made a personal appeal to President Kruger to approach the imperial government in a friendly spirit. At this time an incident occurred which raised the feeling against Mr. Schreiner to a very high pitch. On July 7th five hundred rifles and one million rounds of ammunition were landed at Port Elizabeth, consigned to the Free State government, and forwarded to Bloemfontein. Mr. Schreiner's attention was called to this consignment at the time, but he refused to stop it, alleging as his reason that, inasmuch as Great Britain was at peace with the Free State, he had no right to interdict the passage of arms through the Cape Colony. The British colonist is as capable of a grim jest as the Transvaal Boer, and this action of Mr. Schreiner's won for him the nickname Ammunition Bill. At a later date he was accused of delay in forwarding artillery and rifles for the defence of Kimberley, Mafeking, and other towns of the colony. The reason he gave for delay was that he did not anticipate war; and that he did not wish to excite unwarrantable suspicions in the minds of the Free State. His conduct in both instances may have been technically correct, but it was much resented by loyal colonists.

On August 28th, Sir Gordon Sprigg in the Cape house of assembly moved the adjournment of the debate, to discuss the removal of arms to the Free

State. Mr. Schreiner, in reply, used expressions which called down upon him the severest censure and indignation, both in the colony and in Great Britain. He stated that, should the storm burst, he would keep the colony aloof with regard both to its forces and its people. In the course of the speech he also read a telegram from President Steyn, in which the President repudiated all contemplated aggressive action on the part of the Free State as absurd. The speech created a great sensation in the British press. Actual experience taught Mr. Schreiner that President Kruger was beyond an appeal to reason, and that the protestations of President Steyn were insincere. War had no sooner commenced with the ultimatum of the Transvaal Republic on October 9th, 1899, than Mr. Schreiner found himself called upon to deal with the conduct of Cape rebels. The rebels joined the invading forces of President Steyn, whose false assurances Mr. Schreiner had offered to an indignant house of assembly only a few months before. Mr. Schreiner ultimately addressed, as prime minister, a sharp remonstrance to President Steyn for allowing his burghers to invade the colony. He also co-operated with Sir Alfred Milner, and used his influence to restrain the Bond.

CAPE COLONY DURING THE WAR

Proclamations by the Transvaal and Free State annexing portions of Cape Colony were actually issued on October 18th, and included British Bechuanaland and Griqualand West, with the diamond fields. On October 28th Mr. Schreiner signed a proclamation issued by Sir Alfred Milner as high commissioner, declaring the Boer annexations of territory within Cape Colony to be null and void. The battles of Belmont, Graspan, and Modder river were all fought by Lord Methuen in November, on colonial soil, in his endeavour to force a passage through to the relief of Kimberley. The heavy British losses at Modderfontein on November 29th were followed by a reverse in Cape Colony at Stormberg, where an expedition under General Gatacre from Queenstown marched into a Boer ambush and was defeated. On the following day Lord Methuen suffered a severe check and heavy losses at Magersfontein. The effect of these engagements at the very outset of the war, occurring as they did within Cape Colony, was to offer every inducement to a number of the frontier colonial Boers to join their kinsmen of the republics. The Boers are prolific, and their families large. Many younger sons from the colony, with nothing to lose, left their homes with horse and rifle to join the republican forces.

Meanwhile the loyal Cape colonists were chafing at the tardy manner in which they were enrolled by the imperial authorities. It was not until after the arrival of Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener at Cape Town on January 10th, 1900, that these invaluable and many of them experienced men were freely invited to come forward. So strongly did Lord Roberts feel on the subject, that he at once made Colonel Brabant, a well-known and respected colonial veteran and member of the house of assembly, a brigadier-general, and started recruiting loyal colonists in earnest. On February 15th Kimberley was relieved by General French, and the Boer general, Cronje, evacuated Magersfontein, and retreated towards Bloemfontein. Mr. Cecil Rhodes was shut up in Kimberley during the whole of the siege, and his presence there undoubtedly offered an additional incentive to the Boers to endeavour to capture the town, but his unique position and influence with the De Beers workmen enabled him to render yeoman service, and infused enthusiasm and courage into the inhabitants. Mafeking, where the beleaguered garrison

maintained their gallant defence under Colonel Baden-Powell till May 17th, was relieved by a force, chiefly colonial, sent up from Kimberley. With this incident the Cape rebellion ended.

In June, 1900, Mr. Schreiner, whose recent support of Sir Alfred Milner had incensed many of his Bond followers, resigned in consequence of the refusal of some of his colleagues to support the Disfranchisement Bill which he was prepared, in accordance with the views of the home government, to introduce for the punishment of Cape rebels. The bill certainly did not err on the side of severity, but disfranchisement for their supporters in large numbers was more distasteful to the Bond extremists than any stringency towards individuals. Sir Gordon Sprigg, who after a political crisis of considerable delicacy succeeded Mr. Schreiner, and for the fourth time became prime minister, was able to pass the bill with the co-operation of Mr. Schreiner and his section. Towards the end of the year 1900 the war entered on a new phase, and took the form of guerilla skirmishes with scattered forces of marauding Boers. In December some of these bands entered the Cape Colony and endeavoured to induce colonial Boers to join them. In this endeavour they met at first with little or no success; but as the year 1901 progressed and the Boers still managed to keep the various districts in a ferment, it was deemed necessary by the authorities to proclaim martial law over the whole colony, and this was done on the 9th of October, 1901. On January 4th, 1901, Sir Alfred Milner was gazetted governor of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, being shortly afterwards created a peer as Lord Milner; and Sir Walter Hely-Hutchinson, governor of Natal, was appointed governor of the Cape Colony.[i]

In February, 1904, after being defeated in the elections, Sir Gordon Sprigg's ministry resigned; it was succeeded by a "progressive" ministry under Dr. Jameson, of Jameson raid fame. In the following year the prisoners who had been connected with the rebellion were released, and in August, 1906, the assembly passed an amnesty bill removing all disabilities arising out of participation in the war.[a]

THE ORANGE RIVER SETTLEMENT

At the commencement of the last century the Orange river country was inhabited by sections of aboriginal tribes — Bushmen, Korannas, and Bechuanas; and soon afterwards a number of Griquas from the northwest of the Cape Colony came in among them. A chronic state of warfare prevailed between these races. In 1824 nomad farmers from the colony, seeking pastures for their flocks, crossed the Orange river and settled in the territory. These were followed in 1835–1836 by large bodies of Dutch Boer emigrants who left the colony in order to be beyond British control. They formed a rude government for themselves, and in attempting to exercise authority came into collision with the Griquas, who claimed protection from the colony, with which they were allied by treaty. The British governor, Sir P. Maitland, intervened in 1845, assisting the Griquas with troops, and defeating the Boers at Zwart Kop; and, to prevent further collisions, a resident was appointed. In 1848 Governor Sir H. Smith visited the territory, and came to the conclusion that peace could not be maintained among the mixed elements forming the population without the establishment of a regular government. He therefore issued a proclamation, afterwards confirmed by the crown, annexing the territory to the empire under the name of the Orange River British Sovereignty. Thereupon some of the Boers, under their leader Andries Pretorius, took up arms and expelled the British magistrates; but a military force was brought against

[1853–1858 A.D.]

them by Sir H. Smith in person, and, after a short but sharp encounter at Boomplaats, the Boers were defeated, and the crown authority re-established and maintained from that time until towards the close of 1853. During this period many Europeans and colonists of European descent took up their abode in the sovereignty. But disturbances again occurred, arising from long-standing disputes between the native tribes; and, in order to chastise the most powerful of them — the Basutos — for certain acts of outrage, Governor Cathcart in 1852 moved a large military expedition against their chief, Moshesh and the battle of the Berea was fought, after which the chief, on behalf of the tribe, gave in his submission. After this expedition the British government resolved to withdraw from the territory.[c]

THE REPUBLIC ORGANISED

In 1853 a convention was entered into between representatives of the Free State and the British government for transferring the government of the Orange River Sovereignty to representatives delegated by the inhabitants to receive it. By means of this transfer the imperial government established the future independence of the country, and further stated that the British government had no alliance whatever with any native chiefs or tribes to the north of the Orange river, with the exception of the Griqua chief, Adam Kok. It was also stipulated that the Orange river government should, as hitherto, permit no slavery or trade in slaves in their territory north of the Orange river. At the time of this transfer some Boers, leading residents of the Free State, protested against the abandonment, but the duke of Newcastle, who was then British colonial secretary, stated that, in his opinion, imperial authority had already been extended too far in South Africa.

The new state of things had only been one year in existence when the Free State government found themselves victims to an intrigue of Messrs. Pretorius and Kruger, within the Transvaal, to bring about, by force if necessary, a confederation between the two countries. In the first instance, peaceful overtures were made, but the Free Staters declined to accept the proposal. Thereupon Pretorius, aided by Paul Kruger, organised and conducted a raid into the Free State territory, in the hope of overawing the Free State government, and compelling it to fall in with the views of the minority of the Free Staters, who were co-operating with Pretorius. On learning of the invasion Boshof, president of the Free State, proclaimed martial law throughout the country, and called out his burghers. The majority of the burghers rallied to his support, and in a very short time a formidable force was got together to oppose the invaders. On the 25th of May, 1854, the two opposing forces faced one another on the banks of the Rhenoster. President Boshof not only managed to get together a considerable force within the Free State, but he received an offer of support from General Schoeman, the Transvaal leader in the Zoutpansberg district. Pretorius and Kruger, when they learned what had occurred, realised that they would have to sustain attack from both north and south, and abandoned their enterprise. Before leaving, a treaty was signed, which amounted to an apology on the part of Pretorius.

In 1858 the volksraad of the Free State were so tired of the responsibilities of independence, that they passed a resolution in favour of a confederation in some shape or form with the Cape Colony. This proposition received the strong support of Sir George Grey, at that time governor of Cape Colony, but his view did not commend itself to the home authorities, and was not adopted.

BORDER DISPUTES

From the date of their first settlement in the Orange river territories, the Boers were continually at feud with their Basuto neighbours on the eastern border. In 1866 they organised a powerful expedition, and attacked Moshesh. The expedition was successful, Moshesh was defeated, and a treaty was arrived at, by which he gave up possession of a portion of Basutoland, and acknowledged himself the subject of the Free State. This treaty did not, however, by any means terminate the strife; a period of feud continued, in the course of which Moshesh and his followers were reduced to very dire straits. They appealed to Great Britain for assistance, and in 1869 a treaty was agreed to between the high commissioner and the Orange Free State, defining the borders between the Orange Free State and Basutoland. All the fertile tract of country lying to the north of the Orange river and west of the Caledon, originally a part of Basutoland, was ceded to the Free State.

The Basutoland difficulties were no sooner arranged than the Free Staters found themselves confronted with a serious difficulty on their western border. In the years 1870–1871 a large number of diggers had settled on the diamond fields, which were situated on the boundary between the Griqua chief Waterboer and the Free State. At the time both the Free State and Waterboer claimed the district, and the Free State established a temporary government over the diamond fields, but the administration of this body was satisfactory neither to the Free State nor to the diggers. At this juncture Waterboer offered to place the territory under the administration of Queen Victoria. The offer was accepted, and on October 27th, 1870, the district was proclaimed, under the name of Griqualand West, British territory. President Brand contended at the time that Waterboer's title was a bad one. The matter involved much correspondence and no little irritation between the British government and the Free State until 1876.

It was then finally disposed of by Lord Carnarvon, who granted to the Free State £90,000 in compensation for any possible harm or wrong which the Free State might have sustained from the annexation. In making this concession, it is right to state that Lord Carnarvon, having gone into the question, declined to acknowledge any validity in the Free State claim to the territory in question. One thing at least is certain with regard to the diamond fields — they were the means of restoring the credit and prosperity of the Free State. In the opinion, moreover, of Doctor Theal, who has written the history of the Boer republics and has been a consistent supporter of the Boers, the annexation of Griqualand West was probably in the best interests of the Free State. Fortunately at the time the Free State had an enlightened and liberal-minded ruler in President Brand, who avoided collisions and encouraged amicable relations with the British authorities.

In spite of the troubles on her borders, the Free State, under Brand's beneficent and tactful guidance, made progress in various directions. Villages sprang up, roads were constructed, and a postal service was established. Tea-planting was encouraged by the government. At the same time the Free State Boers, like their Transvaal neighbours, had drifted into financial straits. A paper currency had been instituted, and the notes — currently known as "bluebacks" — soon dropped to less than half their normal value. Commerce was largely carried on by barter, and many cases of bankruptcy occurred in the state. But as British annexation in 1877 saved the Transvaal from bankruptcy, so did the influx of British and other immigrants to the diamond fields, in the early seventies, restore public credit and individual

prosperity to the Boers of the Free State. The diamond fields offered a ready market for stock and other agricultural produce. Money flowed into the pockets of the farmers. Public credit was restored. "Bluebacks" recovered par value, and were duly called in and redeemed by the government. At a later date valuable diamond mines were discovered within the Free State, of which the one at Jagersfontein is the richest. Capital from Kimberley and London were soon provided with which to work them. The relations between the diggers and the Free State Boers, after the question of the boundary was once settled, remained perfectly amicable down to the outbreak of the Boer war in 1899.

In 1880, when a rising of the Boers in the Transvaal against Sir Owen Lanyon was threatening, President Brand showed every desire to avert the conflict. He suggested to the authorities at Cape Town that Sir Henry de Villiers, chief justice of Cape Colony, should be sent into the Transvaal to endeavour to gauge the true state of affairs in that country. This suggestion was not acted upon, but when, in 1881, the Boers in the Transvaal broke out into open rebellion and war followed, Brand declined to take any part in the struggle. At a later date he urged that peace should be brought about, and expressed his friendly sentiments towards the British government. In spite of the neutral attitude taken by Brand during this period, there can be no question that a certain number of the Free State Boers, living in the northern part of the Free State, went to the Transvaal and joined their brethren then in arms against the British government. In 1888 Sir John Brand died. He had been president of the country since 1863, and in him the Boers, not only in the Free State but in the whole of South Africa, lost one of the most enlightened and most upright rulers and leaders they have ever had. Throughout his long official career he remained on cordial terms of friendship with Great Britain.

THE NEW RÉGIME

In 1889 an agreement was come to between the Free State and the Cape Colony government, whereby the latter were empowered to extend, at their own cost, their railway system to Bloemfontein. The Free State retained the right to purchase this extension at cost, a right which they exercised within the course of a few years. In the same year Mr. Reitz was elected president of the Free State. His accession to the presidency marked the commencement of a new and disastrous line of policy in the public affairs of the country. Mr. Reitz had no sooner got into office than a meeting was arranged with President Kruger, at which various terms of the agreement dealing with the railways, terms of a treaty of amity and commerce, and what was called a political treaty, were discussed and decided upon. The political treaty referred in general terms to a federal union between the two states, and bound each of them to help the other, whenever the independence of either should be assailed or threatened from without, unless the state so called upon for assistance should be able to show the injustice of the cause of quarrel in which the other state had engaged. In 1889 the Free State, having accepted the assistance of the Cape government in constructing its railway, entered into a customs union convention with them. In 1895 the Free State volksraad passed a resolution, in which they declared their readiness to entertain a proposition from the Transvaal in favour of some form of federal union. In the same year President Reitz retired from the presidency of the Free State on the ground of ill-health, and was succeeded by Judge Steyn. In 1896

a further offensive and defensive alliance between the two republics was entered into, under which the Free State took up arms on the outbreak of hostilities with the Transvaal in 1899.

In 1897 President Kruger, being bent on still further cementing the union with the Free State, himself visited Bloemfontein. It was on this occasion that President Kruger, referring to the London convention, spoke of Queen Victoria as a *kwaaje Frau*, an expression which caused a good deal of offence in England at the time, but which, to any one familiar with the homely phraseology of the Boers, obviously was not meant by President Kruger as insulting. In order to understand the attitude which the Free State took at this time in relation to the Transvaal, it is necessary to review the history of Mr. Reitz from an earlier date. Previous to his becoming president of the Free State he had acted as its chief justice, and still earlier in life had practised as an advocate in Cape Colony. In 1881 Mr. Reitz had, with his successor President Steyn, come under the influence of a clever German named Borckenhagen, the editor of the *Bloemfontein Express*. These three men were principally responsible for the formation of the Afrikander Bond. From 1881 onwards there is no doubt that they cherished the one idea of an independent South Africa, in which a monopoly of independence was to be held by the Boers.

Brand during his lifetime had been far too sagacious to be led away by this pseudo-nationalist dream. He did his utmost to discountenance the Bond when it was started by Mr. Reitz and Mr. Borckenhagen, inasmuch as he saw full well that it was calculated to cause mischief in the future. At the same time his policy was guided by a sincere patriotism, which looked to the true prosperity of the Free State as well as to that of the whole of South Africa. It was only after his death that the fatal development of an exclusively Dutch policy arose in the Free State. From his death may be dated the disastrous line of policy which led to the extinction of the state as a republic. The one prominent member of the volksraad who inherited the traditions and enlightened views of President Brand with regard to the future of the Free State was Mr. G. J. Fraser, the son of a Presbyterian minister, who had acted as a minister in the Dutch Reformed church since the middle of the century.

The economic progress of the Free State, which began with the discovery of the diamond fields, has been redoubled since the construction of the railway through its territory to Johannesburg, thus fully justifying the forward commercial policy adopted in the teeth of Transvaal opposition. In illustration of this we have only to cite the fact that, in 1898–1899, out of a total revenue of about £650,000, more than half represented the earnings of the railway.

THE FREE STATE AND PRESIDENT KRUGER

On entering Bloemfontein in 1900 the British obtained possession of certain state papers which contained records of negotiations between the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. The evidence contained in these state records so clearly marks the difference between the policy of Mr. Kruger and the pacific, commercial policy of President Brand and his followers, that the documents call for careful consideration. From these papers it was found that, in 1887, two secret conferences had taken place between the republics. At the first of these conferences, held in Pretoria, there were present President Kruger, with his state secretary and state attorney, Messrs. Bok and Leyds and a commission of the Transvaal volksraad. On the other side the deputa-

tion from the Free State volksraad was composed of Messrs. Fraser, Klynveld, and Myburgh.

The result of this conference was a secret session of the Transvaal volksraad and the proposition of a secret treaty with the Free State, by which each state should bind itself not to build railways to its frontier without the consent of the other, the eastern and northern frontiers of the Transvaal being excepted. The railway from Pretoria to Bloemfontein was to be proceeded with; neither party was to enter the customs union without the consent of the other. The Transvaal was to pay £20,000 annually to the Free State for loss incurred for not having the railway to Cape Colony. Such a treaty as the one proposed would simply have enslaved the Free State to the Transvaal. It was rejected by the Free State volksraad in due course, but President Kruger determined on a still more active measure, and proceeded to interview President Brand at Bloemfontein. A series of meetings took place in October of the same year (1887). President Brand opened the proceedings by proposing a treaty of friendship and free trade between the two republics. President Kruger, however, soon brushed these propositions aside, and responded by stating that, in consideration of the common enemy and the dangers which threatened the republic, an offensive and defensive alliance must be preliminary to any closer union. Brand refused to allow the Free State to be committed to a suicidal treaty, or dragged into any wild policy, which the Transvaal might deem it expedient to adopt. The result of the whole conference was that Kruger returned to Pretoria completely baffled, and for a time the Free State was saved from being a party to the fatal policy into which others subsequently drew it. Independent power of action was retained by Brand for the Free State in both the railway and customs union questions.

THE BREAK WITH GREAT BRITAIN

After Sir John Brand's death, as already stated, Mr. Reitz became president, and consistently followed out that policy which, as one of the founders of the Bond, he had endeavoured to inaugurate throughout Dutch South Africa. A series of agreements and measures in the volksraad gradually subordinated those true Free State interests which Brand had always protected to the mistaken ambition and narrow views of the Transvaal. Mr. Fraser in vain tried to stem the tide of Krugerism within the Free State, but the extent to which it had travelled after Brand's death was evidenced by the election for president in February, 1896, when Mr. Steyn was elected against Mr. Fraser by forty-one votes to nineteen. That this election should have taken place immediately after the Jameson raid probably increased President Steyn's majority. At the same time the history of the state after Brand's death renders it probable that Mr. Fraser's defeat was only a question of degree. Mr. Fraser continued, down to the outbreak of the war of 1899, consistently to denounce the policy on which the Free State had embarked, warning his countrymen continually that this policy could have but one end — the loss of their independence. Underlying the state policy there was undoubtedly the belief, if not with President Steyn himself, at least with his followers, that the two republics combined would be more than a match for the power of Great Britain should hostilities eventually occur.

In December, 1897, the Free State revised its constitution in reference to the franchise law, and the process of naturalisation was reduced from five to three years. The oath of allegiance to the state was alone required, and no

renunciation of nationality was insisted upon. In 1898 the Free State also acquiesced in the fresh convention arranged with regard to the customs unions between the Cape Colony, Basutoland, and the Bechuanaland protectorate. These measures suggest that already a slight reaction against the extreme policy of President Kruger had set in. But events were moving rapidly in the Transvaal, and matters had proceeded too far for the Free State to turn back. In 1899 President Steyn suggested the conference at Bloemfontein between President Kruger and Sir Alfred Milner, but this act, if it expressed at all a genuine desire for reconciliation, was too late. President Kruger had got the Free State ensnared in his meshes. The Free Staters were bound practically hand and foot, under the offensive and defensive alliance, in case hostilities arose with Great Britain, either to denounce the policy to which they had so unwisely been secretly party, or to throw in their lot with the Transvaal. War occurred, and they accepted the inevitable consequence. In September, 1899, Sir Alfred Milner sent a despatch to President Steyn, informing him that the exigencies of the situation demanded that he should take some steps to protect his line of communications, and that he was stationing a force near the Orange Free State frontier. Sir Alfred Milner at the same time expressed the hope that the difference between the British government and the Transvaal might still be adjusted, but if this hope were disappointed, he should look to the Free State to preserve strict neutrality, in which case the integrity of their territory would in all circumstances be respected. In similar circumstances Sir John Brand had remained neutral in 1881, but he was unfettered by any treaty with the Transvaal. For President Steyn and the Free State of 1899, in the light of the negotiations we have recorded, neutrality was impossible. Before war had actually broken out the Free State began to expel British subjects, and the very first act of war was committed by Free State Boers, who, on the 11th of October, seized a train upon the border belonging to Natal.[b]

THE TRANSVAAL

The historic life of the Transvaal begins with the Great Trek, or general exodus of the Cape Colony Boers, who, being dissatisfied, especially with the liberal policy of the British government towards the natives, removed northwards in large numbers between the years 1833 and 1837. By 1836 some thousands had already crossed the Vaal, that is, had reached the "Trans-Vaal" country, which at that time was mostly under the sway of the powerful refugee Zulu chief Moselekatse, whose principal kraal was at Mosega in the present Marico district on the west frontier. To avenge the massacre of some emigrant bands, the Boers under Maritz and Potgieter attacked and utterly defeated Moselekatse at this place in 1837. Next year the Zulu chief withdrew beyond the Limpopo, where he founded the present Matabele state between that river and the Zambesi, thus leaving the region between the Vaal and Limpopo virtually in the hands of the trekkers. But their position was rendered insecure on the east side by the military despotism of the fierce Zulu chief Dingaan, who, after the murder of his brother Chaka, had asserted his authority over the whole of Zululand and most of the present Natal. The situation was rendered almost desperate by the complete route and wholesale massacre (1838) of the right division of the emigrant Boers, who had ventured to cross the Buffalo under Peter Retief, and who were defeated by Dingaan, first at Umkongloof (Acceldama), then at Weenen

(Weeping), and again soon after under Uys, Maritz, and Potgieter, when as many as eight hundred fell before the irresistible onslaught of the disciplined Zulu warriors.

At this critical juncture the trekkers were saved from utter extermination by Andries Pretorius of Graaf-Reinet, by whom Dingaan met with a first check before the close of 1838, followed in January, 1840, by a still more crushing defeat. Dingaan having been soon after murdered, the friendly Panda was set up in his place, and Natal proclaimed a Boer republic. But the British occupation of that territory in 1843 induced the Boers to retire in two bands across the Drakensberg, the southern division settling in the present Orange Free State, the northern again passing into the Transvaal. But, owing to internal dissensions, and the perpetual bickerings of the two most prominent personalities, Pretorius and Potgieter, all attempts at establishing an organised system of government throughout the Transvaal ended in failure, till Pretorius induced the British government to sign the Sand River Convention (January 17th, 1852), which virtually established the political independence of that region. The death both of Pretorius and Potgieter in 1853 prepared the way for a period of internal peace under Pretorius' eldest son Marthinus Wessels Pretorius, first president of the Dutch African Republic, whose title was afterwards altered (1858) to that of the South African Republic. But a fatal element of weakness lay in the persistent refusal of the Boers to treat the natives on a footing of equality, or even with common justice. The murder of Hermann Potgieter and family (1854), avenged by Pretorius at Makapan's Cave, was followed (1856) by the Apprentice Law, establishing a system of disguised slavery, which was further strengthened by the sanction (1858) of the *Grond wet*, or Fundamental Law, declaring that the "people will admit of no equality of persons of colour with the white inhabitants either in state or church." Owing to this policy opposition was constantly shown both to the English traders, disposed to deal fairly with all, and to the missionaries, preachers of universal equality, as illustrated by the plunder of Livingstone's house by the commando sent against the native chief Secheli in 1852.[d]

Apart from the trek Boers' attitude towards the natives, their history in the Transvaal until 1877 shows that they carried with them to their new home a spirit hostile not merely, as has been represented by many writers, to British rule, but to civilised rule in any shape or form. They and their fathers had, while still resident in the frontier districts of the colony, rebelled first of all against the government of the Dutch East India Company, and at a later date against the British government, because they resented in both cases any interference with their relations either to the natives or to one another. Governments within the Transvaal appointed by themselves, as a review of their history will show, fared no better, but even worse than those from the rule of which the Boers had withdrawn.

In 1856 a series of public meetings among the Boers, summoned by Commandant-General Matthias Wessels Pretorius, was held at different districts in the Transvaal for the purpose of discussing and deciding whether the time had not arrived for abolishing the system of petty district governments which had hitherto existed. The result was that a representative assembly of delegates was elected, empowered to draft a constitution. In December this assembly met at Potchefstroom, and for three weeks was engaged in modelling the constitution of the country. The new constitution made provision for a volksraad to which members were to be elected by the people for a period of two years, and in which the legislative function was vested. The administrative authority was to be vested in a president, aided by an execu-

tive council. It was stipulated that members both of assembly and council should be members of the Dutch Reformed church.

In reviewing an incident so important in the history of the Transvaal as the appointment of the Potchefstroom assembly, it is of interest to note the gist of the complaint among the Boers which led to this revolution in the government of the country as it had previously existed. In his *History of South Africa*, Theal says, "The community of Lydenburg" (the oldest district government) "was accused of attempting to domineer over the whole country, without any other right to pre-eminence than that of being composed of the earliest inhabitants, a right which it had forfeited by its opposition to the general weal." In later years this complaint was precisely that of the Uitlanders at Johannesburg. In order to endeavour to conciliate one of these district governments at Zoutpansberg, the new-born assembly at Potchefstroom appointed Mr. Schoeman, a commandant of the Zoutpansberg district, commandant-general. This offer was, however, declined by Schoeman, and both Zoutpansberg and Lydenburg indignantly repudiated the new assembly and its constitution. The executive council, which had been appointed by the Potchefstroom assembly with Pretorius as president, now took up a bolder attitude: they deposed Schoeman from all authority, declared Zoutpansberg in a state of blockade, and denounced Boers of the two northern districts as rebels.

In order further to strengthen their position, Pretorius and his party also endeavoured to bring about a union with the Free State. With this intention they sent emissaries to the Free State government to make overtures on the subject. These overtures were rejected. Nothing daunted, Pretorius determined to win by force what he had failed to obtain by persuasion. There was a certain number of Free State Boers prepared to accede to the proposals of Pretorius, and relying on their aid, Pretorius entered into an intrigue to overthrow the president of the Free State, Boshof, and his government. Pretorius placed himself at the head of a commando and crossed the Vaal, being joined by a certain number of Free State burghers. On learning of the invasion, President Boshof immediately took energetic measures to defend his country. He proclaimed martial law, called out his burghers, and marched towards Kroonstad to meet the invaders. At the same time Boshof received an offer from the outraged and deposed General Schoeman of Zoutpansberg to gather a force and come to his assistance.

The forces of Pretorius and Boshof at length faced each other on opposite banks of the Rhenoster river. Threatened from the north as well as the south, Pretorius now recognised that he was engaged in a dangerous enterprise. He had as his lieutenant on this occasion no less a personage than Mr. Stephanus Johannes Paulus Kruger, and to Mr. Kruger was entrusted the task of bearing a flag of truce to the Free Staters, with an expression of hope that a peaceful settlement might be arrived at. A treaty, containing an apology from Pretorius, was agreed upon, and the invading force withdrew. By the year 1860, the foregoing events notwithstanding, Zoutpansberg and Lydenburg had become incorporated with the republic. Schoeman had accepted the post of commandant-general, and Pretoria was made the seat of government and capital of the country. The state was now apparently united, and the government founded on the will of the people. The Separatist church of Holland in the year 1858 sent out a young expositor of its doctrines, named Postma. This minister settled at Rustenburg and founded the first branch of the Dopper sect, a sect which has since become famous in the Transvaal, as well as in the Free State and even Cape Colony. The tenets

of the Separatist Reformed (or Dopper) church do not call for close analysis here. It will be sufficient to say that they approached somewhat those held by the Scottish covenanters. They raised strong objection to the singing of hymns, other than paraphrases of Scripture, as part of the church service. Of this sect Paul Kruger, who resided near Rustenburg, became an adherent.

In 1860 a curious sequel to the invasion of the Free State by Pretorius occurred. Pretorius, while still president of the Transvaal, was elected president of the Free State. He thereupon obtained six months' leave of absence and repaired to Bloemfontein, in the hope of peacefully bringing about a union between the two republics. He had no sooner left the Transvaal than the old Lydenburg party, headed by Potgieter, landdrost of Lydenburg, protested that the union would be much more beneficial to the Free State than to the people of Lydenburg, and followed this up with the contention that it was illegal for any one to be president of the South African Republic and the Free State at the same time. Pretorius, apparently in disgust at the whole situation, resigned. Mr. J. H. Grobelaar, who had been appointed president during the temporary absence of Pretorius, was requested to remain in office. The immediate followers of Pretorius now became extremely incensed at the action of the Lydenburg party, and a mass meeting was held at Potchefstroom, where it was resolved that: (1) the volksraad no longer enjoyed its confidence; (2) that Pretorius should remain president of the South African Republic, and have a year's leave of absence to bring about union with the Free State; (3) that Schoeman should act as president during the absence of Pretorius; (4) that before the return of Pretorius to resume his duties a new volksraad should be elected.

The events of the year 1860, as well as of all the years that followed down to British annexation in 1877, show that licence rather than liberty, a narrow spirit of faction rather than patriotism, were the dominant instincts of the Boer. Had the fusion of the two little republics which Pretorius sought to bring about, and from which apparently the Free State was not averse, actually been accomplished in 1860, it is more than probable that a republican state on liberal lines, with some prospect of permanence and stability, might have been formed. But a narrow, distrustful, grasping policy on the part of whatever faction might be dominant at the time invariably prevented the state from acquiring stability and security at any stage of its history. On no less than three occasions, unique opportunities were afforded for consolidating and establishing this republic. The first of these occasions we have dealt with. The second occurred in 1887, and the third in 1895. Of these opportunities no advantage was taken.

The complications that ensued on the action of the Pretorius party subsequent to his resignation were interminable and complicated. Some of the new party were arraigned for treason and fined; and for several months there were once more two acting presidents and two rival governments within the Transvaal. At length Commandant Paul Kruger called out the burghers of his district and entered into the strife. In 1864, after a series of intestine quarrels, a conference was held lasting six days, followed by a new election for president, and once more Pretorius was called upon to fill that office. Kruger was appointed commandant-general.

Civil strife for a time was now at an end, but the injuries inflicted on the state were deep and lasting. The public funds were exhausted; taxes, always an abomination to the Transvaal Boer, were not only in arrear, but impossible to collect; and the natives on the borders of the country and in the mountains of the north, taking advantage of the anarchy that prevailed, had thrown off

all allegiance to the state. The prestige of the country was practically gone, not only with the world outside, but, what was of still more moment, with her neighbour the Free State, which felt that a federation with the Transvaal, which the Free State once had sought but which it now definitely foreswore, was an evil avoided and not an advantage lost. A charge frequently laid at the door of the Boers, at that time and since, was that of enslaving the black races. It is true that laws prohibiting slavery were in existence, but the Boer who periodically took up arms against his own appointed government was not likely to be, nor was he, restrained by laws. Natives were openly transferred from one Boer to another, and the fact that they were described as apprentices by the farmers did not in the least alter the status of the native, who to all intents and purposes became the property of his master.

In 1865 an empty exchequer called for drastic measures, and the volksraad determined to endeavour to meet their liabilities and provide for further contingencies by the issue of notes. Paper money was thus introduced, and in a very short time fell to a considerable discount. In this same year the farmers of the Zoutpansberg district were driven into laagers by a native rising which for some considerable time they were unable to suppress. Schoemansdal, a village at the foot of the Zoutpansberg, was the most important settlement of the district, and the most advanced outpost in European occupation at that time in South Africa. At length a small relief party proceeded to the district, but they had no sooner arrived than dissensions arose between them and some of the more turbulent spirits of the Zoutpansberg. Ultimately Schoemansdal and a considerable portion of the district were abandoned, and Schoemansdal finally was burned to ashes by a party of natives.

Meanwhile the public credit and finances of the Transvaal went from bad to worse. The paper notes already issued had been constituted by the law legal tender for all debts, but in 1868 their power of actual purchase was only 30 per cent. compared with that of gold, and by 1870 it had fallen as low as 25 per cent. Civil servants, who were paid in this depreciated scrip, naturally suffered considerable distress. The revenue for 1869 was stated as £31,511; the expenditure at £30,836. The discovery of gold at Tati led President Pretorius in 1868 to issue a proclamation extending his territories on the west and north so as to embrace the gold field, and on the east so as to advance considerably over the Portuguese boundary. This proclamation was followed by protests on the part of her majesty's high commissioner, Sir Philip Wodehouse, as well as on the part of the consul-general for Portugal in South Africa. The boundary on the east was settled by a treaty with Portugal in 1870; that on the west was dealt with in 1871.

The Sand River Convention of 1852 had not clearly defined the western border of the state, and the discovery of gold at Tati to the northwest, together with the discovery of diamonds on the Vaal in 1867, doubtless offered Pretorius every inducement to extend his boundary. Although to-day the great diamond mines are south of the Vaal river, it so happened that the early discoveries of diamonds were made chiefly on the northern bank of the Vaal near the site of the town now known as Barkly West. This territory was claimed by the South African Republic, by some of the Batlaping tribe, and also by Mr. David Arnot, on behalf of Nicholas Waterboer, the chief of the Griquas, a race of bastards sprung from the illicit intercourse between Boers and native women, who had been settled north of the Orange since 1834. In order to settle the boundary question, an arbitration court was appointed, consisting of a Transvaal landdrost, Mr. O'Reilly, on behalf of the South

African Republic, and Mr. John Campbell on behalf of the other claimants, with Lieutenant-Governor Keate of Natal as final referee. The two judges disagreed, and the final decision, afterwards known as the Keate award, was given by the referee. The decision was in favour of Waterboer, and conceded to him the boundary line to the north and northeast which his agent Arnot had claimed for him. Following on this decision, Waterboer offered his territory to Queen Victoria. The offer was accepted, and the territory became British under the title of Griqualand West. The Keate award practically brought Bechuanaland into existence as a separate state, and thus kept the great trade route to the north open to British enterprise.

The award caused a strong feeling of resentment among the Boers, and led to the resignation of President Pretorius and his executive. The Boers now cast about to find a man who should have the necessary ability, as they said, to negotiate on equal terms with the British authorities should any future question of dispute arise. With this view they approached Sir John Henry Brand, president of the Free State, and asked him to allow them to nominate him for the presidency of the South African Republic. To this Brand would not consent. The Boers then invited the reverend Thomas Francois Burgers, a member of a well-known Cape Colony family and a minister of the Dutch Reformed church, to allow himself to be nominated. Burgers accepted the offer, and in 1872 was duly elected president. In 1871 gold reefs were discovered in the Zoutpansberg district near Marabastad, and already a few gold-seekers from Europe and Cape Colony began to prospect the northern portions of the Transvaal. The miners and prospectors did not, however, exceed a few hundred in number for several years, and it was not until 1882 that they began to make themselves felt as a political and an important commercial factor in the development and future of the country.

The appointment of Burgers to the presidency in 1872 was a new departure. Hitherto the Boers had always chosen one of their own number as president, but in Burgers they had selected a man from outside for the express purpose of securing an educated and capable leader. In a measure Burgers may be said to have fulfilled their choice. He was able, active, and enlightened, but he was unfortunately a visionary rather than a man of affairs or sound judgment. Instead of reducing chaos to order and concentrating his attention, as Brand had done so wisely in the Free State, on establishing security and promoting industry in the country, he took up with all its entanglements, the old misguided policy of intrigues with native chiefs beyond the border and the dream of indefinite expansion.

On his return to the Transvaal in 1876, after a trip to Europe in a futile endeavour to raise a loan of £300,000 for the construction of a railway to Delagoa Bay, Burgers found that the condition of affairs in the state was worse than ever. The acting president, Joubert, had, in his absence been granted leave by the volksraad to carry out various measures opposed to the public welfare native lands had been indiscriminately allotted to adventurers, and a war with Secocoeni, a native chief on the eastern borders of the country, was imminent. A commando was called out, which the president himself led. The expedition was an ignominious failure, and many burghers did not hesitate to assign their non-success to the fact that Burgers' views on religious questions were not sound. Burgers then proceeded to levy taxes, which were never paid; to enroll troops, which never marched; and to continue the head of a government which had neither resources, credit, nor power of administration. In 1877 the Transvaal one-pound notes were valued at one shilling cash. Add to this condition of things the fact that the Zulus were threatening

the Transvaal on its western border, and the picture of utter collapse which existed in the state is complete. In 1877 the condition of the Transvaal appeared so menacing to the peace of South Africa that Sir Theophilus Shepstone was despatched to the country by the high commissioner, Sir Henry Barkly, to confer with President Burgers as to its future government.

By this time Burgers had had his eyes opened to the true state of things. He was no longer blinded by the foolish optimism of a visionary who had woven fine-spun theories of what an ideal republic might be. He had lived among the Boers and attempted to lead their government. He had found their idea of liberty to be anarchy, their native policy to be slavery, and their republic to be a sham. His was a bitter awakening, and the bitterness of it found expression in some remarkable words addressed to the volksraad: "I would rather," said Burgers in March, 1877, "be a policeman under a strong government than the president of such a state. It is you — you members of the raad and the Boers — who have lost the country, who have sold your independence for a drink. You have ill-treated the natives, you have shot them down, you have sold them into slavery, and now you have to pay the penalty. To-day a bill for £1,000 was laid before me for signature, but I would sooner have cut off my right hand than sign that paper, for I have not the slightest ground to expect that when that bill becomes due there will be a penny to pay it with."

BRITISH ANNEXATION (1877 A.D.)

After spending some months at Pretoria, Shepstone satisfied himself that annexation was the only possible salvation for the Transvaal. The treasury was empty, the Boers refused to pay their taxes, and there was no power to enforce them. A public debt of £215,000 existed, and government contractors were left unpaid. Out of a male population of less than nine thousand, three thousand had already signed a petition for annexation. Sir Theophilus Shepstone therefore, in April, 1877, issued a proclamation annexing the country. The proclamation stated: "It is the wish of her most gracious majesty that it [the state] shall enjoy the fullest legislative privileges compatible with the circumstances of the country and the intelligence of its people." The wisdom of the step taken by Shepstone has been called in question. No one who acquaints himself with the simple facts of the position will deny that Shepstone's task was an extremely difficult one, and that he acted with care and moderation. The best evidence in favour of the step is to be found in the publicly expressed views of the state's own president, Burgers, already quoted. Moreover, the menace of attack on the Zulu side was a pressing and serious one. Even before annexation had occurred, Shepstone felt the danger so acutely that he sent a message to Cettiwayo, the Zulu chief, warning him that British annexation was about to be proclaimed and that invasion of the Transvaal would not be tolerated. To this warning Cettiwayo, who, encouraged by the defeat of the Boers at Secocoeni's hands, had already gathered his warriors together, replied: "I thank my father Somtseu [Shepstone] for his message. I am glad that he has sent it, because the Dutch have tired me out, and I intended to fight with them and to drive them over the Vaal."

A still further reason for Shepstone's annexation, given by Sir Bartle Frere, was that Burgers had already sought alliance with continental powers, and Shepstone had no reason to doubt that if Great Britain refused to interfere, Germany would intervene. The only military force at Shepstone's

command at the time of annexation was twenty-five policemen, and it is quite certain that, apart from the attitude of President Burgers, which cannot be said to have been one of active opposition, a large number, probably a majority of the Boers, accepted the annexation with complacency. Burgers himself left the Transvaal a disappointed, heart-broken man, and a deathbed statement published some time after his decease throws a lurid light on the intrigues which arose both before and after annexation. He shows how, for purely personal ends, Kruger allied himself with the British faction who were agitating for annexation, and in order to undermine him and endeavour to gain the presidency actually urged the Boers to pay no taxes. However this may be, Burgers was crushed, but as a consequence the British government and not Paul Kruger was, for a time at least, master of the Transvaal. In view of his attitude before annexation, it was not surprising that Kruger should be one of the first men to agitate against it afterwards. The work of destruction had gone too far. The plot had miscarried. And so Kruger and Jorissen were the first to approach Lord Carnarvon with an appeal for revocation of the proclamation. To this request Lord Carnarvon's reply was that the act of annexation was an irrevocable one. Unfortunately, the train of events in England favoured the intrigues of the party who were bent on getting the annexation cancelled. In 1878 Lord Carnarvon resigned, and there were other evidences of dissension in the British cabinet.

Kruger, who since the annexation had held a salaried appointment under the British government, became one of a deputation to England. On this occasion Sir T. Shepstone not unnaturally determined to dispense with his further services as a government servant. In the beginning of 1879 Shepstone was recalled and Colonel Owen Lanyon, an entire stranger to the Boers and their language, was appointed his successor as administrator in the Transvaal. In the meantime, the Zulu forces which threatened the Transvaal had been turned against the British, and the disaster of Isandhlwana occurred. Rumours of British defeat soon reached the Transvaal, and encouraged the disaffected party to become still bolder in their agitation against British rule.

In April, Sir Bartle Frere visited Pretoria and conferred with the Boers. He assured them that they might look forward to complete self government under the crown, and at the same time urged them to sink political differences and join hands with the British against their common enemy, the Zulus. The Boers, however, continued to agitate for complete independence, and with the honourable exception of Piet Uys, a gallant Boer leader, and a small band of followers, who assisted Colonel Evelyn Wood at Hlobani, the Boers held entirely aloof from the conflict with the Zulus, a campaign which cost Great Britain many lives and £5,000,000 before the Zulu power was finally broken. In June Sir Garnet Wolseley went to South Africa as commander of the forces against the Zulus, and as high commissioner "for a time," in place of Sir Bartle Frere, of the Transvaal and Natal. After the settlement of the Zulu question, Sir Garnet Wolseley proceeded to Pretoria and immediately organised an expedition against the old Transvaal enemy Secocoeni, who throughout the Zulu campaign had been acting under the advice of Cettiwayo. Secocoeni's stronghold was captured and his forces disbanded.

It will be seen from this review of the events following annexation that the first work accomplished, over and above establishing a solvent and responsible government in the country, was the demolition by the British of the two native foes who for so long had harassed the Boers. In speaking, after the conclusion of the native wars, on the question of the revocation of the Act of Annexation, Sir Garnet Wolseley assured the Boers at a public gathering that

so long as the sun shone the British flag would fly at Pretoria. In May, 1880, he returned to England. Meanwhile events in Great Britain had once more taken a turn which gave encouragement to the disaffected Boers. Already in November, 1879, Gladstone had conducted his Midlothian campaign. In his speeches he denounced in the strongest terms the annexation which had been carried out by the Beaconsfield government. Referring to Cyprus and the Transvaal, he went so far as to say, "If those acquisitions were as valuable as they are valueless, I would repudiate them, because they were obtained by means dishonourable to the character of our country." Expressions such as these were translated into Dutch and distributed among the Boers by some of their leaders, and it is impossible not to admit that they exercised a good deal of influence in fanning the agitation for retrocession already going on in the Transvaal. So keenly were the Midlothian speeches appreciated by the Boers that the Boer committee wrote a letter of thanks to Mr. Gladstone, and expressed the hope that, should a change in the government of Great Britain occur, "the injustice done to the Transvaal might find redress."

In April, 1880, this change in the British government did occur. Gladstone became prime minister, and shortly afterwards Frere was recalled. Could events be more auspicious for the party seeking retrocession? If words in the mouth of an ex-minister at election time meant anything, retrocession could only be a matter of time. The loyalists, not only in the Transvaal, but throughout South Africa, were disheartened and disgusted. The retrocession party in the Transvaal redoubled their efforts and their appeals. They were not destined to meet with such immediate success as the British premier's speeches, delivered during the heat of an election, very naturally led them to anticipate. On being directly appealed to by Kruger and Joubert, Mr. Gladstone replied that the liberty which they sought might be "most easily and promptly conceded to the Transvaal as a member of a South African confederation." This was not at all what was wanted, and the agitation continued. Meanwhile in the Transvaal itself, concurrently with the change of prime minister and high commissioner, the administrator, Colonel Lanyon, began vigorously to enforce taxation among the Boers. Men who would not pay taxes to their own appointed governments, and who were daily expecting to be allowed to return to that condition of anarchy which they had come to regard as the normal order of things, were not likely to respond willingly to the tax-gatherer's demands. That many of them refused payment in the circumstances which existed was natural.

THE FIRST BOER WAR (1880–1881 A.D.)

In November matters were brought to a head by some wagons being seized for the non-payment of taxes, and promptly retaken from the sheriff by a party of Boers. Lanyon began to recognise that the position was becoming grave, and wired to Sir George Colley, the high commissioner of Southeast Africa, for military aid. This, however, was not immediately available, and the Boers in public meeting at Paardekraal resolved once more to proclaim the South African Republic, and in the meantime to appoint a triumvirate, consisting of Kruger, Pretorius, and Joubert, who were to act as a provisional government. Within three days of the Paardekraal meeting a letter was sent to the administrator demanding the keys of the government offices within forty-eight hours. Hostilities forthwith began, and then followed a series of the most disastrous skirmishes, the most contradictory and most vacillating changes of policy which have ever embarrassed a military force or discredited

a government. No outbreak or rebellion ever occurred under more anomalous conditions. While the administrator and high commissioner were endeavouring to carry out with very inadequate resources the declared policy of the British government and their own instructions, continual pressure was being put on the British prime minister, not only from the insurgent Boers but from his own followers, to carry out the policy he had avowed while out of office, and to grant the retrocession of the country. But it was not until Great Britain was suffering from the humiliation of defeat that the premier was convinced that the time for granting that retrocession had arrived. The first shots fired were outside Potchefstroom, which was then occupied by a small British garrison, who, aided by the loyal inhabitants of the town, successfully sustained a siege of the place until after the close of the war. On December 29th, a small body of some 240 men, chiefly belonging to the 94th regiment, while marching from Lydenburg to Pretoria, were surprised and cut up by the Boer forces. Half the men were killed and wounded, the other half, including some officers, were taken prisoners. Of the prisoners, captains Elliott and Lambert were subsequently treacherously shot by the Boers while crossing a stream after they had been released on parole. In the meantime Pretoria, Rustenburg, Lydenburg, and other small towns had been placed in a position of defence under the directions of Colonel Bellairs, who remained in command at Pretoria, the garrison consisting of a small number of troops and the loyal inhabitants. Sir George Colley, with about fourteen hundred men, marched towards the Transvaal frontier, but before reaching it he found, on January 24th, 1881, that the Boers had already invaded Natal and occupied Laing's Nek. He pitched his camp at Ingogo.[e]

Disaster followed disaster in rapid succession. On January 28th, with a battalion of the 58th infantry and a company of mounted infantry, he made a rash and desperate attempt to dislodge the forces of two thousand Boers who had firmly intrenched themselves on the heights of Laing's Nek. The result was disastrous and the British retired with a loss of 190 officers and men. On February 8th, while conducting a reconnoitring party of three hundred on the Newcastle road on Ingogo heights, Colley was surprised by a superior Boer force and only after the severest sort of fighting, in which he lost half his men, was he able to cut his way back to the main body of his troops.[a]

On February 27th came the crowning disaster of Majuba hill. Majuba is a flat topped mountain towering some two thousand feet over the western side of Laing's Nek. Colley conceived the idea of ascending it and thus turning the flank of the Boer position. With five hundred and fifty-four men selected, from various regiments, the ascent was made on the night of the 26th. In the morning the Boers saw the force on Majuba and for a moment thought of abandoning their position. On second thought they determined to make a bold attempt to drive Colley off the hill. Less than two hundred volunteers under General Nicholas Smit carried out the feat of actually storming the top of Majuba. Creeping up under cover of the steep hill-side they gradually worked their way up, shooting every man that exposed himself on the summit. No attempt had been made to occupy the lower slopes which commanded the approach, and the bayonet charge which might have saved the day at the last moment was never carried out. The British troops broke and rushed headlong down the hill. Sir G. Colley and ninety-one men were killed, one hundred and thirty-four wounded, and a number of prisoners taken. Of the Boers one man was killed outright and another died afterwards of his wounds.[l]

Ten days previous to the disaster at Majuba, Sir Evelyn Wood had arrived at Newcastle with reinforcements. On Colley's death he assumed command,

and on March 6th concluded an armistice with Joubert at Laing's Nek. Lord Kimberley then telegraphed offering an amnesty to the Boers. Gladstone announced in parliament that an opportunity for a settlement of affairs in the Transvaal had arisen. On March 6th the terms of peace were arranged between the Boers and Sir Evelyn Wood. The most important of these terms were that the Transvaal should have complete self government under British suzerainty, and that a British resident should be stationed at Pretoria. The treaty of peace practically conceded all that the Boers demanded, and was never regarded as anything else than surrender either by the Boers or the loyalists in South Africa. It had hardly been concluded when Sir Frederick Roberts arrived at the Cape with ten thousand troops, and after spending forty-eight hours there returned to England.

In the meantime, while the English general was making a treaty under the instructions of British ministers on the frontier, the beleaguered garrisons of Pretoria, Potchefstroom, and other smaller towns were stoutly and gallantly holding their own. The news of the surrender reached Pretoria through Boer sources, and when first received there was laughed at by the garrison and inhabitants as a Boer joke. When the bitter truth was at length realised, the British flag was dragged through the dust of Pretoria streets by outraged Englishmen. At Potchefstroom the garrison under Colonel Winsloe were hard pressed. During the siege a third of their number had been killed and wounded. The Boer commander, Cronje, was duly informed of the armistice by his leaders, but in spite of this knowledge continued the siege for ten days afterwards, until Winsloe and his little band were compelled to surrender. In May the terms of settlement already agreed upon were drawn up at Pretoria in the form of a convention and signed. The preamble to the Pretoria Convention of 1881 contained in brief but explicit terms the grant of self government to the Boers, subject to British suzerainty. In later years, when the Boers desired to regard the whole of this convention (and not merely the articles) as cancelled by the London Convention of 1884, and with it the suzerainty which was only mentioned in the preamble, Mr. Chamberlain pointed out that if the preamble to this instrument were considered cancelled, so also would the grant of self government be cancelled. The Pretoria Convention contained thirty-three articles. The most important of these reserved to her majesty "the control of the external relations of the said state, including the conclusion of treaties and the conduct of diplomatic intercourse with foreign powers," and the right to march troops through the Transvaal. The boundaries of the state were defined, and to them the Transvaal was strictly to adhere.

The retrocession of the Transvaal was a terrible blow to the loyalists. The Boers on the other hand, found themselves in better plight than they had ever been before. Their native foes Cettiwayo and Secocoeni had been crushed by British forces; their liabilities were consolidated into a debt to Great Britain, to be repaid at convenience and leisure — as a matter of fact, not even interest was paid for some time. If ever a small state was well treated by a large one, the Transvaal was so in the retrocession of 1881. Unfortunately, this magnanimity was forthcoming after defeat. It appeared as though a virtue had been made of a necessity, and the Boers never could regard it in any other light.

The new volksraad had scarcely been returned, and Kruger elected president, before a system of government concessions to private individuals was started. These concessions, in so far as they prejudiced the commerce and general interests of the inhabitants, consisted chiefly in the granting of monop-

olies. Among the first monopolies which were granted in 1882 was one for the manufacture of spirituous liquor. The system continued steadily down to 1899, by which time railways, dynamite, spirits, iron, sugar, wool, bricks, jam, paper, and a number of other things, were all of them articles of monopoly. In 1882 also began that alteration of the franchise law which subsequently developed into positive exclusion of all but the original Boer burghers of the country from the franchise. In 1881, on the retrocession, full franchise rights could be obtained after two years' residence; in 1882 the period of residence was increased to five years. Meanwhile the land-hunger of the Boers became stimulated rather than checked by the regaining of the independence of their country. On the western border intrigues were already going on with petty tribal chiefs, and the Boers drove out a portion of the Ba-Rolongs from their lands, setting up the so-called republics of Stellaland and Goshen. This act called forth a protest from Lord Derby, the minister chiefly responsible for the Pretoria Convention, stating that he could not recognise the right of Boer freebooters to set up governments of their own on the Transvaal borders. This protest, however, had no effect upon the freebooters, who issued one proclamation after another until in November, 1883, they united the two new republics under the title of the United States of Stellaland. Simultaneously with this "irresponsible" movement for expansion, President Kruger, having found the policy of putting pressure upon Great Britain so successful, proceeded to London to interview Lord Derby and endeavour to induce him to dispense with the suzerainty, and to withdraw other clauses in the Pretoria Convention on foreign relations and natives, which were objectionable from the Boer point of view. Moreover, Kruger significantly requested that the term South African Republic should be substituted for Transvaal State.

The result was the London Convention of 1884. In this document a fresh set of articles was substituted for those of the Pretoria Convention of 1881. In the articles of the new convention the boundaries were once more defined, and to them the Transvaal was bound "strictly to adhere." In what followed it must always be remembered that Lord Derby began by emphatically rejecting the first Boer draft of a treaty on the ground that no treaty was possible except between equal sovereign states. Moreover, it is undeniable that Lord Derby acted as though he was anxious to appear to be giving the Boers what they wanted. He would not formally abolish the suzerainty, but he was willing not to mention it; and though, as before stated, in substituting new articles for those of the Pretoria Convention he left the preamble untouched, he avoided anything which could commit the Boer delegates to a formal recognition of that fact. On the other hand, he was most indignant when in the house of lords he was accused by Lord Cairns of impairing British interests and relinquishing the queen's suzerainty. He declared that he had preserved the thing in its substance, if he had not actually used the word; and this view of the matter was always officially maintained in the colonial office (which, significantly enough, dealt with Transvaal affairs) whatever the political party in power. Unfortunately, the timid way in which it was done made as ineffaceable an impression on Kruger even as the surrender after Majuba. Article 4 stated: "The South African Republic will conclude no treaty or engagement with any state or nation other than the Orange Free State, nor with any native tribe to the eastward or westward of the republic, until the same has been approved by her majesty the queen." The other article to which the greatest interest was subsequently attached was Article 14: "All persons, other than natives, conforming themselves to the laws of the South

African Republic (1) will have full liberty, with their families, to enter, travel, or reside in any part of the South African Republic; (2) they will be entitled to hire or possess houses, manufactories, warehouses, shops, and premises; (3) they may carry on their commerce either in person or by any agents whom they may think fit to employ; (4) they will not be subject, in respect of their persons or property or in respect of their commerce or industry, to any taxes, whether general or local, other than those which are or may be imposed upon citizens of the said republic."

As the freebooters continued their operations in Bechuanaland, Sir Hercules Robinson despatched the Reverend J. Mackenzie to adjust matters and if necessary "to order the ejectment of the persons now trespassing at Rooi Grond." Mr. Mackenzie met with but partial success, and Mr. Rhodes was sent to succeed him, but the latter equally failed to bring about a settlement. Meanwhile President Kruger "provisionally" proclaimed and ordained, "in the interests of humanity," that the territory in dispute should be under the protection of the South African Republic. Public protests were made in Cape Town and throughout the colony against this last act of aggression, and in October, 1884, Sir Charles Warren was despatched by the British government to "pacificate" and "hold the country" pending further instructions. Thereupon President Kruger withdrew his proclamation. Sir Charles Warren subsequently broke up the freebooters' two states, and occupied the country without a shot being fired. The expedition cost Great Britain a million and a half, but the attempt at further extension westwards was foiled.

At the eastern border a similar policy was followed by the Boers, and in this instance with more success. Following up the downfall of the Zulu power after the British conquest in 1879, several parties of Boers began intriguing with the petty chiefs, and in January, 1883, in the presence of ten thousand Zulus, they proclaimed Dinizulu, the son of Cettiwayo, to be king of Zululand. As a "reward" for their services to the Zulus, the Boers then took over from them a tract of country in which they established a new republic. Encouraged by success, the Boer claims were extended until at the end of 1885 they claimed about three fourths of the whole Zulu territory. In 1886 the new republic, with limits considerably narrowed, was recognised by Great Britain, and the territory became incorporated with the Transvaal in 1888. Their eastern boundary, in the teeth of the spirit of the conventions and with but scant observance of the latter, was by this means eventually considerably extended. A similar policy eventually brought Swaziland almost entirely under their dominion.

Meanwhile, events occurring within the state augured ill for the future of the country. In 1884 a concession to a number of Hollander and German capitalists of all rights to make railways in the state led to the formation of the Netherlands Railway Company. This company, which was not actually floated till 1887, was destined to exercise a disastrous influence upon the fortunes of the state. Gold digging, which had commenced with the discovery in 1869 of the Zoutpansberg and Lydenburg gold fields, had hitherto enjoyed in the Transvaal but a precarious existence. In 1883 the discovery of Moodie's Reef near the Kaap valley led to a considerable influx of diggers and prospectors. In 1886 the Rand gold fields, which had just been discovered, were proclaimed and Johannesburg was founded. From that time the gold industry made steady progress until the Rand gold mines proved the richest and most productive gold field in the world. As the industry prospered, so did the European population increase. The revenue of the state went up by leaps and bounds. In 1882 it was £177,407; in 1889, £1,577,445; in 1896,

£3,912,095. At the end of 1886 Johannesburg consisted of a few stores and some few thousand inhabitants. In October, 1896, the sanitary board census estimated the population as 107,078, of whom 50,907 were Europeans. The wealth which was pouring into the Boer state coffers exceeded the wildest dreams of President Kruger and his followers. Land went up in value, and the Boers eventually parted with a third of the whole land area of the country to Uitlander purchasers. Yet in spite of the wealth which the industry of the Uitlanders was bringing both to the state and to individuals, a policy of rigid political exclusion and restriction was adopted towards them.

An attempt was made in 1888, after the conference held between Cape Colony, the Orange Free State, and Natal, to induce the Transvaal to enter the customs union. Kruger would have none of it. His design at this time was ultimately to bring the whole of the external trade of the state, which was growing yearly as the gold industry developed, through Delagoa Bay and over the Netherlands Railway. In 1888 Sir John Brand, president of the Free State, died. He was succeeded in 1889 by Mr. Reitz. President Kruger now induced the Free State to agree to a treaty whereby each state bound itself to help the other whenever the independence of either should be threatened or assailed, unless the cause of quarrel was, in the eyes of the state called in to assist, an unjust one. This was the thin end of the wedge, which in Brand's time President Kruger had never been able to insert into the affairs of the Free State.

KRUGER AND THE UITLANDER GRIEVANCES

President Kruger now turned his attention to finding a seaport, and was only prevented from doing so by the British annexation of Tongaland, which barred his progress in that direction. In 1890 a feeling of considerable irritation had grown up among the Uitlanders at the various monopolies, but particularly at the dynamite monopoly, which pressed solely and with peculiar severity upon gold miners. Requests for some consideration in the matter of the franchise, and also for a more liberal commercial policy in the matter of railways, dynamite, and customs dues, began to be made. In response Kruger resorted to the most sweeping alteration in the franchise law. He enacted that the period of qualification for the full franchise should now be raised to ten years instead of five. He at the same time instituted what was called a second chamber, the franchise qualifications for which were certainly less, but which was not endowed with any real power. During this year Kruger visited Johannesburg, and what was known as "the flag incident" occurred. He had by this time rendered himself somewhat unpopular, and in the evening the Transvaal flag, which flew over the landdrost's house, was pulled down. This incensed Kruger so much that for many years he continued to quote it as a reason why no consideration could be granted to the Uitlanders.

In 1892 the Uitlanders began to feel that if they were to obtain any redress for their grievances some combined constitutional action was called for, and the first reform movement began. The Transvaal National Union was formed. This consisted at the outset chiefly of mercantile and professional men and artisans. The mining men, especially the heads of the larger houses, did not care at this juncture to run the risk of political agitation. The objects of this body were avowed from the outset. They desired equal rights for all citizens in the state, the abolition of monopolies and abuses, together with the maintenance of the state's independence. In the furthering of this policy

the Uitlander leader, Mr. John Tudhope, an ex-minister in the Cape government, was supported by Mr. Charles Leonard and his brother Mr. James Leonard, who at one time had distinguished himself as attorney-general of Cape Colony.

Both the Leonards, as well as many of their followers, were South Africans by birth. They, in common with the great bulk of the Uitlanders, recognised that the state had acquired its independence, and had every right to have that independence respected. They neither sought nor desired to see it abolished. But they asserted that a narrow and retrogressive policy, such as Kruger was following, was the very thing to endanger that independence. The soundness of these views and the legitimacy of Uitlander aspirations were recognised by a few of the most enlightened men among the Boer officials at Pretoria. Some prominent burghers even spoke at Uitlander meetings in favour of the Uitlander requests. At a later date Chief Justice Kotze when on circuit warned the Boers that in its retrogressive action the Boer government was undermining the *grond wet* or constitution of the state. It soon became evident that one course, and only one, lay open to President Kruger if he desired to avert a catastrophe. It was to meet in a friendly spirit those men who had by their industry converted a poor pastoral country into a rich industrial one, who represented more than half the inhabitants, who paid more than three fourths of the revenue, and who were anxious to join him as citizens, with the rights of citizenship. He chose a course diametrically opposite. In an interview accorded to seven delegates from the National Union, who visited him in 1892, with regard to reforms, he told Mr. Charles Leonard to "go back and tell your people that I shall never give them anything. I shall never change my policy. And now let the storm burst."

In 1894 there occurred an incident which not only incensed the Uitlanders to fury, but called for British intervention. A number of British subjects resident in the Transvaal, in spite of their having no political status, were commandeered for compulsory service to suppress a native rising. This led to a protest, and eventually a visit to Pretoria, from Sir Henry Loch. President Kruger at length agreed to extend "most favoured nation" privileges to British subjects in reference to compulsory military service, and five British subjects who had been sent as prisoners to the front were released. Following this incident came a further alteration in the franchise law, making the franchise practically impossible to obtain. The Delagoa Bay Railway now being completed, Kruger determined to take steps to bring the Rand traffic over it. The Netherlands Railway began by putting a prohibitive tariff on goods from the Vaal river. Not to be coerced in this manner, the Rand merchants proceeded to bring their goods on from the Vaal by wagon. Kruger then closed the drifts (or fords) on the river by which the wagons crossed. He only reopened them after the receipt of what was tantamount to an ultimatum on the subject from Great Britain.

At this time the Uitlanders formed a majority of the population, owned half the land and nine tenths of the property, and they were at least entitled to a hearing. When in August, 1895, they forwarded one of their many petitions praying for redress of their grievances and an extension of the franchise, their petition with over thirty-five thousand signatures was rejected with jeers and insult. In September a combined meeting of the chambers of mines and commerce was held at Johannesburg, and a letter on various matters of the greatest importance to the mining industry and community at Johannesburg was addressed to the Boer executive. It was never vouchsafed an answer. Men of any spirit among the Uitlanders were exasperated beyond

[1895 A.D.]

measure. Their position was humiliating. What the next step should be was freely discussed. It was easy to propound the question, impossible to answer it. Some urged an appeal to the imperial government; but others, especially men of colonial birth and experience, objected that they would be leaning on a broken reed. That men who had still the memory of Majuba in their hearts should have felt misgiving is not to be wondered at.

THE JAMESON RAID AND ITS CONSEQUENCES (1895 A.D.)

At this juncture came overtures to the leading Uitlanders from Cecil Rhodes and Doctor Jameson, leading to the Jameson raid. To one or two men this scheme, subsequently known as the Jameson plan, had been revealed earlier in the year, but to the majority even of the small group of leaders it was not known till October or November, 1895. The proposition came in a tempting hour. Mr. Rhodes and Doctor Jameson, after considerable deliberation, came to the conclusion that they might advantageously intervene between Kruger and the Uitlanders. They induced Mr. Alfred Beit, who was an old personal friend of Mr. Rhodes, and also largely interested in the Rand gold mines, to adopt this view and to lend his co-operation. They then submitted their scheme to some of the Uitlander leaders. Between them it was arranged that Doctor Jameson should gather a force of eight hundred men on the Transvaal border; that the Uitlanders should continue their agitation; and that, should no satisfactory concession be obtained from President Kruger, a combined movement of armed forces should be made against the Transvaal government. The arsenal at Pretoria was to be seized; the Uitlanders in Johannesburg were to rise and hold the town. Jameson was to make a rapid march to Johannesburg. The various movements were to be started simultaneously. Meanwhile, in order to give President Kruger a final chance of making concessions with a good grace, and for the purpose of stating the Uitlander case to the world, Charles Leonard, as chairman of the National Union, issued a historic manifesto, which concluded as follows:

"We have now only two questions to consider: (1) What do we want? (2) How shall we get it? I have stated plainly what our grievances are, and I shall answer with equal directness the question, What do we want? We want: (1) the establishment of this republic as a true republic; (2) a *grond wet* or constitution which shall be framed by competent persons selected by representatives of the whole people and framed on lines laid down by them — a constitution which shall be safeguarded against hasty alterations; (3) an equitable franchise law, and fair representation; (4) equality of the Dutch and English languages; (5) responsibility to the heads of the great departments of the legislature; (6) removal of religious disabilities; (7) independence of the courts of justice, with adequate and secured remuneration of the judges; (8) liberal and comprehensive education; (9) efficient civil service, with adequate provision for pay and pension; (10) free trade in South African products. That is what we want. There now remains the question which is to be put before you at the meeting of the 6th of January, *viz.*, How shall we get it? To this question I shall expect from you an answer in plain terms according to your deliberate judgment."

The Jameson conspiracy fared no worse and no better than the great majority of conspiracies in history. It failed in its immediate object. Doctor Jameson did not obtain more than five hundred men. Johannesburg had the greatest difficulty in smuggling in and distributing the rifles with which the insurgents were to be armed. The scheme to seize the Pretoria fort had to

be abandoned, as at the time fixed Pretoria was thronged with Boers. Finally, to make confusion worse confounded, Doctor Jameson, becoming impatient of delay, in spite of receiving direct messages from the leaders at Johannesburg telling him on no account to move, marched into the Transvaal on the day which had been provisionally decided on.

The policy of delay in the execution of the plot which the Uitlander leaders found themselves compelled to adopt was determined by a variety of causes. Apart from the difficulty of obtaining arms, a serious question arose at the eleventh hour which filled some of the Uitlanders with mistrust. The reform leaders in the Transvaal, down to and including the Johannesburg rising, had always recognised as a cardinal principle the due observance and maintenance of the independence of the state. From Cape Town it was now hinted that the movement in which Doctor Jameson was to co-operate should, in Mr. Rhodes' view, be carried out under the British flag. A meeting of Uitlander leaders was hastily summoned on December 25th. Two messengers were that night despatched to interview Cecil Rhodes, who then gave the assurance that he approved of the republican flag. Meanwhile, on December 29, Doctor Jameson had started, and the news of his having done so reached Johannesburg from outside sources. A number of leading citizens were at once formed into a reform committee. In the absence of Charles Leonard, who had been sent as one of the delegates to Cape Town to interview Cecil Rhodes, Lionel Phillips, a partner in Messrs. Eckstein and Company, the largest mining firm on the Rand, was elected chairman. Mr. Phillips had been for three years in succession chairman of the chamber of mines, and he had persistently for several years endeavoured to induce President Kruger to take a reasonable view of the requirements of the industry. He was a man of marked ability and energy, and enjoyed the confidence of the great majority of the Uitlanders.

Under the supervision of the reform committee, such arms as had been smuggled in were now distributed, and Colonel Frank Rhodes, a brother of Cecil, was given charge of the armed men. The canteens were closed in the towns and along the mines. A large body of police was enrolled, and order was maintained throughout the town. On January 2nd, 1896, Doctor Jameson, who found himself at Doornkop in a position surrounded by Boers, surrendered. Doctor Jameson and his men were conveyed to Pretoria as prisoners, and subsequently handed over to the high commissioner. The whole of the reform committee (with the exception of a few who fled the country) were arrested on a charge of high treason and imprisoned in Pretoria; they were then brought up for preliminary examination in the Raadzaal, and committed for trial. In April, at the trial, the four leaders — Lionel Phillips, Colonel Frank Rhodes, J. H. Hammond, and George Farrar, who in conjunction with Charles Leonard had made the arrangements with Doctor Jameson — were sentenced to death, the sentence being after some months' imprisonment commuted to a fine of £25,000 each. The rest of the committee were each sentenced to two years' imprisonment, £2,000 fine, or another year's imprisonment, and three years' banishment. The sentence, after a month's incarceration, was also commuted. The fine was exacted, and the prisoners, with the exception of Woolls Sampson and Karri Davis, were liberated on undertaking to abstain from politics for three years in lieu of banishment. Messrs. Sampson and Davis, refusing to appeal to the executive for a reconsideration of their sentence, were retained for over a year.

Sir Hercules Robinson was unfortunately in feeble health at the time, and having reached Pretoria on the 4th of January, he had to conduct negotiations under great physical disadvantage. He had no sooner learned of the raid in

[1897 A.D.]

Cape Town than he issued a proclamation through Sir Jacobus de Wet, the British resident at Pretoria, warning all British subjects in Johannesburg or elsewhere from aiding and abetting Jameson. This was freely distributed among the public of Johannesburg. While in Pretoria the high commissioner in the first instance addressed himself to inducing Johannesburg to lay down its arms. He telegraphed to the reform committee that President Kruger had insisted "that Johannesburg must lay down arms unconditionally as a precedent to any discussions and consideration of grievances." On the following day, January 7th, Sir Hercules telegraphed again through the British agent, who was then at Johannesburg, saying: "If the Uitlanders do not comply with my request they will forfeit all claims to sympathy from her majesty's government and from British subjects throughout the world, as the lives of Jameson and the prisoners are now practically in their hands." The two thousand odd rifles which had been distributed among the Uitlanders were then given up. With regard to the inducements to this step urged upon the reform committee by the high commissioner, it is only necessary to say with reference to the first that the grievances never were considered, and with reference to the second it subsequently appeared that one of the conditions of the surrender of Doctor Jameson's force at Doornkop was that the lives of the men should be spared. It was after the Johannesburg disarmament that President Kruger had sixty-four members of the reform committee arrested, announcing at the same time that his motto would be "Forget and forgive." Sir Hercules Robinson, in response to a message from the British government urging him to use firm language in reference to reasonable concessions, replied that he considered the moment inopportune, and on January 15th he left for Cape Town.

In the three years which intervened between the Jameson raid and the outbreak of the war in 1899 Kruger's administration continued to be what it had been before the war; that is to say, it was not merely bad, but it got progressively worse. His conduct immediately after Johannesburg had given up its arms, and while the reform committee were in prison, was distinctly disingenuous. Instead of discussing grievances, as before the Johannesburg disarmament he had led the high commissioner to believe was his intention, he proceeded to request the withdrawal of the London Convention, because, among other things, "it is injurious to the dignity of an independent republic." When President Kruger found that no concession was to be wrung from the British government, he proceeded, instead of considering grievances, to add considerably to their number. The Aliens' Expulsion and Aliens' Immigration laws, as well as the new Press Law, were passed in the latter part of 1896.

In 1897 a decision of Chief-Justice Kotze was overruled by an act of the volksraad. This led to a strong protest from the judges of the high court, and eventually led to the dismissal of the chief-justice, who had held that office for over twenty years, and during the whole of that time had been a loyal and patriotic friend to his country. While in office Mr. Kotze had protested that no honourable man could continue to sit as judge under such conditions. After dismissal he spoke out still more plainly at a public dinner in Johannesburg, and openly charged President Kruger with the tyranny of a despot. An industrial commission appointed during this year by President Kruger fared no better than the high court had done. The commission was deputed to inquire into and report on certain of the grievances adversely affecting the gold industry. Its constitution for this purpose was anomalous, as it consisted almost entirely of Transvaal officials whose knowledge of the requirements of the industry was scanty. In spite of this fact, however, the com-

mission reported in favour of reform in various directions. They urged due enforcement of the liquor law, more police protection, the abolition of the dynamite concession, and that foodstuffs should be duty free.

THE UITLANDER PETITION

These recommendations made by President Kruger's own nominees were practically ignored. In January, 1899, the British colonial secretary, Mr. Chamberlain, pointed out in a despatch to President Kruger that the dynamite monopoly constituted a breach of the London Convention. In order to help the Transvaal government out of its difficulty, and to make one more effort towards conciliation, the financial houses of Johannesburg offered to lend the Transvaal government £600,000 wherewith to buy out the dynamite company, and so terminate the scandal and bring some relief to the industry. The offer was not accepted. In May the Uitlanders, hopeless of ever obtaining redress from President Kruger, weary of sending petitions to the raad only to be jeered at, determined to invoke intervention if nothing else could avail, and forwarded a petition to Queen Victoria. This petition, the outcome of the second Uitlander movement for reform, was signed by twenty-one thousand British subjects, and stated the Uitlander position at considerable length. The following extract conveys its general tenor:

> The condition of your majesty's subjects in this state has become well-nigh intolerable. The acknowledged and admitted grievances, of which your majesty's subjects complained prior to 1895, not only are not redressed, but exist to-day in an aggravated form. They are still deprived of all political rights, they are denied any voice in the government of the country, they are taxed far above the requirements of the country, the revenue of which is misapplied and devoted to objects which keep alive a continuous and well-founded feeling of irritation, without in any way advancing the general interest of the state. Maladministration and peculation of public moneys go hand in hand, without any vigorous measures being adopted to put a stop to the scandal. The education of Uitlander children is made subject to impossible conditions. The police afford no adequate protection to the lives and property of the inhabitants of Johannesburg; they are rather a source of danger to the peace and safety of the Uitlander population.

In response to this appeal, which the imperial government felt themselves bound to deal with, Mr. Chamberlain proposed a conference; and this was arranged between President Kruger and Sir Alfred Milner, who met at Bloemfontein on May 31st, 1899. It no sooner opened than it was evident that Kruger had come to obtain not to grant concessions. He offered, it is true, a seven years' franchise law in place of the five years' franchise which Sir Alfred Milner asked for. But apart from the relief suggested being entirely inadequate, it was only to be given on certain conditions, one of which was that all future disputes which might arise between the Transvaal and the imperial government should be referred to a court of arbitration, of which the president should be a foreigner. No arrangement was possible on such terms. Meanwhile feeling was running high at Johannesburg and throughout South Africa. Meetings were held in all the large towns, at which resolutions were passed declaring that no solution of the Transvaal question would be acceptable which did not provide for equal political rights for all white men. Sir Alfred Milner (who compared the position of the Uitlanders to that of "helots") urged the Home government to insist upon a minimum of reform, and primarily the five years' franchise; and Mr. Chamberlain, backed by the cabinet, adopted the policy of the high commissioner.[e]

A CHARACTERISATION OF KRUGER

The character of President Kruger naturally called forth varied expressions of opinion. It may be permissible to quote, as bearing upon his action at this period of his career, the balanced judgment of the *Times* on the occasion of his death in July, 1904:

"He was neither a hero nor a saint. In intellect and in sentiment he remained to the end a typical peasant farmer. Not only did he fail to form statesmanlike conceptions himself, but he constantly displayed an entire inability to appreciate such conceptions when they were submitted to him by others. Like the Bourbons he learned nothing and forgot nothing, and for the same reason. He could not rise above the prejudices to which he was born. His horizon was limited throughout life, notwithstanding his wide experience of men and affairs, by the narrow ideas of the class from which he sprang. But he had not a few of the virtues as well as the faults of his class, and they are virtues which, in foeman as in friend, ever command the sterling admiration of the British race. 'England loves a man,' and Mr. Kruger was every inch a man. His arrogance, his courage, and above all his dogged resolution to have his own way, appealed very strongly to certain fibres in our hearts. We admired his patriotism so warmly that some of us occasionally forgot how closely the domination of the Pretoria oligarchy, which was the true object of his patriotic devotion, was itself connected with his own personal and material interests. Even his ostentatious intrusion of religious considerations into secular matters was regarded with indulgence, because there was a widespread impression that he had recourse to such arguments in all good faith. Had the president been only a little more upright in his dealings, and a little less disingenuous in his speech, our opinion of him would have stood very high indeed. But he had all the petty cunning and the deceitfulness of the peasant, not less conspicuously than the peasant's sturdy self-confidence and stubborn courage. It was this trait in his character which made a real arrangement with him hopeless. We found little fault with him for being a hard bargainer; but when we discovered that we could not trust him to keep a bargain, a collision became inevitable. His unreceptive mind was closed both to the teaching of facts and to the advice tendered to him by Europeans who could not be suspected of any sympathy with English ambitions. He would not, and indeed probably could not, see that the Uitlanders had rights. He hated progress, and there was progress at his gates. He would have liked to get rid of it, except in so far as it brought untold wealth to the Boer oligarchy, but as he could not get rid of it, he resolved to keep it down."

Mr. J. A. Hobson,[m] the well-known English economic author and journalist, writing on the eve of the war, said: "Of Mr. Kruger's actual power it is hard to judge, but I am convinced of this—there is no strong man in or out of the rand who could really stand up against the president, or could rally a powerful party against him in a national emergency." He expresses it as his conviction that the majority would have acquiesced in almost any decision, and have endorsed almost any concessions he might have made.[a]

THE CRISIS OF 1899

A state of extreme diplomatic tension lasted all the summer. It was not then realised either by the public or the government how seriously and with

what considerable justification the Boers believed in their ability, if necessary, to sweep the English "into the sea." President Kruger had every expectation of large reinforcements from the Dutch in the two British colonies; he believed that, whatever happened, Europe would not allow Boer independence to be destroyed; and he had assured himself of the adhesion of the Orange Free State, though it was not till the very last moment that President Steyn formally notified Sir Alfred Milner of this fact. In England, on the other hand, it was thought by most people that if a firm enough attitude were adopted Mr. Kruger would "climb down." Negotiations could only bring the conflict a little nearer, delay it a little longer, or supply an opportunity to either side to justify its action in the eyes of the world.

The persistent attempt of the South African Republic to assert its full independence, culminating in a formal denial of British suzerainty, made it additionally incumbent on Great Britain to carry its point as to the Uitlander grievances, while, from Kruger's point of view, the admission of the Uitlanders to real political rights meant the doom of his oligarchical régime, and appeared in the light of a direct menace to Boer supremacy. The franchise, again, was an internal affair, in which the convention gave Great Britain no right to interfere, while if Great Britain relied on certain definite breaches of the convention, satisfaction for which was sought in the first place in such a guarantee of amendment as the Uitlander franchise would involve, the Boer answer was an offer of arbitration, a course which Great Britain could not accept without admitting the South African Republic to the position of an equal.

After July the tactics of the Boer executive were simply directed towards putting off a crisis till the beginning of October, when the grass would be growing on the veldt, and meanwhile towards doing all they could in their despatches to put the blame on Great Britain. At last they drafted on September 27th, an ultimatum to the British government. But although ready drafted, many circumstances conspired to delay its presentation. Meanwhile, the British war office began to wake up, and early in September the cabinet sanctioned the despatch to Natal from India of a mixed force, five thousand six hundred strong, while two battalions were ordered to South Africa from the Mediterranean. Sir George White was nominated to the chief command of the forces in Natal, and sailed on September 16th, while active preparations were set on foot in England to prepare against the necessity of despatching an army corps to Cape Town, in which case the chief command was to be vested in Sir Redvers Buller. Fortunately for Great Britain, although the draft of the ultimatum was lying in the state secretary's office in Pretoria, the Boers unprepared in departmental arrangements which are necessary in large military operations, were unable to take the field with the promptitude that the situation demanded. They consequently forfeited many of the advantages of the initiative. Thus it happened that, while the ultimatum remained undelivered in Pretoria, the British government were able, if not to render their line of resistance secure, at least to prop it with sufficient reinforcements to enable it to defeat the crowning object of the Boer invasion of Natal—the capture of Pietermaritzburg and Durban.

The military strength of the two republics was practically an unknown quantity. It was certain that, since the troublous times of 1896, the Transvaal had greatly increased its armaments, but at their best, except by a very few, the Boers were looked upon by English military experts as a disorganised rabble, which, while containing many individual first-class marksmen, would be incapable of maintaining a prolonged resistance against a disciplined army. As was to be subsequently shown, the hostilities were not confined to oppo-

sition from the fighting strength of the two little republics alone; the British had to face Dutch opposition in their own colonies, and it was only the apathy and caution of the South African Dutch, taken as a whole, which saved the empire from disaster. The total fighting strength of the Boer republics was probably never more than sixty thousand men, and of these it is doubtful if at any period of the war there were more than thirty-six thousand in the field at the same time.

But the fact that it was to a large extent a struggle with a nation in arms doubled the numbers of the force that the Transvaal executive was able to draw upon, while to this may be added the not insignificant total of ten thousand Uitlanders and foreigners, and fifteen thousand Kaffirs, employed in menial duties attendant upon military operations. Of this force only a microscopic proportion was permanent and disciplined. At the outbreak of war the disciplined forces in the Transvaal were the South African Republic police, about one hundred and forty strong, with twenty officers; the Swaziland police, four hundred strong; and the Staats artillery, which, when the reservists were called up in mobilisation for war, numbered about eight hundred men. The permanent forces of the Orange Free State simply consisted of an artillery corps, at the most four hundred strong. For the rest, the bulk of the Dutch levies were organised on the burgher system — that is, each district was furnished with a commandant, who had under him field-cornets and assistant field-cornets, who administered the fighting capacity of the district. Each field-cornet, who, with the commandant, was a paid official of the state, was responsible for the arms, equipment, and attendance of his commando — the commando[1] being the tactical as well as the administrative unit; any number of commandoes might be grouped under one commandant. The supreme military control was vested in the commandant-general.

THE ULTIMATUM

The plan of campaign which found favour with the Boers, when they determined to put their differences with Great Britain to the test by the ordeal of the sword, was to attack all the principal British towns adjacent to their own borders; at the same time to despatch a field army of the necessary dimensions to invade and reduce Natal, where the largest British garrison existed. It is not too much to suppose that the executive in Pretoria had calculated that the occupation of Durban would inspire the entire Dutch nation with a spirit of unanimity which would eventually wrest South Africa from the British. On paper the scheme had everything to recommend it, as the expedient most likely to bring about the desired end. But the departmental

[1 General De Wet in his *Three Years' War* thus explains the commando law as it existed in the Orange Free State in 1899: "It stipulated that every burgher between the ages of sixteen and sixty must be prepared to fight for his country at any moment; and that, if required for active service, he must provide himself with a riding-horse, saddle, and bridle, with a rifle and thirty cartridges, or if he were unable to obtain a rifle, he must bring with him thirty bullets, thirty caps, and half a pound of powder; in addition he must be provisioned for eight days. That there should have been an alternative to the rifle was due to the fact that the law was made at a time when only a few burghers possessed breech-loading rifles, *achterlaaiers*, as we call them. With reference to the provisions the law did not specify their quality or quantity, but there was an unwritten but strictly observed rule amongst the burghers that they should consist of meat cut in strips, salted, peppered, and dried, or else of sausages and 'Boer biscuits' — small loaves manufactured of flour, with fermented raisins instead of yeast, and twice baked. With regard to quantity, each burgher had to make his own estimate of the amount he would require for eight days."]

executive could not push off the Natal invading force as early as had been anticipated, and it was not until October 9th that the ultimatum was presented to Mr. Cunyngham Green, the British agent at Pretoria. This ultimatum showed clearly that the Boer government had determined long before to put their differences to the final test of arms, and that the later negotiations had but served to cover the warlike preparations which were in hand. The scheduled demands were as follows:

"(1) That all points of mutual difference shall be regulated by the friendly course of arbitration, or by whatever amicable way may be agreed upon by the government with her majesty's government. (2) That the troops on the borders of this republic shall be instantly withdrawn. (3) That all reinforcements of troops which have arrived in South Africa since the 1st of June, 1899, shall be removed from South Africa within a reasonable time, to be agreed upon with this government, and with a mutual assurance and guarantee on the part of this government that no attack upon or hostilities against any portion of the possessions of the British government shall be made by the republic during further negotiations within a period of time to be subsequently agreed upon between the governments, and this government will, on compliance therewith, be prepared to withdraw the armed burghers of this republic from the borders. (4) That her majesty's troops now on the high seas shall not be landed in any part of South Africa."

To these demands the Transvaal government required an answer within forty-eight hours. There could be only one reply, and on Wednesday, October 11th, 1899, at five o'clock P. M., a state of war existed between the British government and the two Boer republics. On the following day the Boer attack on an armoured train at Kraaipan, on the western frontier of the Transvaal, witnessed the first hostile shot of a bloody war, destined to plunge South Africa into strife for two years and a half.

STAGES OF THE WAR

For the purposes of history the South African campaign may be conveniently divided into five distinct periods. The first of these would be the successful Boer invasion of British territory, terminating with the relief of Ladysmith on February 28th; the second, the period of Boer-organised resistance, which may be said to have finished with Lord Roberts' formal annexation of the Transvaal on October 25th, 1900, and the flight of ex-President Kruger to Holland. The next period, the most unsatisfactory of the whole war, may be characterised as a period of transition; it marks the opening of earnest guerilla resistance on the part of the enemy, and uncertain casting about on the part of the British for a definite system with which to grapple with an unforeseen development. This phase may rightly be said to have continued until the abortive Middelburg negotiations were broken off on March 16th, 1901. The next stage was that which saw the slow building up of the blockhouse system and the institution of small punitive columns, and may be considered to have extended until the close of 1901. The fifth and last period — which, after all other expedients had failed, finally brought the residue of uncaptured and unsurrendered burghers to submission — was the final development of the blockhouse system, wedded to the institution of systematic "driving" of given areas, which operations were in force until May 31st, 1902, the date upon which a peace was ratified at Pretoria between Lord Kitchener and the representative Boer leaders.

THE WAR IN NATAL

The first of these periods saw the severest fighting of the campaign. It opened with the investment of Mafeking by a Transvaal force under A. P. Cronje, the envelopment of Kimberley by Free State commandoes under General Wessels, and on November 1st the complete isolation of the bulk of the Natal field force, in Ladysmith, by the main federal army under the Commandant-General Piet Joubert. The Natal field force, however, did not submit to investment without a struggle; and before the enemy finally cut the communication with the south, portions of Sir George White's force had fought four considerable actions with the invading army. The first two of these were of the nature of British successes. On October 20th the detached brigade at Talana drove back the Boer left under Lucas Meyer. But this superiority was bought at a price which nullified many of the results of victory. General Sir W. Penn Symons, the British officer in command, was mortally wounded, and after losing half its mounted men as prisoners and two hundred and twenty-six officers and men killed and wounded, the brigade only escaped being enveloped by beating a masterly retreat upon Ladysmith, where it arrived in a very exhausted state on October 26th. In the meantime Sir George White had taken the aggressive, and hearing on October 20th that an advance guard under General Kock had occupied Elandslaagte, and placed itself athwart the direct communications of General Symons' force, he detached a force of all arms under Major-General French, and defeated Kock after a sanguinary engagement on October 21st (British losses, two hundred and fifty-eight all ranks killed and wounded). Three days later Sir George White fought a second engagement against the enemy advancing from the north at Tintwa Inyoni, in order to cover the retirement of the Dundee force. It was an inconsequent action, which cost the Natal field force one hundred and eighteen casualties, the majority of which occurred in the Gloucestershire regiment. By October 29th Joubert's army had practically enveloped Ladysmith, and Sir George White determined to strike a blow in force which should be decisive in effect. The result of this decision was the battle of Lombard's Kop, outside Ladysmith, in which the whole of Sir George White's available garrison was engaged. The engagement was disastrous to the British, who had undertaken far too comprehensive an attack, and the Natal field force was obliged to fall back upon Ladysmith, with the loss of fifteen hundred men in casualties, including the headquarters of the Gloucestershire and Royal Irish fusiliers, which surrendered to the Free Staters and Johannesburg zarps at Nicholson's Nek. From that day the rôle of the Natal field force was changed from that of a hostile field army into the defence of a standard on a hill, and two days later it was completely isolated, but not before General French had succeeded in escaping south by train, and the naval authorities had been induced by Sir George White's urgent appeals to send into the town a naval brigade with a few guns of sufficient range and calibre to cope with the heavy position artillery which Joubert was now able to bring into action against the town.

GENERAL BULLER'S ARRIVAL

General Sir Redvers Buller, who had been given the supreme command in South Africa as soon as it was perceived that war was the only solution to the South African trouble — his force being an army corps in three divisions, the divisional generals being Lord Methuen, Sir W. Gatacre, and Sir W. Clery —

arrived in Cape Town, ahead of his troops, on the day following the final bid of Sir George White's army. The situation which presented itself was delicate in the extreme. In Natal practically the whole of the available defence force was swallowed up by the steady success of the invasion; on the western frontier two important British towns were isolated and besieged; and federal commandoes were on the point of invading Cape Colony, which, as far as its Dutch population was concerned, seemed in peril of rebellion. The army corps, which had been mobolised for war, was about to arrive in South Africa; but it was evident that the exigencies of the situation, and the widely divided areas of invasion, would for the time being place in abeyance the original plan which had been formulated for an invasion of the Orange Free State from Cape Colony on three parallel lines.

The first duty was to effect the relief of the British forces which had been rendered immobile, and to do this Sir Redvers Buller had no choice but to disintegrate the army corps. Hildyard's and Barton's brigades were sent to Natal, Sir William Gatacre, with a brigade instead of a division, was despatched to Queenstown, Cape Colony; while Lord Methuen, with a division, was sent off at breathless pace to relieve Kimberley. As November wore on, the situation did not improve. Cape Colony was invaded in earnest; while in Natal a flying column of Boers, pushing down from the Tugela, not only captured an armoured train, but for a short time isolated Hildyard's forces concentrating at Estcourt. The situation in Natal seemed so serious that on November 22nd Sir Redvers Buller suddenly disappeared from Cape Town, to arrive in Natal three days later.

LORD METHUEN'S ADVANCE

In the meantime Lord Methuen, with characteristic energy, had commenced his march to the relief of Kimberley.[f] He encountered the Boers first at Belmont on the 23rd, in much inferior numbers to the British, to be sure, but strongly intrenched behind a ridge of rugged, crag-topped kopjes. Against this position in the early morning the British advanced to the attack. "They were in a fierce humour," writes Conan Doyle,[n] "for they had not breakfasted, and military history from Agincourt to Talavera shows that want of food makes a dangerous spirit in British troops. A Northumberland fusilier exploded into words that expressed the gruffness of his comrades. As a too energetic staff officer pranced before their line he roared in his rough North-country tongue, 'Damn thee! Get thee to hell, and let me fire!' In the face of a withering fire the troops advanced, carrying kopje after kopje at the point of the bayonet. The victory was an expensive one for Lord Methuen, for the Boers easily withdrew and the British had no cavalry with which to follow up their advantage.

"The next opposition to the British advance was met with at Enslin two days later, when, as at Belmont, the Boers had posted themselves behind a line of formidable kopjes. The story of Belmont was repeated. The key to the position was a large hill in the centre which was gallantly carried by the naval brigade but with terrific loss of life — reaching a total of almost fifty per cent. of the force engaged. Beyond the fact that the way had been cleared for another stage toward Kimberley, it is hard to see the advantage the British won from this second expensive victory."

By the night of the 27th Lord Methuen's columns had almost reached the Modder river. They were started in motion early the next morning with the promise that they could have their breakfast as soon as they reached the river

— a grim joke, as has been remarked, to those who lived to appreciate it. De la Rey, the Boer commander, had meanwhile been enforced by Cronje, who disposed his troops, contrary to the accepted practice in the defence of rivers, on both banks of the Modder. Unaware of the enemy's presence, the British eagerly advanced toward the green river banks where they expected to enjoy the breakfast that had been promised them. The resulting surprise has been thus graphically pictured by Conan Doyle[n]:

"They swept onwards into the fatal fire zone — and then, and only then, there blazed out upon them four miles of rifles, cannon, and machine guns, and they realised, from general to private, that they had walked unwittingly into the fiercest battle yet fought in the war. Before the position was understood the guards were within seven hundred yards of the Boer trenches, and the other troops about nine hundred, on the side of a very gentle slope which made it most difficult to find any cover. In front of them lay a serene landscape, the river, the houses, the hotel, no movement of men, no smoke — everything peaceful and deserted save for an occasional quick flash and sparkle of flame. But the noise was horrible and appalling. Men whose nerves had been steeled to the crash of the big guns, or the monotonous roar of Maxims and the rattle of Mauser fire, found a new terror in the malignant 'ploop-plooping' of the automatic quick-firer. The Maxim of the Scots Guards was caught in the steel-blizzard from this thing — each shell no bigger than a large walnut, but flying in strings of a score — and men and gun were destroyed in an instant. As to the rifle bullets, the air was humming and throbbing with them, and the sand was mottled like a pond in a shower. To advance was impossible, to retire was hateful. The men fell upon their faces and cuddled close to the earth, too happy if some friendly ant-heap gave them a precarious shelter. And always, tier above tier, the lines of rifle fire rippled and palpitated in front of them. The infantry fired also, and fired, and fired — but what was there to fire at? An occasional eye and hand over the edge of a trench or behind a stone is no mark at seven hundred yards. It would be instructive to know how many British bullets found a billet that day."

Cavalry and infantry were alike useless in the face of such a resistance, and the battle resolved itself soon into an artillery duel. The British, reinforced by the timely arrival of the 62nd Field Battery, which had come thirty-two miles over unknown roads in the night time in the space of eight hours, at length began to silence the Boer guns. Later in the afternoon a part of the 9th brigade succeeded in crossing the river higher up, and as troop after troop dashed through the water and gained the other bank, the Boers realised that the British had turned their right flank, and that the tide of battle had set in against them. Critics of the battle are severe on Lord Methuen for his attempts earlier in the day to cross the river in the face of the deadly Boer fire, but his personal gallantry was highly commendable. When the Boers at length abandoned their resistance and withdrew from their rifle pits under cover of darkness, the British loss had reached five hundred killed and wounded, among the latter being their commander.[a]

Lord Methuen now found that his force had exhausted its forward momentum, and that other than heroic tactics would have to be employed to raise the siege of Kimberley.

The extent of the operations and the gravity of the situation now began to be felt in England, every available man was called up from the reserves, and the war office made what at the time appeared to be adequate provision for the waste which it was seen would occur in a war under modern conditions. On November 30th the mobilisation of a sixth division was ordered, offers of

colonial aid were accepted, and every facility provided for local recruiting in the South African ports. All through the early weeks of December confidence was considerably restored. Buller was arranging for the relief of Ladysmith, which had already shown its spirit by two successful sorties to the besiegers' batteries. In every theatre the British strength was consolidating. But the full significance of British incapacity to cope with the situation presented by these two small nations in arms had not yet been appreciated. The confidence restored by the lull during the early part of December was destined to be roughly shattered.*f*

STORMBERG AND MAGERSFONTEIN

General Gatacre, commanding in the northern parts of Cape Colony had advanced to within thirty miles of Stormberg, where the Boers had occupied a strong position. Determining to break if he could the Boers' hold on the Cape Dutch, he advanced against Stormberg on December 9th, with a force of about three thousand men. By a forced night march he reached the place about dawn on the following morning, and before he realised his proximity to the enemy, his tired force was beset in front and on both flanks by a galling fire from the hidden Boers. Instead of attempting to extricate themselves the British threw themselves forward in a confused, disorganised mass on their opponents. The British artillery was useless against the riflemen scattered among the sheltering crags. Finally, when to retreat was as dangerous as to advance, an attempt was made to withdraw. A part of the infantry in the front column were surrounded and captured. All military formation was at an end, and the troops, thoroughly demoralised, struggled back as best they might.

The loss in killed and wounded was not great, but upward of seven hundred prisoners were left in the Boers' hands. The disastrous result was due primarily to the undue strain Gatacre had put upon his troops, and the shock of the surprise; but, making all allowances, the failure, according to competent critics, was greater than it should have been. The British fell back the next day to Steikstroom, but the Boers, victors at Stormberg, largely disorganised Cape Dutch, were in no position to follow up their success.

On the night of the day following Gatacre's fatal rout at Stormberg, Lord Methuen, who had continued his advance from the Modder river, met an even more disastrous repulse in his attempt to storm the rocky heights at Magersfontein. Cronje had been reinforced until he had eight thousand men at his disposal and his position was the strongest he had yet occupied. The British, as usual apparently forgetful of the awful lessons they should have learned, advanced through the darkness in a drizzling rain, the Highland brigade in the lead. As at Stormberg they were assailed by a deadly fire before they realised their nearness to the enemy. Again we quote from Conan Doyle's spirited story of the fight:

"The storm of lead burst upon the head and right flank of the column, which broke to pieces under the murderous volley. Wauchope (the Highland commander) was shot, struggled up, and fell once more forever. Men went down in swathes, and a howl of rage and agony, heard afar over the veldt, swelled upon the frantic and struggling crowd. By the hundred they dropped — some dead, some wounded, some knocked down by the rush and sway of the broken ranks. A few dashed forward and were found at the very edges of the trench." To stand their ground in the face of such a fire was impossible and the remnants of the brigade fell backward upon the main column.

By sunrise Lord Methuen had succeeded in reforming his broken lines, and the battle resolved itself into another Modder river. An attempt to turn the British right flank was gallantly defeated by the Coldstream Guards but with the close of day Lord Methuen made up his mind that a further attempt to carry the heights was useless and dejectedly withdrew to his former camp at Modder river. The day's fighting had cost the British upward of a thousand men in killed, wounded, and missing, the losses of the Highland brigade alone reaching seven hundred. "Never," says one writer "had Scotland had a more grievous day than this of Magersfontein. It may be doubted if any single battle has ever put so many families of high and low into mourning from the Tweed to the Caithness shore." [a]

But even the defeat at Magersfontein, the British thought, could be suffered with equanimity, since Buller was about to bring his own force into play, and Buller, it was confidently supposed, would not fail. He had collected at Chievely in Natal a brigade of mounted men, four brigades of infantry (generals Lyttelton, Hart, Barton, and Hildyard), and two brigade divisions of artillery, and he carried with him the trust alike of the army and the nation. [b]

COLENSO

Sir George White had been thrust back into Ladysmith on October 30th. On November 2nd telegraphic communication had been interrupted. On the day following the railway line was cut. Buller had arrived in Natal on November 25th, and by December 15th was ready to advance upon the enemy who under their vigilant young commander, Louis Botha, lay strongly intrenched along the Tugela. The task before the British was a severe one, but neither general nor private soldier seems to have had the least misgivings as to its success.

Buller's plan called for a simple frontal attack. The troops were to be thrown across the river at two points, the main column at Colenso bridge, the Irish brigade three miles below at Bridle Drift. It was the story of Modder river and Stormberg and Magersfontein over again. The Irish troops in quarter column, unable to find the ford, were exposed to a withering fire while hunting for a place to cross, and lost all regimental formation. They bravely held their position for five hours, exposed to the Boer fire in front, and to the misdirected shells of British guns in the rear. At length relief came in the order to retire, but not until between five and six hundred of them had fallen. "It is superfluous," says a critic, "to point out that the same old omissions were responsible for the same old results. Why were the men in quarter columns when advancing against an unseen foe? Why had no scouts gone forward to be certain of the position of the foe? Where were the skirmishers who should have preceded such an advance?"

In the mean time Hildyard's English brigade had advanced upon Colenso and, with the loss of some two hundred men, had succeeded in reaching the station. Their more open formation alone kept their losses from being as heavy as those suffered by the Irish. While this was going on the two field batteries which were to cover the British advance had recklessly been wheeled forward and unlimbered in an exposed position within a thousand yards of the Boer line where officers, gunners, and troops were practically exterminated by the Boer fire. A brilliant and heroic attempt to save the guns was only partially successful, and the greater part of them fell into the Boers' hands. An attack of Dundonald's mounted colonials on the extreme left was likewise

repulsed, whereupon Buller gave up his attempt and withdrew his shattered forces from the fatal field. The British loss approximated eleven hundred men and ten guns.[a]

The full nature of the failure was not realised by the British public, nor the spirit in which the general had received the finding of fortune. How he had lost heart, and actually suggested the surrender of Ladysmith, was only known to them later, but the cabinet knew, and in the face of the serious situation thus created the cabinet took strong action. They appointed Field-Marshal Lord Roberts, V.C., to the supreme command in South Africa, with Lord Kitchener as his chief of the staff. A wave of military enthusiasm shook the empire, and as the final requisition for mobilising a seventh division practically drained the mother country of trained men, a scheme for the employment of amateur soldiers was formulated, resulting in the "imperial yeomanry and volunteer" movement, which proved one of the most striking features of the South African campaign. Pending the arrival of Lord Roberts and reinforcements, the situation in South Africa remained at a deadlock: the three besieged towns — Mafeking, Kimberley, Ladysmith — still held their own, but no headway was made by the relief columns; all they could do was to stand on the defensive. The only bright spot, as far as the British were concerned, was to be found in northern Cape Colony, where General French, with two cavalry brigades and a scratch force, was able, by a magnificent display of strategy, to keep at arm's length a superior force of the enemy, over a front of thirty miles in the vicinity of Colesberg. General French's achievements during this phase of the war were the more noteworthy since he had pitted against him the military skill of both De la Rey and De Wet, two of the three men of military genius produced by the war on the Boer side. On January 6th the Boers in Natal made a desperate attempt to reduce Ladysmith by storm. The garrison, already weakened by privation and sickness, made a stubborn resistance, and after one of the most sanguinary engagements of the war, at Cæsar's Camp and Wagon Hill, the garrison repulsed the attack with severe loss to the enemy, itself having five hundred casualties, including Lord Ava, the eldest son of the marquis of Dufferin.

When Lord Roberts arrived in Cape Town on January 10th, 1900, three garrison towns were still invested, and the relieving forces were still maintaining their rôle of passive resistance. The commander-in-chief's first duty was to create out of the tangle of units in Cape Colony a field army capable of advancing into the enemy's country *via* the Orange Free State.[i]

SPION KOP

Nearly a month had elasped since Buller's disastrous frontal attack on Colenso. Meantime he had reorganised his army and had been reinforced by Sir Charles Warren's division. His force then amounted to nineteen thousand infantry and three thousand cavalry, and he had sixty guns. He still held the confidence of his troops who were eager to be led forward to the relief of their comrades in Ladysmith. Therefore on January 10, 1900, he moved out to attempt a flank attack on the Boers along the Tugela. On the 17th, by an excellently planned and well carried out movement, he created a diversion by a feigned attempt to cross the river at Potgeiter's Drift, fifteen miles west of Colenso, while at the same time he actually crossed with the greater part of his army five miles further west. Save for the fact that they were across the river however the British advantage was not great for they were further from

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Ladysmith than they had been, and right in their path loomed up a lofty plateau with the high peak of Spion Kop forming one corner of it. Upon this plateau Botha had ranged his forces behind hastily constructed earth works. Against this position Buller advanced. For five days the British line cautiously and slowly pushed itself forward to the foot of the plateau, fighting as it advanced. On the night of January 22nd a force of British under General Woodgate and Colonel Thorneycroft stealing up through the darkness occupied Spion Kop which they found all but unoccupied.[a]

Morning broke, and with it the attack. The enemy, realising the vital importance of the position, concentrated every man and gun at his disposal for its recapture. A fierce and furious shell fire was opened forthwith on the summit, causing immediate and continual loss. General Woodgate was severely wounded.

Sir Redvers Buller then took the extreme step of appointing Major Thorneycroft — already only a local lieutenant-colonel — local brigadier-general commanding on the summit of Spion Kop. The Imperial light infantry, the Middlesex regiment, and a little later the Somersets, were ordered to reinforce the defence.

The Boers followed, and accompanied their shells by a vigorous rifle attack on the hill, and about half-past eight the position became most critical. The troops were driven almost entirely off the main plateau and the Boers succeeded in reoccupying some of their trenches. A frightful disaster was narrowly averted. About twenty men in one of the captured trenches abandoned their resistance, threw up their hands, and called out that they would surrender. Colonel Thorneycroft, whose great stature made him everywhere conspicuous, and who was from dawn till dusk in the first firing line, rushed to the spot. The Boers advancing to take the prisoners were scarcely thirty yards away. Thorneycraft shouted to the Boer leader: "You may go to hell. I command on this hill and allow no surrender. Go on with your firing." Which latter they did with terrible effect, killing many. The survivors, with the rest of the firing line, fled two hundred yards, were rallied by their indomitable commander, and, being reinforced by two brave companies of the Middlesex regiment, charged back, recovering all lost ground, and the position was maintained until nightfall. No words in these days of extravagant expression can do justice to the glorious endurance which the English regiments displayed throughout the long dragging hours of hell fire. Between three and four o'clock the shells were falling on the hill from both sides, at the rate of seven a minute, and the strange discharges of the Maxim shell guns — the "pom-poms" — lacerated the hillsides with dotted chains of smoke and dust. A thick and continual stream of wounded flowed rearwards. A village of ambulance wagons grew up at the foot of the mountain. The dead and injured, smashed and broken by the shells, littered the summit till it was a bloody, reeking shambles. Thirst tormented the soldiers, for though water was at hand, the fight was too close and furious to give even a moment's breathing space. But nothing could weaken the stubborn vigour of the defence. Though the British artillery, unable to find or reach the enemy's guns, could only tear up the ground in impotent fury; though the shell fire and rifle fire never ceased for an instant — the magnificent infantry maintained the defence, and night closed in with the British still in possession of the hill.[a]

But Thorneycroft, dreading to expose his men to another such day of death, gave the order to evacuate the hill, and in the morning Botha reoccupied the bloody peak. Buller, having lost in all over two thousand men since

he had crossed the Tugela, determined to try for an easier line of advance elsewhere, and fell back with his defeated army to the other side of the river.[a]

RELIEF OF KIMBERLEY AND BATTLE OF PAARDEBERG

By February 1st Lord Roberts had begun to feel his way, and on February 3rd he ordered a demonstration against the right of the Boer position at Spytfontein to Koodoosberg to cover the withdrawal of General French and the cavalry from before Colesberg, and the concentration of his army at Modder river. In spite of another set-back in Natal to Sir Redvers Buller, who had essayed a third attempt to relieve Ladysmith on February 5th and failed to make good the purchase which he secured across the Tugela, Lord Roberts matured his plans, and, arriving at Modder river on February 9th, he set his operations in motion two days later by detaching French to the relief of Kimberley.

On the 15th of February, French at the head of his cavalry galloped into Kimberley, spreading dismay through the ranks of the burghers under Cronje, who vacated the Spytfontein positions on the night of the 15th, and retreated along the line of the Modder, crossing the front of the infantry division which was pushing up into the gap made by the cavalry advance. Lord Kitchener, who was with the infantry, at once sent the mounted infantry in pursuit and changed the direction of the infantry, sending word to French to bring his cavalry across to Koodoosrand drift. French, with that unfailing energy which is the true attribute of a cavalry leader, conformed to Kitchener's urgent appeal, and on the 17th seized the hills above Paardeberg just in front of Cronje's advance-guard. Thus checked, the pursuing infantry crashed into him on the 18th. Kitchener, who as chief of the staff issued orders, attempted to reduce Cronje, now in the river bed, by a *coup de main*, which, though costing over one thousand casualties, compressed Cronje into the confined area from which he was only to leave as a prisoner of war with four thousand of his men on February 27th, the anniversary of Majuba.

RELIEF OF LADYSMITH AND CAPTURE OF BLOEMFONTEIN

Lord Roberts' bold plunge into the Free State had automatically relieved the pressure in front of Buller, who after desperate fighting was able to turn the left flank of Botha's position at Colenso, and after ten days' fighting to relieve Ladysmith on the 28th of February. Ladysmith had fared worst of all the beleaguered garrisons, and its twenty-two thousand inhabitants were almost at their last gasp when relief came. The casualties from shell fire had only been sixty-six, but those from sickness were many times as heavy as those by the chances of war. The relief had not been without a strain: Buller's operations had cost at Colenso twelve hundred men, at Spion Kop seventeen hundred men, at Vaalkranz four hundred, and now in the last long-drawn effort sixteen hundred more — over five thousand in all. But the tide of war had changed. The Natal invaders fell back to the mountains which enclose the north of the colony; Olivier and Schoeman retired from Cape Colony before Gatacre and Clements; and the presidents of the republics, realising that the British Empire was capable of more resistance than they had calculated upon, put forward feelers aiming at the restoration of the *status quo* before the war. These proposals were rejected by Lord Salisbury: there could be no end now but a complete destruction of the Boer power.

The surrender of Cronje and the relief of Ladysmith for the time being

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paralysed the Boer resistance. Two half-hearted attempts were made on March 7th and 10th, at Poplar Grove and Driefontein, to stem Lord Roberts' advance upon Bloemfontein, President Kruger himself arriving on the scene to give confidence to his burghers; but the demoralisation was so great that neither the military genius of the few nor the personal influence of the president could bolster up an adequate resistance, and on March 13th, 1900, Lord Roberts' army marched into the Free State capital. This great move of the field-marshal's, accomplished in spite of the loss of a convoy which cut down his reserve supplies by two thirds, and only possible by reducing the ration of the fighting man to a minimum and by undertaking the almost unprecedented risks of changing the line of communication three times, was followed by a period of reaction. It was not until March 29th that the new railway communication recommenced to feed the army. In the meantime rebellion had broken out in the Prieska district of Cape Colony, which was promptly quelled by Lord Kitchener. The halt at Bloemfontein was marked by the publication of proclamations, offering protection to the burghers, which, however, the invaders had not yet the power to fulfill.

The enforced halt was unfortunate; it not only resulted in a bad outbreak of enteric, but it gave the Boers time to recuperate, and by the beginning of April they again took the initiative. The death of their commandant-general, Piet Joubert, on March 28th, seemed to mark a change in the fortunes of the republican army. Commandant De Wet, who had first come into prominence as the capturer of Lord Roberts' convoy at Waterval, now added to his laurels by ambushing Broadwood's mounted brigade at Sannah's Post, just outside Bloemfontein, on March 31st, while four days later he reduced a detachment of Irish Rifles at Redersburg, and then went south and invested Colonel Dalgety and a mixed force at Wepener, which was relieved after ten days by General Hunter's division, brought round to Aliwal North from Natal.

MAFEKING AND PRETORIA

These successes were not able to retard Lord Roberts' progress. It took the field-marshal six weeks to reconstruct his plan of operations, and on May 1st the grand army moved northwards upon the Transvaal capital. The main advance was taken with one cavalry and three infantry divisions (the cavalry commanded by French, and the infantry divisions by generals Tucker, Pole-Carew, and Ian Hamilton). Rundle's division took the right of the advance; Methuen and Hunter, moving from Kimberley, formed the left. Kelly Kenny, Colvile, and Chermside held the communications based on Bloemfontein. A flying column detached from Hunter, under Mahon, in conjunction with Plumer from the north, relieved Mafeking (where Baden-Powell aroused world-wide enthusiasm by his resistance) on May 17th, the same day that the Natal field force under Buller moved up into the Biggarsberg and occupied Dundee. On May 10th Lord Roberts had crossed the Zand river; on May 12th he entered Kroonstad. After a halt of eight days at Kroonstad, the grand army again moved forward and marched triumphantly, meeting but small resistance, without a halt into Johannesburg, which was occupied on May 31st, the Orange Free State having been formally annexed by proclamation three days earlier. On May 30th President Kruger fled his capital with the state archives, taking up his residence at Waterval Boven on the Komati Poort line. But while the gold mines were now in the possession of the British, attacks were made on their line of communications by De Wet, who from this period organised a guerilla resistance which he maintained until

the end of the war. On June 5th Lord Roberts' army occupied the capital of the Transvaal practically without resistance, setting free about three thousand British prisoners of war detained there.

It had been anticipated that the occupation of both the capitals would have brought the hostilities to a close, but this was not the case, and though after June 5th regular resistance was at an end, the occupation was met with two years of almost unparalleled and unprecedented partisan warfare. On June 8th Sir Redvers Buller forced his way over Alleman's Nek, and on the following day occupied Laing's Nek, while the field-marshal fought a more or less decisive action against Botha, De la Rey, and Kemp at Diamond Hill, twenty miles east of Pretoria. The pressure on the main communications was now so serious that a force was thrown back into the Orange River Colony under Hunter, which in co-operation with Rundle's division accomplished the surrender of Prinsloo with three thousand Free Staters in the Brandwater basin (July 29th). A week before this satisfactory result the field-marshal had initiated a movement from Pretoria to sweep down to Komati Poort on the Portuguese frontier, in which Buller, advancing from the south, was to co-operate.

On August 26th–27th the combined forces engaged and defeated Botha at Daimanutha and Bergendal, with the result that the enemy dispersed into the bush-veld north of the Middelburg railway. On August 30th the remainder of the British prisoners were released at Nooitgedacht. On September 6th Buller occupied Lydenburg in the bush-veld, and five days later the aged president of the republic, fleeing his country, took refuge in Lorenzo Marques. On September 13th Barberton was occupied, and on the 25th the Guards brigade occupied Komati Poort. In October the military operations were confined to attempts to reduce guerilla commandoes which had taken the field. Mr. Kruger, deserting his countrymen, left for Europe in a Dutch man-of-war, and General Buller sailed for Europe. On the 25th of this month Lord Roberts formally annexed the Transvaal as an integral portion of the British Empire.

GUERILLA WARFARE; KITCHENER'S CONCENTRATION POLICY

In November there seemed to be evidences that the back of the trouble was broken, and the field-marshal, who had been appointed commander-in-chief at home, left South Africa, handing over the command of the army of occupation to Lord Kitchener. Then followed a long period of groping for a means to cope with the development of guerilla tactics, which for the next six months were at their zenith. The railway communications were constantly damaged, isolated posts and convoys captured, and the armed guerilla bands always seemed able to avoid contact with the regular columns sent in pursuit. Before the close of 1900 they scored several signal successes. De Wet captured Dewetsdorp, Kemp defeated Clements in the Hekpoort valley, and disaffection broke out in Cape Colony to an alarming degree, while, as forerunners of the promised invasion, scattered bodies of Free Staters crossed south of the Orange river to swell the rebellion. Against this the British scored one success, namely, the severe handling of De Wet's commando at Bothaville, when the gallant Le Gallais lost his life. The year closed badly, as the commandoes, under the direct influence of Louis Botha, attacked the whole of the railway posts on the Middelburg railway and captured Helvetia, with its 4.7 gun, though two attempts at invasion of Cape Colony in force had been frustrated by the watchfulness of Charles Knox's columns. Lord Kitch-

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ener called for more men, and on December 22nd the war office announced that thirty thousand more mounted men would be despatched to the seat of war.

With the opening of 1901 Lord Kitchener tried new schemes. He withdrew all his detached garrisons except in the most important centres, and set himself to make his railway communications perfectly secure. He determined to make the area of operations a waste, and instituted the concentration camps, into which he intended to bring the whole of the non-combatant inhabitants of the two republics. He despatched French with a large force to clear the southeastern districts of the Transvaal; and for the rest maintained a force to watch De Wet, and organised a defence force in Cape Colony, while using the residue of his mounted men to sweep the country of stock, forage, and inhabitants. Although there were no great disasters, the new policy was not prolific in success. The enemy invariably dispersed before superior forces; and the removal of the women and children from the farms did not have the effect of disheartening the burghers as had been anticipated — it rather mended their vitality by relieving them of responsibility for their families' welfare. On February 10th, De Wet, with five guns and three thousand men, carried out his promised invasion of Cape Colony. This invasion was a fiasco; by judicious use of the railway Kitchener concentrated sufficient troops in the colony to cope with the attempt, and, after being hunted from pillar to post for eighteen days, De Wet escaped back into the Orange River Colony with the loss of all his guns, munitions of war, and half his force. On March 3rd De la Rey, the lion of the western Transvaal, essayed an attack upon Lichtenburg, in which he was heavily repulsed. Signs of weakness were now apparent, and as a result Louis Botha, acting with the authority of Schalk Burger, the representative of President Kruger, opened negotiations with Kitchener. A meeting took place at Middelburg, Transvaal, on February 28th. These negotiations, however, broke down, mainly over the treatment to be awarded to Cape rebels.

THE BLOCKHOUSE SYSTEM

The hostilities now entered upon a new phase. The establishment of a line of defensive posts between Bloemfontein and Ladybrand had given Kitchener an idea, and he resolved upon the scheme of partition of the theatre of war by chains of blockhouses. In the meantime, while these posts were under construction, the harrying of the guerillas by mobile columns was continued. In March Babington captured three guns and six Maxims from De la Rey near Ventersdorp. In April Plumer occupied Pietersburg, the last remaining seat of government open to the enemy. Rawlinson captured a laager and guns at Klerksdorp. In May matters had so far improved that municipal government was given to Johannesburg, and a certain number of mines were allowed to recommence operations. De la Rey was defeated by Dixon at Vlakfontein, after a desperate encounter. June brought little of moment, though the Boers scored two minor successes, Kritzinger capturing the village of Jamestown in Cape Colony, and Hindon reducing the camp of the Victorian M.I. at Wilmansrust. In July there were further evidences of weakness on the part of the Boers, and Botha applied for permission to communicate with ex-President Kruger. This was allowed, but, as Mr. Kruger advised a continuance of the struggle, the slow course of the war continued. In the meantime, the concentration camps were becoming filled to overflowing, and a steady stream of captures and surrenders was reducing the hostile power of the republics. On July 13th President Steyn only escaped capture

by Broadwood at Reitz by a few minutes; and on July 20th the aged wife of the ex-president died in Pretoria. August was an important month, as in it Kitchener promulgated a proclamation, formally threatening the Boer leaders who should not surrender with permanent banishment from South Africa: this proclamation, though supported by the home government, unfortunately had very little effect. Kitchener also received letters from the Boer leaders, showing that they were still determined to keep the field.

September showed some slight improvement in the situation in Cape Colony, when General (later Sir John) French was in supreme command. On the 5th, Scobell captured Lotter, who was subsequently executed for murder; though this was rather balanced a few days later by Smut's attack on the 17th Lancers. Botha made a desperate effort to reinvade Natal, but his plans were rendered abortive by his failure to reduce the posts of Mount Prospect and Fort Itala, which he attacked on September 26th. De la Rey was also defeated in the west, in an attack upon Colonel Kekewich's camp at Moedville. Desultory fighting continued till the close of the year, the balance of success being with the British, though on October 30th Colonel Benson's column had been defeated by Botha at Brakenlaagte, in the south-eastern Transvaal. Affairs again took an unsatisfactory turn in Cape Colony, and on October 8th the whole colony was placed under martial law. *f*

[This period of the war was full of such incidents as General De Wet thus simply describes.]

"When we had crossed the river," he says, "I received a report from my scouts that there were about twenty of the enemy in a strong *schanze* on a kopje, which was about half an hour's march further up stream. I gave orders that a veldtcornet and twenty-five men, among whom was one of my staff, Willem Pretorius, should go and capture the *schanze*. The veldtcornet preferred not to approach beyond a certain distance, and consequently Willem Pretorius and four other men were left to do the work. Willem climbed the hill from one side, and the others, dividing into two, climbed it from the other side at two different points. They were met by a severe fire from the fort, but when they got to close quarters up went the white flag, and the English shouted 'We surrender!'

"Thus Willem Pretorius and four burghers captured twenty prisoners and a like number of horses, saddles, bridles, rifles and bandoliers, not to mention some three thousand cartridges. When the veldtcornet at last arrived with his twenty men, he certainly proved himself very useful in carrying away the booty!" *k*

But in December matters improved, and General Bruce Hamilton's column, by a series of night marches, practically blotted out the resistance in the eastern Transvaal. The corps of National Scouts (burghers who had come over) was inaugurated, and matters so far mended in Johannesburg that the stock exchange reopened. By the end of the year the blockhouse system was complete, but this phase of the war was destined to close badly, as De Wet on Christmas Eve captured the whole of Colonel Firman's Yeomanry camp at Tweefontein, Orange River Colony.

THE "DRIVES"

With 1902 the last phase of this protracted struggle commenced. The blockhouse system was practically finished, and Kitchener determined upon a new means of harassing the enemy, who still had a total of about twenty-five thousand men in the field. But the blockhouses had already begun to

serve the purpose for which they were designed. In the past the mobile columns, of which there were over sixty in the field, had always been bound to the railway for supply; now convoys could be pushed out to them along whatever blockhouse line they touched.

During January and February this system was continued with alternate successes and disasters. In March De la Rey performed a gallant feat of arms by capturing Paris' column and Lord Methuen; but the great drive in the western Transvaal proved to the Boers the futility of prolonging the struggle. On March 23d representatives came into Pretoria, six weeks were spent in negotiation, and then a monster meeting of delegates, under the presidency of General Kemp, was held at Vereeniging.

PEACE

As a result of this conference a peace was ratified at Pretoria on May 31st, and the South African War was a history of the past. The terms of peace may be condensed into the following points: (1) surrender of all burghers in the field, with all arms and munitions of war; (2) all burghers duly declaring themselves subjects of King Edward VII to be repatriated, (3) no burghers who should surrender to be deprived of either their liberty or property; (4) no proceedings to be taken against burghers for any legitimate acts of war during the period of hostilities; (5) the Dutch language to be taught in public schools on the request of parents, and to be allowed in courts of law; (6) sporting rifles to be allowed upon the taking out of licences; (7) the military administration to be superseded by civil administration as soon as possible, the civil administration to lead up to self-government; (8) the question of the native franchise not to be considered until after the introduction of self-government; (9) landed property not to be subjected to any special tax to defray the cost of the war; (10) a commission to be formed to facilitate the repatriation of the burghers. A grant of £3,000,000 to be given as compensation for the destruction of farms. These terms were signed on behalf of the British government by Lord Milner and Lord Kitchener; on behalf of the Orange Free State by Messrs. J. Brebner, C. R. de Wet, C. Olivier, and Judge J. B. M. Hertzog; on behalf of the Transvaal government, by Messrs. S. W. Burger, F. W. Reitz, Louis Botha, J. H. De la Rey, Lucas Meyer, and Krogh.

In the whole war the British lost 5,774 killed and 22,829 wounded, while the Boers lost about 4,000 killed. The number of Boer prisoners in the hands of the British at the end of the war was about 40,000.

The story of the Transvaal since the war can be told in few words. The work of repatriation proceeded rapidly, and a new government, consisting of an executive and legislative council, a supreme court, and a lieutenant-governor, all appointive, was established. In 1904 the home government decided that the time had come when an elective element could be introduced; and in April, 1905, the draft of a new constitution was issued. Before this constitution, which did not concede full local government, was inaugurated, the liberal party came into control in England, and, much to the satisfaction of the Boers, announced that a responsible government would be established. Owing to the scarcity of labour for working the mines, an ordinance allowing the introduction of non-Europeans under contract was passed in 1904, and in the same year and in 1905 many thousands of Chinese were brought in. This policy aroused opposition, especially among the liberals in England, and the new liberal ministry suspended the introduction of these persons until the colony could decide upon the question for itself.

On July 31st, 1906, the new British parliament took up the question of granting a constitution to the Transvaal colony, and later in the year a new constitution was put in operation. It provides for universal manhood suffrage on a qualification of six months' residence; for an election every five years; and for an elective second chamber modelled on that of Cape Colony. In the first election the Boers, aided in many constituencies by the English Nationalists, who opposed the grasping policy of the mine owners, gained a majority of the seats. General Botha became the first premier and entered upon his duties in a way that gave bright promise for future harmony. Despite the opposition of the mine owners, steps were taken to exclude the Chinese and to repatriate those already in the colony at the expiration of their contracts. An education bill has also been adopted, and the colony has presented to King Edward the famous Cullinan diamond.[a]

NATAL

The country which forms the colony of Natal was discovered by Vasco da Gama, who sighted the bluff headland at the entrance to the bay forming the present port at Durban, on Christmas Day in 1497, and so named the country Terra Natalis. From that date little is recorded until the survivors of the crew of the Dutch ship *Stavenisse*, wrecked on the coast in 1686, gave their report of the country and its inhabitants. In 1721 the Dutch formed a settlement, but it was soon abandoned. Subsequently, about 1810, it would seem that Chaka, chief of the Amazulu, swept with his warriors through the whole of Natal and the adjoining territories, destroying all males, and making booty of the cattle and women. One tribe, the Amatuli, however, after offering resistance to the invader, retreated into the dense bush near the bluff and were amongst the few aborigines when the British took possession of the country. In 1824 Lieutenant Farewell and about twenty companions landed in Natal with the view of colonising it, and for that purpose entered into a treaty with Chaka. Some four years after their arrival, however, Chaka was murdered by his brother Dingaan, and the settlement was broken up. In 1835 another British officer, Captain Allen Gardner, got permission from Dingaan to introduce missionaries into the country, and at once formed the township of Durban, at the port where there were still a few English settlers. In 1837 several Dutch farmers made an exodus from the Cape Colony, and one of their leaders, Peter Retief, with the assistance of the reverend Mr. Owen, who had been for some time a resident missionary at Dingaan's own head kraal, obtained from Dingaan a cession of the whole territory of Natal. Immediately after the conclusion of the treaty Retief and his followers were treacherously murdered, and the attempt was made to extirpate the Boers throughout the length and breadth of the land. The latter with their fire-arms eventually proved more than a match for their numerous assailants, and joining Mpanda, who had rebelled against his brother Dingaan, utterly routed Dingaan's army on the banks of the White Umvolozi in 1840, and drove him to the Amaswazi country, where he was shortly after assassinated. Natal became a British colony on August 8th, 1843, and, owing no doubt to the fame of the security and protection to be found under the British flag, large accessions were at once made to the native population by refugees from the several surrounding tribes. Since 1843 the colony has made rapid progress; the native tribes as a rule have been loyal, and, although occasional reports from Zululand have alarmed the colonists, it has very seldom been found necessary to send out the volunteer forces on *commando*. Any tendency to

insubordination on the part of the resident natives has always been quickly suppressed, and a spirit of disaffection has never become general. In 1879 the colony became the base of operations against the Zulu king, and in 1881 it was for a short time invaded by the Transvaal Boers in connection with the fighting which arose out of the annexation of the Transvaal in 1877.

At the conclusion of the first Boer War in 1881, the chief engagements of which were fought in the northern extremity of Natal, Sir Evelyn Wood was commander-in-chief of her majesty's forces. He was also appointed for a short time administrator of Natal, and on his departure for England, after a final arrangement for the cession of the Transvaal, he was succeeded by Colonel (afterwards Sir Charles) Mitchell as administrator. In 1882 Sir Henry Bulwer was sent to Natal with the full title of governor, and in 1886 was succeeded by Sir Arthur Havelock. The feeling of the colonists after the retrocession of the Transvaal was extremely bitter. The treaty of retrocession was never regarded in Natal as anything but a surrender.

The Zulu power which had always been a menace to Natal as well as the Transvaal, was broken in 1879 by British forces. After the settlement intestine quarrels arose among the petty chiefs, and in 1883 some Transvaal Boers intervened, and subsequently, as a reward for the assistance they had rendered to one of the combatants, demanded and annexed eight thousand square miles of country, which they styled the New Republic. A strong feeling was once more aroused in Natal. The New Republic was nevertheless allowed to remain, and in 1887 the British consented to the territory being incorporated with the Transvaal.

In 1884 the discovery of gold in De Kaap Valley, and on Mr. Moodie's farms in the Transvaal, caused a considerable rush of colonists from Natal to that country. Railways were still far from the Transvaal border, and Natal not only sent her own colonists to the new fields, but also offered the nearest route for prospectors from Cape Colony or from Europe. Durban was soon thronged; and Pietermaritzburg, which was then practically the terminus of the Natal railway, was the base from which nearly all the expeditions to the gold fields were fitted out. Two years later, in 1885, gold was also discovered at the Witwatersrand, and the tide of trade which had already set in with the Transvaal steadily increased.

For many years Sir John Robinson led a party in Natal which agitated for a responsible form of government. In 1893 a bill in favour of this change was introduced into the legislative council, and passed. The British government gave their consent to the bill, and the Constitution Act of 1893 became law. Sir John Robinson, K.C.M.G., was the first colonial secretary and premier under the new constitution, and Mr. Harry Escombe, Q.C., the first attorney-general. In the same year Sir Walter Hely-Hutchinson was appointed governor of the colony. In 1898 Natal entered the customs union already existing between Cape Colony and Orange Free State.

In May, 1899, the Natal government began to suspect the nature of the military preparations that were being made by the Boers, and their apprehensions were communicated to the high commissioner, Sir Alfred Milner, who telegraphed on May 25th to Mr. Chamberlain, informing him that Natal was uneasy. In July the Natal ministry learned that it was not the intention of the imperial government to endeavour to hold the frontier in case hostilities arose, but that a line of defence considerably south of the frontier would be taken up. This led to a request on their part that if the imperial government had any reason to anticipate the breakdown of negotiations, "such steps may be at once taken as may be necessary for the effectual defence of the

whole colony." Sir W. P. Symons, the general commanding the British forces in Natal in September, decided to hold Glencoe. On the arrival of Sir George White from India, he informed the governor that he considered it dangerous to attempt to hold Glencoe, and urged the advisability of withdrawing the troops to Ladysmith. The governor was strongly opposed to this step, as he was anxious to protect the coal supply, and also feared the moral effect of a withdrawal. Eventually Sir A. Hunter was consulted, and stated that in his opinion, Glencoe being already occupied, "it was a case of balancing drawbacks, and advised that, under the circumstances, the troops be retained at Glencoe." This course was then adopted.

On October 11th, 1899, war broke out. The first act was the seizure by the Boers of a Natal train on the Free State border. On the 12th Laing's Nek was occupied by the Boer forces, who were moved in considerable force over the Natal border. Sir W. Penn Symons hoped to be able to hold the northern portion of Natal, and there is no doubt that this policy strongly commended itself to the governor and ministers of Natal, who exercised considerable pressure to have it adopted. But from a military point of view it was not at all cordially approved of by Sir George White, and it was afterwards condemned by Lord Roberts. Ladysmith became later in the month the centre of further operations. The Boers gradually surrounded the town and cut off the communication from the south. Various engagements were fought in an attempt to prevent this movement, including the disastrous mishap at Nicholson's Nek, and the battle of Farquhar's Farm on the 30th. The siege of Ladysmith continued till February 28th, 1900, when, after various attempts to relieve the beleaguered garrison, Sir Redvers Buller's forces at last entered the town. The relief of Ladysmith soon led to the evacuation of Natal by the Boer forces, who trekked northwards.

During the Boer invasion the government and the loyal colonists, constituting the great majority of the inhabitants of the colony, rendered the imperial forces every assistance. In the actual hostilities the Natal Volunteers and other Natal forces took a prominent part. The Imperial Light Horse and other irregular corps were recruited in Natal, although the bulk of the men in the forces were Uitlanders from Johannesburg. As the nearest colony to the Transvaal, Natal was resorted to by a large number of men, women and children who were compelled to leave the Transvaal on the outbreak of the war. Refugee and Uitlander committees were formed both at Durban and Maritzburg, and, in conjunction with the colonists, they did all in their power to assist in recruiting irregular corps, and also in furnishing relief to the sick and needy. Natal was the theatre of some of the most arduous fighting during the whole course of the war, and the brunt of it was shared by her colonists with the imperial forces.[b]

In 1906 a revolt among the natives occasioned alarm, but it was put down after considerable bloodshed. In September, 1907, a new governor, Sir Matthew Nathan, was enthusiastically received at Durban.[a]



CHAPTER III

THE HISTORY OF CANADA

THE DISCOVERERS

The stage on which the drama of Canadian history unfolds may seem to the world an obscure one. A closer view, however, will reveal that on this stage some of the gravest problems of history have been pressed to a solution; and we may reasonably expect to find in this drama an answer to some of the weightiest questions of modern politics. Battles were fought on the Rhine, the Elbe, the Danube; German, Austrian, Spanish thrones were shaken to their fall; navies grappled in the Carribbean, and Mahratta hordes were slaughtered on the rice-fields of India, to decide the struggle which ended only upon the Plains of Abraham. Now, in these imperial domains which Wolfe's triumph secured to British sway, a people is taking shape which bids fair to combine the power and genius of the two great races from which it springs.[d]

The story of the European discovery and colonisation of America, of the two centuries of struggle between France and England for the mastery of the North American continent, of the upbuilding and downfall of French dominion in Canada, is so interwoven and bound up with the history of the beginnings of the great American Republic that we have told it there in all the detail befitting one of the grandest and most romantic eras of all history. Here it will be enough to trace briefly the principal points in that dramatic period as they affected Canadian history down to the establishment of English rule in 1760.

It is in the shadowy realms of myth and tradition that Canadian history seems to have its beginnings. In the Icelandic sagas that tell of the voyages and adventures of the North vikings, Eric and Leif and Thorfinn, to the "new lands" — undoubtedly the shores of North America — we find the record of the earliest contact of Europeans with what is now Canada. But

their ventures came to naught; and we shall probably never know whether Thorfinn's colony of Vineland was located on the coast of Nova Scotia or on the more southerly shores of New England.

To the Venetian reared navigator John Cabot, sailing out of Bristol under a charter from Henry VII of England five years after Columbus had opened a "New World" to European conquest and exploitation, belongs without doubt the honour of the first discovery of the North American continent. On his act in planting the standard of England on the Newfoundland shore rested the claim of Great Britain to America. The Newfoundland fisheries were the first fruits of the discovery, and twenty years after Cabot's first voyage, English, Basque, and Breton fisherman were swarming on the Banks and drying their fish upon the neighbouring shores. The next discoverers of whom we have records carried the flag of France, and upon the declaration of one of them, Verrazano, a Florentine in the French service, who coasted along the shore from the Carolinas to the St. Lawrence in 1524, rests the claim of France to American dominion.

THE FRENCH RÉGIME

The energy and good fortune of the French enabled them to outstrip for a time their rivals in the north, and eventually by actual settlement to establish the sovereignty of France over a great part of the disputed territory. The greatest of her earliest voyagers was the adventurous Breton navigator, Jacques Cartier, who between 1534 and 1542 sailed three times to the New World, discovered and entered the St. Lawrence, spent the winter of 1535–1536 on the site of the present city of Quebec, and planted the lilies of France where the city of Montreal later rose. Associated with Cartier's last voyage is the ill-fated attempt of the sieur de Roberval to establish a permanent colony on the banks of the St. Lawrence. For fifty years after his failure the government of France seemed to have forgotten Canada, although her fishermen still flocked to the Newfoundland Banks. In the mean time English eyes were turned toward it; in 1576 Martin Frobisher landed on the rocky cliffs of Labrador, and in the next year on the other side of the continent Sir Francis Drake, seeking Spanish treasure-ships in the far Pacific, looked upon the snow-capped mountains of the future British Columbia. Soon after, in 1583, the first attempt at English settlement was made by the gallant Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who planted a short-lived colony at St. John's, Newfoundland.

In 1598 the French again turned their attention to colonisation, but for many years every attempt resulted in failure. The convict colony of De la Roche, the fur-trading venture of Chauvin and Pontgravé at Tadousac, the settlement of De Mont and Champlain at St. Croix later removed to Port Royal, succeeded one another in rapid succession and passed out of existence.

In 1610–1611 came Biencourt to found a new colony at Port Royal. With him came the Jesuits. "Now," writes a graphic Canadian historian, "appeared the mysterious, black-robed, indomitable figures of the Jesuits, destined to leave so deep a mark on Canada. Magnificent in peril, meddlesome in peace, oft dreaded by their friends, but extorting the admiration of their enemies, their record in the councils of Canada is one of ceaseless quarrels with the civil power; but their record among the savages is one of imperishable glory."

Before this, however, Champlain in 1608 had established on the St. Lawrence a little trading-post destined soon to grow into the city of Quebec, the

first permanent settlement of importance in Canada. Already it had become the centre of the fur-trade, upon which from first to last the prosperity of New France was based. In every direction the *coureurs de bois* pierced the forests, and where the carefully organised settlements had failed, they established successfully their trading posts and erected their dwellings. But now it was that the English and French met in Canada in actual armed hostility. Argall, sailing north from Virginia, destroyed the French settlement at Port Royal and also a Jesuit mission post at Mount Desert on the Maine coast. In 1629 Admiral Kirke, entering the St. Lawrence, defeated a French fleet and attacked Quebec. The spirited defence of Champlain was of no avail and the English flag for the first time floated over the Quebec heights. English rule was of short duration, however, as France's Canadian possessions were restored to her by the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye in 1632. The years that followed saw the beginnings of Scotch settlement in Nova Scotia, and the fierce struggle between the Catholic Charnisay and the Huguenot De la Tour for supremacy in Acadia, which so weakened the French that Port Royal and the whole surrounding country fell an easy prey to the expedition sent from Boston in 1654, only to be for a second time returned to France by the Treaty of Breda (1667). Meanwhile, despite the ceaseless hostility of England's red allies, the Iroquois, the French settlers were pushing westward up the valley of the St. Lawrence. Montreal was founded by Maisonneuve in October, 1641.

THE STRUGGLE FOR SUPREMACY

The rise of Colbert as the chief counsellor of Louis XIV was marked by a somewhat better treatment of Canada by France. He recognised that the colony might be made of great value to French commerce, and that to make it so a more liberal policy must be adopted. In this he was ably represented in New France by the indomitable Talon, appointed intendant at Quebec, and the brave marquis de Tracy sent out as viceroy in 1665. The former turned his attention to the resources of the colony, made new rules for the regulation of the fur trade, discovered iron deposits in the Three Rivers district, and began the importation of women from France to supply wives for the colonists. The defeat of the Iroquois by De Tracy relieved the settlements for a time from their raids. Perrot, Joliet, and Marquette pushed their way westward into the region beyond the Great Lakes. The year 1672 marks the appearance of the count de Frontenac, the greatest figure in the history of New France, who, in that year, was appointed to succeed De Courcelles as governor. Under his auspices La Salle and Tonty explored the upper Mississippi, and military posts were established at Niagara, Mackinac, and in the Illinois country. Recalled in 1682, Frontenac was reappointed governor in 1689 in time to direct the French and Indian attacks on the frontiers of Maine, New Hampshire, and New York, to despatch D'Iberville, to capture the English posts in the Hudson Bay region, and to repulse the redoubtable Sir William Phips, who, fresh from the capture of Port Royal, descended on Quebec in 1690. Frontenac died in 1698, a year after his conquests in the New World had been handed back to the English by the Treaty of Ryswick.

The peace was of short duration. In 1702 the war of the Spanish Succession, known in America as Queen Anne's War, broke out. The bloody border warfare was resumed, Francis Nicholson captured Port Royal, and only the wrecking of Sir Hoveden Walker's fleet saved Quebec. But Marlborough's victories at Blenheim, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet decided the

fate of Acadia, which together with Newfoundland and the Hudson Bay territory, was ceded to England by the Treaty of Utrecht (1713).

Again a few years of peace succeeded, during which the French slowly but surely extended their dominion in the great West and the valley of the Mississippi, forming a complete cordon of settlements about the English who now saw that they must either break the chain or content themselves with the limitation of their territory to the east of the Alleghanies. For fifty years they made no attempt to gain the northwest or to control the fur trade. In 1711 Louisiana had been separated from Canada and erected into a separate colony. Meanwhile on the seaboard Cape Breton was strengthened and fortified as a bulwark of the French against future English aggression in that direction, and millions were expended on making the fortress of Louisburg impregnable. Hostilities began again in 1740 with the outbreak of the War of the Austrian Succession (King George's War), the principal event of which in America was the capture of Louisburg by a New England expedition under Sir William Pepperell. The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) restored the conquest to the French.

Eight years of nominal peace followed. The English, realising that a greater struggle was approaching, tightened their grip on Nova Scotia by founding a fortified city at Halifax (1749). The French located a new line of forts in the backwoods of New York and Pennsylvania — at French Creek, Presque Isle (Erie), and Fort Duquesne (Pittsburgh). The outposts of the two nations were thus drawn so near together that a conflict was a mere matter of time. The peace signed at Aix-la-Chapelle laid down no definite line between French and English territory, and the Ohio Company chartered to make settlements west of the Ohio, sent the young Virginian surveyor Washington into the region in 1749 to make a preliminary survey. In 1754 Washington, at the head of a body of Virginia militia, attacked the French at Great Meadows near Fort Duquesne, but was soon attacked in turn at Fort Necessity, and compelled to retire from the country. It proved to be the first engagement of the French and Indian War. In 1755 hostilities broke out in earnest with several more engagements, although it was not till May, 1756, that war was actually declared. Before that, however, Braddock had been disastrously defeated near Fort Duquesne, and the English had adopted the radical and harsh measure of deporting the French in Acadia, the justice and necessity of which historians have ever since disputed. The campaigns of 1756-1757 were favourable to the French, whose energetic commander Montcalm captured Oswego and Fort William Henry. The year 1758 saw some English successes, for the strong hand of the elder Pitt was guiding the English ship of state. Amherst and Wolfe took Louisburg, and the forts at Niagara and Duquesne fell into English hands. As England awakened to the situation France weakened. Montcalm was neglected and left with a wholly insufficient force to hold the immense empire entrusted to him. The battle of September 13th, 1759, on the Plains of Abraham, and the subsequent capture of Quebec and Montreal, made England supreme on the North American continent. New France ceased to exist.

By the terms of the Treaty of Paris (February 10th, 1763) France ceded to Great Britain, Canada and the Cape Breton district, and all the land east of the Mississippi except the city and district of New Orleans, and formally renounced all claims to Acadia. Great Britain pledged itself to protect the adherents of the Catholic church in Canada, and to allow a continuance of French fishing rights on the Newfoundland coast. By the same treaty Spain ceded Florida to Great Britain [a]

THE MILITARY RÉGIME; THE PONTIAC CONSPIRACY

The first intervention of the British in the affairs of Canada after the conquest was in 1774, when two Acts were passed relating to the newly acquired territory, then called "the Province of Quebec." The one gave it a constitution; the other provided a revenue for defraying the administration of justice and support of the civil government, by the imposition of certain duties on spirits and molasses, and which duties were in lieu of others enjoyed by the French king previous to the conquest. They were, however, in the total but inconsiderable and far short of the amount annually required for the purposes to which they were appropriated, the deficiency being supplied from the imperial treasury.

From the conquest to this epoch, fourteen years, the province appears to have been governed generally to the satisfaction of the inhabitants.[h] Bourinot[e] declares that "none of the *habitants* ever left Canada after the war."[a] During the first three years of this period, however, the government was a purely military, though it seems an equitable, one, and indeed more to the taste, as some will have it, of "the new subjects" (as the Canadians were then denominated), themselves a brave and military people, than that which immediately succeeded it. The royal proclamation of 1763, by their new sovereign, King George III, put an end to this, and introduced a new order, something more congenial to British feelings and habits. All disputes from this time forward, between the new subjects concerning rights in land and real property, inheritance, succession to, and division of, the same among coheirs, continued, as previous to the conquest, to be determined by judges from among their own countrymen.[h]

It was at this period, when the French in the St. Lawrence valley, satisfied that a change of kings was to mean practically no change in their lives, were beginning to take up again the daily routine of their work, that the Western Indians, united under the able Ottawa chief Pontiac, suddenly rose and fell unexpectedly upon all the former French ports, now held by British garrisons, in the Great Lake, Ohio, and upper Mississippi country. French traders and emissaries had urged the red men on and their plans were well laid. In six weeks after the first attack on Detroit, May 9th, 1763, every fort in the western country except Detroit, Fort Pitt, and Green Bay had been seized and destroyed, and the Virginia and Pennsylvania frontiers laid waste, and it was not until the intrepid Colonel Bouquet had carried the warfare into the very heart of the Indian country on the Muskingum that peace was at length restored. The stirring story of this great conspiracy, as brilliantly related by Francis Parkman, will be found under the United States.

Before the Indian outbreak was quelled George III, in the autumn of 1763, issued a proclamation establishing four new governments in North America; Quebec, East and West Florida and Grenada. The several governors were empowered to summon legislative assemblies, to legislate with their consent, and to establish law courts. In Quebec (Canada), however, no assembly ever met under his proclamation, for the French Canadians were unwilling to take the required test oath or declare against transubstantiation. From 1763 to 1774, therefore, the government of the province was carried on solely by the governor-general, assisted by an executive council composed chiefly of officials, but containing also a few prominent colonists. The prevailing uncertainty as to the laws in force tended to keep things in an unsettled state. The French Canadians contended for the retention of their

ancient customs and usages, the English subjects demanded the establishment of courts in which the English common law should be the only jurisprudence recognised. The French colonists trusted both Governor Murray and Governor Carleton, and on the whole were content with their lot, but the British were restless.

THE QUEBEC ACT, AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

At length in 1774 parliament passed the measure known as the Quebec Act. The British settlers who had demanded a change were its most violent opponents because of the substitution of the ancient laws and customs of French Canada for the English common law. The American colonies objected to it because of the inclusion of the Great Lake country within the new jurisdiction. But Sir Guy Carleton, who had been named to succeed General Murray as governor-general in 1766, had studied the needs of the colony on the spot, and his advocacy was probably the determining factor that led to the passage of the bill.[a]

The new constitution came into force in October, 1774. It provided that Roman Catholics should be no longer obliged to take the test oath, but only the oath of allegiance. The government of the province was entrusted to a governor and a legislative council, appointed by the crown, inasmuch as it was "inexpedient to call an assembly." This council had the power, with the consent of the governor, to make ordinances for the good government of the province. In all matters of controversy, relative to property and civil rights, recourse should be had to the French civil procedure, whilst the law of England should obtain in criminal cases. Roman Catholics were permitted to observe their religion with perfect freedom, and their clergy were to enjoy their "accustomed duties and rights," with respect to such persons as professed that creed.

Sir Guy Carleton nominated a legislative council of twenty-three members, of whom eight were Roman Catholics. This body sat, as a rule, with closed doors; both languages were employed in the debates, and the ordinances agreed to were drawn up in English and French. In 1776 the governor-general called to his assistance an advisory privy council of five members.

When Canada came under the operation of the Quebec Act, the Thirteen Colonies were on the eve of that revolution which ended in the establishment of a federal republic, and had also most important influence on the fortunes of the country through which the St. Lawrence flows.

The Canadian people had now entered on one of the most important periods of their history. Their country was invaded, and for a time seemed on the point of passing under the control of the congress of the old Thirteen Colonies, now in rebellion against England. The genius of an able English governor-general, however, saved the valley of the St. Lawrence for the English crown, and the close of the war for American independence led to radical changes in the governments of British North America. A large population, imbued with the loftiest principles of patriotism and self-sacrifice, came in and founded new provinces, and laid the basis of the present Dominion of Canada.

During the revolution emphatic appeals were made to the Canadian French to join the English colonies in their rebellion against England. The mass of the French Canadians, especially in the rural districts, no doubt looked with great indifference on the progress of the conflict between the king of England and his former subjects, but in Quebec and Montreal, principally in the latter

town, there were found English as well as French-speaking persons quite ready to welcome and assist the forces of congress when they invaded Canada. On the other hand, the influences of the Quebec Act and of the judicious administrations of Murray and Carleton were obvious from the outset, and the bishop, Monseigneur Briand — who had been chosen with the silent acquiescence of the English government — the clergy of the Roman Catholic church, and the leading seigniors combined to maintain Canada under the dominion of a generous power which had already given such undoubted guaranties for the preservation of the civil and religious rights of the "new subjects."[e]

We will not dwell here on the events of the War of the American Revolution. The government of Canada from 1778 on to the end of the war was under the control of General Haldimand, whose management of the affairs of the province during a critical period was marked by some rather arbitrary acts such as the arrest of several French Canadian supposed-to-be sympathisers with the revolted colonies. But probably his severity was no greater than the situation demanded. At any rate he fulfilled the requirement for a governor who could keep Canada loyal to the British cause.

THE LOYALISTS

The restoration of peace in 1783 meant to Canada both loss and gain. The fertile Ohio valley and the entire region south and west of the Great Lakes, now the richest part of the North American continent, was, with that ignorance of possibilities which has generally characterised the transfer of unsettled territory, taken from Canada, and ceded to the United States for all time. On the eastern coast it was provided that the boundary between Nova Scotia and Maine should be the St. Croix river, with a line drawn "from its source to the highlands, dividing the waters falling into the Atlantic from those emptying themselves into the St. Lawrence," thus establishing a great elbow of alien territory between Canada proper and the maritime provinces. But what Canada lost by a readjustment of its boundaries it gained by the addition to its population of an element which has been perhaps the greatest factor in its progress and development, namely, the American loyalists, or as they are commonly called in the United States the tories. The Treaty of Versailles virtually abandoned to their fate these men, without whose active aid the British successes in the revolted colonies would have been few indeed. The only clause referring to them in the treaty was one pledging congress to recommend to the various states the adoption of measures of restitution. As everyone foresaw, it turned out a perfect nullity, and the British government was called upon to compensate them for their losses by the grant of lands in the maritime provinces and the region about Lake Ontario. "Without detracting from the achievements of our French fellow-citizens," writes a popular Canadian historian, "it is but truth to say that the loyalists were the makers of Canada. They were an army of leaders. The most influential judges, the most distinguished lawyers, the most capable and prominent physicians, the most highly educated of the clergy, the members of council of the various colonies, the crown officials, people of culture and social distinction — these, with the faithful few whose fortune followed theirs, were the loyalists. Canada owes deep gratitude to her southern kinsmen who thus, from Maine to Georgia, picked out their choicest spirits, and sent them forth to people our northern wilds."

It is estimated that by 1786 upwards of fifty thousand of these people had

reached British North America. Thousands settled in Nova Scotia, thousands more moved on into the valley of the St. John and founded the province of New Brunswick; another large contingent found their way to the west and laid the foundations of the province of Upper Canada, the future Ontario.

The English inhabitants of the province of Quebec had never been satisfied with the provisions of the Quebec Act of 1774, and to the new loyalist population in the lake territory the thought of living under French law was particularly distasteful. Then, too, their inherent love of a representative government asserted itself, and the demands for a change which would embody the principles of self-government based on English law were many and clamorous. Nova Scotia had had a representative government since 1758, and the two newly established provinces of New Brunswick and Cape Breton received similar rights in 1784. Naturally the English of the west objected to being considered less able to govern themselves than their countrymen on the seaboard. General Haldimand, whose strict and rather arbitrary administration had perhaps unjustly — considering the condition of the provinces — won for him the reputation of being "a mere military martinet," was at length in 1786 superseded by Sir Guy Carleton, who had been raised to the peerage as Lord Dorchester.

Lord Dorchester, who has been lauded by his ardent admirers as "the founder and saviour of Canada," seems to have been well fitted to govern mixed peoples. What was more to the point, he was a rather liberal-minded, far-sighted statesman, and he at once set himself to solve the difficult problem before him. Although he was himself the principal author of the act under which the province of Quebec was then governed, he recognised clearly that new conditions demanded new laws. He immediately undertook temporary measures which would soothe the discontent until the British parliament could enact the necessary legislation. His first official acts were the restoration of the Habeas Corpus Act and the right of trial by jury in civil cases. Then he set to work to study the necessities of the province, which he set forth in a masterly report to the colonial secretary. The newly settled lake region he divided into four new districts, to be administered under English law.[a]

THE CONSTITUTIONAL ACT

The remedy proposed by Lord Dorchester for the difficulties in Canada was a division of the territory into two provinces, each to have that form of constitution best suited to the wants of its inhabitants. In accordance with this plan, Earl Granville introduced in the British parliament a bill, known to Canadian history as the Constitutional Act, for dividing the dissatisfied province into Upper Canada and Lower Canada. The act stirred up a fierce debate in the imperial parliament. The English population of the proposed lower province were violently against it, fearing that they would be swamped by the French majority. Many were for treating French Canada in all respects as a conquered territory, and imposing upon it the English language, English laws, and English institutions — a course which would have found ample precedent in the practice of civilised states. But both policy and justice seemed to point to other measures. Lord Dorchester's advice, backed by the tremendous support of the younger Pitt, carried the day. The French Canadians had proved themselves loyal subjects of Great Britain at a time when the sons of her own loins were flying at her throat. They had turned

[1786 A.D.]

a deaf ear to the English-American colonies. Now, at a time when France was given up, in the name of liberty, to all the wild horrors of the Revolution, the French Canadians were faithful to their church and obedient to their priests. This steadiness and conservatism found great favour in English eyes. English statesmen were not inclined to force upon so excellent a people any laws and customs which they did not like. Moreover, the revolt of the thirteen colonies had rubbed smartly into the English mind a lesson which was not yet fully understood. Pitt fancied that the new colonies would be more securely held to England if they could be held somewhat apart from each other. He favoured the perpetuation of French ideas, institutions, and speech in Lower Canada, as a barrier between the English provinces of Upper Canada on the one hand, and Nova Scotia and New Brunswick on the other. His dread was lest these provinces should some day roll together into one, and repeat the deeds of '76. He remembered the cynical saying of Turgot, that "colonies are like fruits which only cling till they ripen." He wished by



CITADEL OF QUEBEC FROM THE TERRACE

justice and generosity to strengthen every tie of love between the colonies and England; but by no means did he wish the colonies should love each other.

Upper Canada, therefore, was made in all respects a British province, with English laws, and with all lands held on the freehold tenure. Lower Canada, while receiving the benefit of representative institutions, along with the Habeas Corpus Act, and the criminal law of England, remained in other respects, what she already was, a French province. Lands were held on that feudal tenure then in existence. In the case of new grants, however, the freehold tenure was permitted on special request. In civil law the French practice was established. French sentiment was determined that the French language and French customs should not go down before the swarming inroads of English settlement, and this sentiment was fully recognised in the new act. The act secured to the French Canadians what had been allowed them from the conquest — the privileges of their religion and the maintenance of their church system; but at the same time, to protect the Protestant minority, a large portion of the wild lands was set apart in Lower Canada, as in the other provinces, for the support of the Protestant clergy. These lands, known as the "clergy reserves," became in after years a source of bitter strife in the provincial assemblies.

At the time of the division Lower Canada had a population of perhaps 125,000, Upper Canada of less than 20,000. To each was given a legislature

of three branches, as in the other provinces. These three branches — governor, legislative council, and house of assembly — corresponded in a vague way to the "three estates" in England: king, lords, and commons. There was also a strong but anomalous body called the executive council, which acted as an advisory board to the governor. Its powers were very vaguely laid down; and the position of its members enabled them to defy public opinion. They were the occupants of the highest official posts in each colony, and as a rule, though not of necessity, they held seats in the legislative council. The governor, appointed by the crown, and usually sent out from England with small knowledge of the peculiar conditions of life in a new country, was apt to be swayed unduly by these official advisers. If the governor made himself obnoxious to the people, the people could, in course of time, get rid of him by petitioning for his recall. But the members of the executive council, once they were appointed, held office without responsibility either to the governor or the people. The crown, of course, could remove them; but they were hardly important enough to attract the crown's attention. Therefore their seats were impregnable, and they gradually acquired a lofty contempt for the classes whom they considered their inferiors. Much of the bitterness of the struggle for responsible government, destined so soon to commence, was directly traceable to the arrogance of the executive council.

The legislative council was mixed up with the executive in a most confusing way; its membership in part, and its interests altogether were the same. The members of the legislative council were appointed by the crown, and for life. They were selected from among the judges, bishops, and highest officials of the provinces. They held themselves responsible to no one but a king who was too far off to observe them; and they strove to secure to themselves the privileges of a hereditary aristocracy. In the beginning they were the most vehement petitioners for free representative government. When they had gained a measure of it, and that measure entirely in their own hands, they set themselves to block the wheels of progress. Themselves at first the leaders in the advance, they became at last its most obstinate opponents. The final triumph of the principles of responsible government was only gained by their overthrow.

The members of the assembly were the representatives of the people, responsible to the people, and elected by the people to serve for a fixed term of years. They did not always serve the full term, however, as the governor had power to "dissolve the house" at any time, and call upon the people to elect a new assembly. Under these circumstances the people were very likely to re-elect their old representatives. In the hands of the assembly rested the power of raising revenues for the public services, by taxation and the imposition of customs duties. The making of laws rested with the assembly and legislative council, but no law became operative till it received the assent of the governor. As we have said, the raising of revenue was in the hands of the assembly; but there was a large revenue coming in from the sale or lease of crown lands, as well as from the lease of mines and timber limits, which was known as the "casual and territorial revenue." The control of this revenue was in the very beginning seized by the executive, with the legislative council's consent. It became a bone of fierce contention between executive and assembly.[d]

The two decades which elapsed between the inauguration of the constitution of 1792 and the outbreak of the War of 1812 between England and the United States contained few incidents of importance. The administration of Colonel John Graves Simcoe, the first lieutenant-governor of the new

[1812–1815 A.D.]

province of Upper Canada, was marked by a zealous extension of the western settlements and the encouragement of immigration, particularly that of American loyalists. The capital was removed to Toronto. Simcoe's intense hostility to the United States, however, led him to give countenance if not actually to encourage the Indian attacks on the American settlements on the Great Lakes, and he was removed in 1796. In the same year Lord Dorchester (Sir Guy Carleton) was recalled from the governor-generalship which he had held with distinguished ability for ten years. In the early years of the nineteenth century the first warnings of political unrest were manifest in the bitter enmity between the governor-general, Sir James Craig, an obstinate Scotch soldier, appointed 1808, and the representative assemblies. In Lower Canada he aroused the racial hostility of the French Canadians by arbitrarily suppressing their principal organ *Le Canadien*. The reformers were somewhat pacified by the removal of Governor Craig in 1811, and the appointment in his place of Sir George Prevost, and the outbreak of the War of 1812 caused a brief postponement of a settlement of the differences.



KENT GATE, QUEBEC

"The War of 1812," said Bourinot,[e] "was to prove the fidelity of the Canadian people to the British crown and stimulate a new spirit of self-reliance among French as well as English Canadians." From the beginning to the end of the conflict Canada was the theatre of the greater part of the military operations, and the scene of the principal battles. Upper Canada, however, was the only province that really suffered as a result. The Canadian militia rallied to the call of the authorities, and played a part in the several campaigns that compares not unfavourably with that of the British regulars whom they supported. But the war had little enough glory for any of the parties concerned. The conflict, its causes and results, will be found treated as a part of the history of the United States.

THE STRUGGLE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

The restoration of peace in 1815 marked the beginning of a quarter century of domestic strife and turmoil. The struggle centering in the two Canadas originated in the constant contest for supremacy between the executive authorities on the one hand and the popular legislative authorities on the other, that had begun some years earlier. In Lower Canada the dispute was aggravated by the fact that the English-speaking minority controlled the executive and the legislative councils, while the popular assembly was dominated by the French Canadians. The basis of the whole trouble, therefore, may be said to have been race antagonism. As Lord Durham expressed it

in 1839, "I found two nations warring in the bosom of a single state; I found a struggle not of principles but of races."

Circumstances gave to the movement the form and aspect of a struggle for representative government. The several constitutions granted the provinces in the latter part of the eighteenth century placed the governments nominally on a representative basis. In reality they were far from being so. The members of the executive councils, appointed for life and responsible to no one, represented only a small aristocracy. Their influence dominated also the upper or appointive chamber of the legislatures, serving as a positive check on the actions of the popular lower branch. The assembly demanded that the executive should be responsible to them, that he should acknowledge the theory of parliamentary responsibility and retire from office on the withdrawal of popular support. In Upper Canada this oligarchic aristocracy came to be known, because of their jealous exclusiveness, as the Family Compact, and the name eventually extended to the corresponding parties in the other colonies.

In Lower Canada the strife began again before the close of the American war with the impeachment by the assembly of Judge Monk and Chief-Justice Sewell, whom the reformers blamed for all the sins of omission and commission of their former governor, Sir James Craig. But the charges had no justification either in law or justice, and the impeachment proceedings failed utterly. The next bone of contention was the civil list, in regard to which the assembly asserted the right of examination of the items. In 1819 the assembly and the legislative council came to a deadlock over appropriations, and such was the situation when King George III died and Lord Dalhousie became governor-general.

At the very outset the new governor precipitated a conflict by demanding that the assembly provide for the civil list by a permanent appropriation, and upon their immediate refusal he himself appropriated an amount from the treasury sufficient to cover the civil list expenses. Session after session passed and the deadlock continued. Recourse was had by the governor to the funds accumulating from the sale of crown lands, but even these were inadequate for the purpose. Then, too, they were so carelessly managed that Sir John Caldwell, the receiver-general, became a heavy defaulter.

Dalhousie at length dissolved the assembly. But the new house had an even larger majority of reformers than the old, and at once re-elected as speaker, Louis Joseph Papineau, the rash and impetuous leader of the French Canadians who, save for a brief interval, had been speaker of the house since 1817. He had been most active in the attack upon the governor's assumption of the assembly's appropriating power, and was the most eloquent defender of the prerogatives of the popular chamber. A man of commanding presence, gifted with unusual powers of rhetoric and persuasion, a brilliant debater and an able parliamentarian, Papineau was too much lacking in tact and discretion, too erratic and too extreme a partisan ever to take rank as a constructive statesman. As an agitator, as the enthusiastic and radical leader of a popular cause, whose adherents were inherently emotional rather than rational, no man was by nature better fitted than Papineau. Lord Dalhousie distrusted and disliked him. He rightly considered him the real leader of the opposition, and his re-election as speaker was taken as a challenge from the reformers. Lord Dalhousie accepted it and refused to sanction Papineau's election. The assembly refused to reconsider its action, and the governor-general prorogued the body, which did not meet again during Lord Dalhousie's administration. A petition signed by eighty-seven thousand

[1819 A.D.]

inhabitants was at once forwarded to England, charging the governor-general with many arbitrary acts, of illegal appropriation of treasury funds, of violent prorogation of the assembly, of dismissing militia officers for opposing his policy, of remodelling the civil service to serve political purposes, and of continuing in the office of receiver-general a notorious defaulter, Sir John Caldwell.[a]

As Upper Canada was at the same time besieging the home government with like petitions, the state of affairs attracted anxious attention in England. Parliament appointed a Canada committee to examine the points at issue. The report of this committee (1828) was hailed in Lower Canada with grateful rejoicing. It urged that the crown duties (of the Act of 1774) should be put under the control of the assembly on condition that permanent provision should be made for the payment of the crown officials; that the judges should give up their seats in the legislative council; that bishops should not be allowed to interfere in matters of government; that receivers-general should give security; that accounts should be examined by the assembly's auditors; and that the executive and legislative councils should be enlarged and made more independent by the addition of members representing different classes and interests, and not holding government offices. These recommendations applied to both Upper and Lower Canada; and in regard to the latter province it was particularly urged that the French Canadian majority should have a fair representation. The unpopular Dalhousie was recalled. The new governor-general, Sir James Kempt, recognised Papineau as speaker of the assembly; and once more the excitement died away.[d]



SOUS LE CAP, QUEBEC

THE DISPUTE IN UPPER CANADA

Events in Upper Canada meanwhile were tending in much the same direction as in the lower province, though the various steps in the progress were very different. The race antagonism for one thing was lacking. The struggle, too, at the outset at any rate, lacked some of the bitterness of that in the sister province. More clearly defined than elsewhere, the issue was the domination or overthrow of the Family Compact. This faction existed in Upper Canada in its strictest, most oligarchic, and most objectionable form. Every branch of provincial activity, not alone the political, but the social, educational, mercantile and industrial, felt the blight of its rule. Its members held not only all the government offices, but they owned practically all

the real estate, and controlled virtually every trade and industry in the provinces. Frightened by the logic of "the spirit of '76," these sons of exiled tories vigorously repelled every attempt to enlighten or instruct the people in regard to self-government. They frowned on popular education for the masses, they kept the press muzzled in a most un-English manner, and every attempt to petition for the correction of popular grievances they ignored absolutely.

Without a doubt, the alarm of the Family Compact partisans was aggravated by the flood of immigration from the United States which set in immediately after the peace in 1815. The new settlers were democratic in their training and method of thought, and had nothing but ridicule for the old tory aristocracy, whose power they at once openly set about to overthrow and discredit. Their frankly uttered expressions favouring a possible annexation to the United States certainly did not serve to make a reconciliation with the ruling class easier. The struggle was precipitated by Robert Gourlay, an eccentric Scotch agitator who, as a land agent, aroused the hostility of the Compact by going about the country and advising the people to complain of their wrongs to the colonial office. The Compact then set about driving the objectionable Gourlay from the country. Twice he was arrested and tried for libel, and twice he was acquitted. Thwarted in their attempts to remove him legally, his enemies conspired to bring against him an unjust and unfounded charge of sedition. Again he was arrested, and contrary to every principle of English law and justice, he was allowed to languish in prison seven long months without trial. He was then taken to Niagara, where the control and influence of the Compact were all-powerful, and before a prejudiced judge, in a trial that was from first to last a hollow mockery and a travesty on justice, he was found guilty by a packed jury and sentenced to exile. But in the fate of the unhappy Scotchman was sounded the doom of the Family Compact. Men were at length awakened to demand their rights, and the spirit aroused that day ceased not to grow till the Family Compact was overthrown and responsible government established.[a]

Unquestionably most of the movements against the democratic tendencies of the time in Upper Canada were originated by Dr. John Strachan, afterwards first bishop of Toronto. He was a politician of the most ardent type. He added the persistency of his Scottish nature to the uncompromising principles of loyalism. Bravery, perseverance, astuteness, and ingenuity were the prominent features of the ecclesiastical legislator and councillor. It is easy to imagine with what gusto, in his Aberdonian dialect, the clerical politician, when it was suggested to him that the law did not permit the house to expel a refractory member, would declare, "The law — the law! Never mind the law — turn him oot; turn him oot!"[b]

MACKENZIE AND THE FAMILY COMPACT

The forces of the Family Compact in Upper Canada under Doctor Strachan and Beverley Robinson were much better organised than in the lower province, and they were able for some time to keep the upper hand of their radical opponents. It was not until 1824 that the reformers obtained a majority in the assembly. In that same year William Lyon Mackenzie, a fiery, hot-headed young Scotchman, started a reform paper called the *Colonial Advocate*. Its bitter and scathing criticisms of the Compact in 1826 led a band of young Compact partisans to break into the office one night and destroy the presses. The only important result of this raid was that Mackenzie, who had been on

[1828–1835 A.D.]

the point of discontinuing the paper for lack of support, was enabled to start in again on a larger scale with the $3,000 damages awarded him.[a]

Other things happened to stir up the people's indignation. Members of the opposition in the assembly were spied upon and persecuted. A British half-pay officer, Captain Matthews, for having, in an after-dinner mood, called upon some strolling American players to give two or three American national airs, was reported to the home government for disloyalty, and lost his pension. A certain Judge Willis, sent out from England, incurred the wrath of the Compact by his strictures upon their modes of administering justice, and was removed from his position. Then a grasping inn-keeper named Forsyth, at Niagara Falls, built a high fence along the front of his place, to shut out the view and force visitors to pass through his grounds if they wished to see the great cataract. Governor Maitland ordered him to take away the obstruction, but Forsyth refused. Thus far, Forsyth was in the wrong. But the arbitrary governor made haste to put himself in the wrong — and at once the avaricious boniface appeared a victim of tory persecution. A squad of soldiers appeared, tore down the fence, destroyed a house of Forsyth's which stood on his own land, and threw the wreck into the falls. The assembly undertook to investigate the outrage. Certain government officials were summoned before the house to give evidence; but on Maitland's rash advice they refused to obey the summons. The assembly had them arrested and put in prison; whereupon the governor dissolved the house. This led to such a storm of anger that Maitland was promptly recalled by the colonial office (1828). He was succeeded by Sir John Colborne, a veteran of the Napoleonic wars.[d]

The new governor, however, was unable to terminate the conflict which was daily growing more ominous. The extremes to which the Mackenzie faction ran however, led to a split in the ranks of the reformers, and the more moderate liberals led by such men as Egerton Ryerson, Robert Baldwin and Marshall Bidwell, speaker of the assembly, did all they could to stem the tide which they began to fear was rising to dangerous heights. This split enabled the Compact to obtain control of the assembly in 1830; an occasion which they took advantage of by passing a measure known as the Everlasting Salaries Act, which by providing a permanent grant for the salaries of judges and officials rendered them independent of the assembly. Mackenzie, who had been elected a member, bitterly attacked the bill, and was expelled. Again and again he was returned by his loyal constituents, only to be as often expelled by the tory majority. Mackenzie appealed to the colonial secretary, who declared that his expulsion was illegal. He at once became a popular idol, and was enthusiastically chosen first mayor of Toronto in 1834. In 1835 the reformers again had a majority in the assembly, Bidwell was re-elected speaker, and Mackenzie made chairman of a special committee on grievances.

Sir John Colborne was recalled, but the new governor, Sir Francis Bond Head, although appointed with the evident idea of placating the reform party, at the very outset adopted a course that made peace between the warring parties impossible. He appointed three reformers to his council, but declared to them that he should take their advice only when he felt so disposed, and that he had no faith in the principle of responsible ministers. Thereupon the reformers resigned, the new governor filling their places with Compact leaders and acted thenceforth with that party. The assembly retaliated by passing resolutions of censure upon Governor Head, and refused to vote supplies. At this juncture Speaker Bidwell received a communication from

Papineau, the reform leader in Lower Canada, suggesting that the reformers in the two provinces act in unison. Sir Francis Head thought he scented in this a republican conspiracy, and dissolved the assembly. The new assembly, elected after a sharp campaign in which the loyalty of the voters was appealed to, showed a majority for the Compact. The Mackenzie faction, bitterly complaining of injustice and oppression were thus driven into alliance with the more radical elements in the lower province.

THE LOWER CANADA RISING

Meanwhile affairs in Lower Canada had reached a crisis. A royal commission was appointed in 1835 to inquire into the state of affairs in the province. Its report, submitted to the British parliament in 1837 was adverse to the extreme demands of the reformers. Lord John Russell, in view of this report, took the step of introducing a bill authorising the use of provincial treasury funds to make up for the failure of the assembly to support the civil list. When the news of this action reached the province the reformers prepared for resistance. Public meetings were held in every parish, and secret militia organisations called Sons of Liberty were widely established. The local authorities seemed paralysed, but Bishop Lartigue and the French Roman Catholic clergy asserted themselves against the seditious utterances of the revolutionary leaders. The admonitions of the priests fell on deaf ears.

In October occurred the first steps in an organised revolt. The rebels collected in force at St. Charles and St. Denis. At the former place, a column crowned by a liberty cap was set up. Everywhere the tri-colour was displayed. At the latter place, under Dr. Wolfred Nelson, an educated Englishman, a large stone distillery was fortified. The first bloodshed occurred in a street riot between the factions in Montreal early in November. Soon afterwards, Sir John Colborne, commander of the forces, dispatched two expeditions to scatter the rebels at St. Charles and St. Denis.

Against St. Denis was sent Colonel Gore with five hundred men and one cannon. Lieutenant Weir, a young militia officer, carrying despatches to Colonel Gore, was captured by a band of rebels and shot while endeavouring to escape. The shooting was apparently unwarrantable and was condemned by Doctor Nelson, who however, from the despatches captured, was apprised of Colonel Gore's strength and purposes. Colonel Gore attacked on the night of November 23rd, but was beaten off with considerable loss and retired, leaving his gun ignominiously stuck in the mud.

Two days later, however, Colonel Wetherall moving against the rebel position at St. Charles had scattered the insurgent *habitants* with little difficulty, and Wetherall leaving a small force in the village returned to Montreal dragging the liberty pole and cap behind him. Papineau, who it is alleged, shrank from participating in the armed revolt which he had been the most active agent in arousing, fled across the border after the rout at St. Charles. On December 5th martial law was proclaimed in the Montreal district. On December 13th Sir John Colborne, at the head of an effective force of thirteen hundred men, regular troops and militia, marched against the rebels in the Two Mountain district. At St. Eustache on the following day a force of insurgents was dispersed, and many lost their lives by the burning of a church whence they had fled for protection. At St. Benoit the rebels without firing a shot, laid down their arms, and were allowed to return to their homes. With the return of Sir John Colborne to Montreal, the first revolt in Lower Canada may be said to have terminated.

THE REVOLT IN UPPER CANADA

In Upper Canada after their defeat in the assembly election the Mackenzie faction prepared to act in agreement with the radicals in the lower province. In the summer of 1837 Mackenzie effected an organisation known as the Committee of Vigilance, and throwing caution to the winds went about the province making incendiary speeches. Bidwell refused to have anything to do with the movement. The dispatch of troops to Lower Canada on the first signs of outbreak in that province, favoured Mackenzie's schemes. On the very day of Colonel Wetherall's victory at St. Charles a revolutionary appeal headed "Proclamation by William Lyon Mackenzie, chairman *pro tem.* of the Provisional Government of the State of Upper Canada," and calling on all liberty-loving Canadians to rise, was scattered broadcast throughout the province. The proclamation stated that the "patriots" had established a provisional seat of government on Navy Island in the Niagara river.

In the first week in December the rebels began to report at Montgomery's tavern, near Toronto, designated as a rendezvous. Had the insurgents marched at once on Toronto, where the apathy was great, it must have fallen into their hands. The rebels opened negotiations with Governor Head, who would grant none of their demands. But the time spent in parleying was fatal. Colonel Allan McNab arrived in Toronto with a force of militia, and lost no time in attacking the insurgents at Montgomery's tavern. After a short but sharp skirmish the rebels gave way and Mackenzie, for whose head a reward of £1,000 had been offered, fled across the border into the United States.[a]

The provisional government was still organised on Navy Island, in the Niagara river. The patriot flag, with twin stars and the motto, "Liberty and Equality," was hoisted and planted in the face of Colonel McNab, who held the Canadian shore. A daring action was performed on December 29th by Captain Drew, R.N., one of McNab's command. The insurgents had made use of a vessel, the *Caroline*, in carrying supplies from the American shore to Navy Island. The vessel lay moored for the night under the very guns of Fort Schlosser, indeed the shadows of the fort enveloped the *Caroline*. With seven boats, carrying some sixty men in all, who were armed with pistols, cutlasses, and pikes, the captain boarded the ill-fated vessel, captured her, but not being able, on account of the current, to bring her to the Canadian side, sent her flaming over the Niagara Falls. The vessel proved to be an American bottom, and so Britain was compelled to disavow the seizure, but nothing could blot out the bravery of the deed.[b]

Up to the end of 1838 Upper Canada was from time to time entered by marauding bands from the United States, composed of a few disappointed revolutionists urged on by Mackenzie and others, and such ruffians or adventurers as they could persuade by promise of pillage or grants of land to join them. None of the expeditions were successful enough to cause much more than a temporary disturbance, and they came to an end when the United States authorities finally awakened to the necessity of suppressing them. Mackenzie himself was arrested and spent some time in prison for his part in instigating the raids. The inefficient Sir Francis Bond Head was at length removed from the lieutenant-governorship and his successor, Sir George Arthur, acted with more resolution. Lount, Matthews, Von Shoultz and a number of the American raiders were executed, and a large number transported to the convict settlements in Australia. The revolt was an unfortunate and unnecessary episode in Canadian history, but as Sir John Bourinot[c]

points out, it caused the extinction of the Family Compact régime, and led to a better system of government.[a]

LORD DURHAM IN CANADA

The immediate result of the rebellion in Lower Canada was the intervention of the imperial authorities by the suspension of the constitution of that province, and the formation of a special council for purposes of temporary government. Lord Durham, a nobleman of great ability, who had won distinction in imperial politics as a reformer, was sent out to Canada as governor-general and high commissioner to inquire into and adjust provincial difficulties. This distinguished statesman remained at the head of affairs in



PARLIAMENT BUILDING, OTTAWA

the province from the last of May, 1838, until the 3rd of November in the same year, when he returned to England, where his ordinance of the 28th of June, sentencing certain British subjects in custody to transportation without a form of trial, and subjecting them and others not in prison to death in case of their return to the country without permission of the authorities, had been most severely censured in England as quite unwarranted by law. By this ordinance Wolfred Nelson, Bouchette, Viger, and five others, then in prison, were banished to Bermuda, while Papineau, Cartier, O'Callaghan, Robert Nelson, and others beyond Canadian jurisdiction were threatened with death if they returned to the province. Lord Durham's action was certainly in conflict with the principles of English law, but it was an error of judgment on the side of clemency. He was unwilling to resort to a court-martial — the only tribunal open to the authorities. A trial in the courts of justice was impracticable under existing conditions, as it was shown later. Lord Durham left Canada, in deep indignation at the manner in which his acts had been criticised in England, largely through the influence of Lord Brougham, his personal enemy. The most important result of his mission was a report which was probably written by Charles Buller, his secretary,

and an exceptionably able man, although there is no doubt that it embodied Lord Durham's own opinions and conclusions.

Soon after the departure of Lord Durham, who died a few months later, Sir John Colborne became governor-general. He was called upon to put down another rebellious movement led by Robert Nelson, brother of Wolfred Nelson, then in exile. At Caughnawaga, Montarville Mountain, Beauharnois, and Odelltown the insurgents made a stand from time to time, but were soon scattered. Bands of marauders inflicted some injury upon loyal inhabitants near the frontier, but in a few months these criminal attempts to disturb the peace of the province ceased entirely. The government now decided to make an example of men who had not appreciated the clemency previously shown their friends. Twelve men were executed, but it was not possible to obtain a verdict from a jury against the murderers of Weir and Chartrand — the latter a French Canadian volunteer murdered under circumstances of great brutality while a prisoner.[e]

THE UNION ACT OF 1840

Lord Durham's report was so important that a bill was founded on its recommendations, and introduced into parliament in 1839, by Lord John Russell. Before the final passage of this bill, it was deemed wise that it should be submitted to the colonial governing bodies. To accomplish this end a shrewd diplomatic envoy, Mr. Charles Poulett Thompson, a relative of the famous Lord Ashburton, was sent to Canada, September 13th, 1839.

The council of Lower Canada accepted the proposed constitution, though had the assembly, which had been suspended during the rebellion, been in existence the result would have been different. Even the Upper Canadian legislature needed much skilful management by Mr. Thompson in order to induce it to accept the bill; for the loyalists saw that they would be greatly outnumbered in United Canada. A strong appeal to their patriotism, however, at length gained their approval.

The imperial parliament then again took up the matter, and the "Act to Reunite the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada" became law July 23rd, 1840. Under this new constitution, there was provision made for a legislative council, whose members would be appointed for life by the governor, while the legislative assembly was to consist of an equal number of members from Upper and Lower Canada. Toronto, Montreal, and Quebec were to elect two members each; the towns one member; and to the governor was given the power of fixing the limits of the constituencies. The English language alone was permitted in the legislative records, but this provision was changed in after years. In order to make the constitution stable, it was provided that no change in the number of members of the assembly could be made, unless by a two-thirds vote.

By the new constitution a fixed civil list, amounting to £75,000 annually, was made, over which the assembly had no control, but all other expenditure must be under its direction. Amounts due the clergy were not subject to the vote of the assembly, and ecclesiastical rights were under the protection of the crown. Taxes on the people could only be levied for the benefit of the province, and with the assent of the two houses of parliament. Provision was made for the full establishment of courts of law. To the governor belonged the power of fixing the place of meeting of the Canadian legislature.

The longing desire of the people was that the new constitution should provide the executive council being made responsible to the assembly, and so

to the people. In the new act this was not provided for in so many words, but it was provided that the governor should only exercise power according to instructions from her majesty. To supplement these important provisions, upon the act coming into force by proclamation, on the 5th of February, 1841, a despatch was forwarded by Lord John Russell to the governor-general that "the governor must only oppose the wishes of the assembly when the honour of the crown or the interests of the empire are deeply concerned." The moderate opponents of the Family Compact were in transports of delight over the new constitution; the rebel party of Upper Canada regarded it as but a half measure, their aforetime compatriots in Lower Canada were much dissatisfied, and sent a petition with forty thousand signatures against the new act to Britain, while the loyalists looked suspiciously upon it, regarding it as the beginning of a Canadian republic. The British ministry, through Lord Durham's aid, had undoubtedly reached the happy mean; Mr. Thompson was raised to the peerage as Lord Sydenham for his successful management and appointed governor-general, and under his wise guidance the new constitution was launched to go on its perilous way.[b]

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

"The passage of the Union Act of 1840," says the eminent Canadian publicist, Sir J. G. Bourinot,[c] "was the commencement of a new era in the constitutional history of Canada as well as of the other provinces. The most valuable result was the admission of the all-important principle that the ministry advising the governor should possess the confidence of the representatives of the people assembled in parliament."

Lord Sydenham entered with enthusiasm into the work of launching the new constitution. The first assembly elected after the union was heterogeneous in the extreme, the old discredited "Family Compact" faction was scarcely represented, and the successful inauguration of the new government was accomplished by its avowed friends. But Lord Sydenham died (September, 1841) before the success or failure of his policy could be proved, and his successor Sir Charles Bagot likewise died within a year. The next governor-general was Lord Metcalfe, a protégé of the colonial secretary, Earl Stanley. Lord Metcalfe like his superior was of strong reactionary tendencies, and a term as governor of Jamaica, where he had to deal principally with inferior races, had not fitted him especially well for his new post as governor of a people struggling to establish a responsible parliamentary government. The crisis soon came. Under the able lead of Robert Baldwin, a conservative but sincere advocate of responsible government, the assembly declared that the acts of the governor must be in harmony with the advice of his executive council.

Ignoring this declaration Lord Metcalfe made an appointment without consulting his council of ministers, who thereupon resigned, and it was only with the greatest difficulty that the autocratic governor could fill their places. At the succeeding elections (1844) his ministry was barely sustained. The British ministry gave its unqualified approval of his attitude, however, and raised him to the peerage; and, satisfied with this manifestation of confidence, the lack of confidence of the Canadian people troubled him but little. Harassed by ill health he resigned the following year and returned to England, where he soon died. Of him Dr. George Bryce[b] says: "Of a kind and benevolent disposition, he was not without his Canadian admirers; but the attempt to interfere needlessly with a constitution which had been obtained by the exile

of a number of leading Canadians, and the blood of others, stirred up the strong feeling of the best elements of Canadian society against this propounder of absolutist theories."

Meanwhile the maritime provinces were not without their constitutional struggles. In Nova Scotia Sir Colin Campbell, a good soldier, but wholly unsuited for the position of civil governor, after an unceasing strife with the liberals led by Joseph Howe and William Young, was recalled at the request of the assembly and superseded by Lord Falkland, a vain and pompous man, who became the tool of the tory party and after an administration even more troublous than that of Campbell was in turn replaced by Sir John Harvey, who as governor of New Brunswick had already by his tact and a high order of statesmanship established government on a responsible basis in that province.

In 1847 Lord Elgin was sent to Canada as governor-general with positive instructions "to act generally upon the advice of his executive council, and to receive as members of that body those persons who might be pointed out to him as entitled to such positions by possessing the confidence of the assembly." The year 1848 thus saw the principle of parliamentary self-government fully established in the provinces of Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia. By 1851 Prince Edward's Island too was in full enjoyment of a like system.

THE REBELLION LOSSES BILL

Lord Elgin, in 1848, in carrying out the theory of responsible government, had called into power a ministry dominated by the two liberal leaders, Baldwin and Lafontine, who had at once introduced a bill allowing £100,000 for the satisfaction of losses incurred during the rebellion of 1837. At once the British or conservative party raised the cry of "No pay to rebels," and race and party feeling ran high. The conservatives organised the British North American League with the idea of effecting a union of all the provinces, in the expectation of a separation of the two Canadas. In the provincial parliament, the opposition, led by Sir Arthur McNab fought the Rebellion Losses Bill bitterly, but in spite of every effort it was passed. Its opponents then tried to persuade Lord Elgin to veto it, but in vain. Believing that it was desired by the people as represented by their ministers he gave it his assent. A first signal victory for responsible government had been won.

As Lord Elgin left the Parliament house after assenting to the bill he was followed by a jeering, threatening mob composed of the best educated and most enlightened portion of Montreal's population. The news of the governor's action spread like wildfire and a mob soon quartered about the Parliament house where a night session was in progress. At last, after flying stones had broken every window in the building, the mob rushed in and thrust the frightened legislators from the hall. The torch was then applied and the building was soon a mass of flames. The imperial government sustained Lord Elgin and as a rebuke to Montreal, the provincial capital was removed and finally (1858) established at Ottawa.

CANADIAN CONFEDERATION

Slowly but surely during three years the idea of confederation was forming itself throughout the provinces. Its necessity as the only solution of the increasing difficulties of administration was daily becoming more evident.

It had been ably advocated in the Canadas by Alexander Galt in 1857. In the year following the conservatives, to save themselves, accepted Galt as a colleague, and incorporated his ideas of confederation into their party programme. Early in 1864 representatives of the maritime provinces met at Charlottetown to discuss a union of the maritime provinces. Before any plan of coalition could be decided upon, a delegation from the two Canadas appeared on the scene with a proposal for a larger union. A second conference was decided upon and met in Quebec in the following October. They deliberated eighteen days and adopted a series of seventy-four resolutions, forming a scheme of union, which formed the basis of the subsequent British North America Act.



St. Louis Gate, Quebec

Agitation continued during several years. Upper and Lower Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick decided for confederation and sent delegates to England to urge the passage of an act to bring it about. Newfoundland and Prince Edward's Island held back, and for a time a reaction in Nova Scotia almost caused that province's withdrawal from the proposed union. The so-called Fenian invasions of 1866, by emphasising the necessity for united action, won votes for the Confederation proposals. At length the British North American Act passed the imperial parliament and was assented to by the queen, March 29, 1867.

THE NORTHWEST

Until the year 1867 the history of the Canadian northwest was little more than a history of the fur trade. The original Hudson's Bay Company was organised under a charter of Charles II in 1670 with Prince Rupert as president. This corporation disputed the field with the French and American colonial traders for over a century. In 1787 the merchants of Montreal and other Canadian towns organised a rival company known as the North West Company, or more familiarly the "Nor' Westers." In 1789 the famous explorer Alexander Mackenzie, an agent of the "Nor' Westers," started on his way across the continent, arriving at length, in July, 1793, on the shores of the Pacific, the first known white man to cross the continent north of Mexico. But already the navigators Cook (1778) and Vancouver (1792) had planted the British flag upon the shores of the western ocean. In 1806 Simon Frazer built at Fort Frazer the first trading post in British Columbia. In a few years the great interior region was being opened to settlement. The first post in the Red river country was established by a Frenchman, Veren-

dryc, who as early as 1735 had built a stockade which he named Fort Rouge on the site of the present city of Winnipeg. It was not, however, until 1812 that an English settlement was attempted. In the previous year Lord Selkirk, a Scotch nobleman, purchased from the Hudson Bay Company, in which he was one of the heaviest stockholders, a hundred thousand square miles of territory in the northwest, which he named Assiniboia. In 1812 he planted on the banks of the Red river a colony of Scotch and Irish immigrants. The North West Company, suspecting the new settlement to be a venture of their rival in the fur trade, adopted a hostile attitude, and the early days of the settlement, which really marked the founding of Manitoba, were marked by turmoil and privation and bloodshed. In 1816 the animosity of the North West Company took the form of an armed expedition against the Selkirk colony with the avowed purpose of exterminating it. The Nor' Westers' attack on Fort Douglass was gallantly beaten off, though with the loss of Governor Semple. In the following year Lord Selkirk himself led an armed force and a new lot of settlers to the aid of his colonists, reduced several of the North West Company's posts, and established his settlements on a firm foundation. The cause of all the rivalry came to a happy end with the union of the Hudson's Bay and North West companies in 1821 and a period of steady, peaceful growth followed. In 1835 the entire Red river region was placed under a regular government known as the council of Assiniboia which continued to control it till the purchase of the Northwest by the Canadian Confederation.

In 1849 the Hudson Bay Company made Victoria on Vancouver Island the capital of the Pacific coast part of its territories. The discovery of gold in the coast range in 1856 led to a large influx of settlers. The Oregon Treaty of 1846 had however left the United States boundary in doubt, and the subsequent uncertainty almost led to hostilities. This dispute was patched up in 1860 however. Previously in 1858 Vancouver Island and British Columbia were made separate provinces, but in 1866 they were again united to avert a threatened movement on the island for annexation to the United States. In 1870 after the confederation had been accomplished, negotiations for taking the control of the Northwest, including the Red river region, from the Hudson Bay Company were crowned with success. In return the company received £300,000 in cash, one-twentieth of all surveyed land and certain guarantees as to excessive taxation. In 1870 the new province of Manitoba was admitted to the Confederation, to be followed three years later by British Columbia.[a]

THE RED RIVER REBELLION

The transfer of the Hudson Bay Company territories to Canada was greatly mismanaged. Before the country had been handed over Canadian surveying and working parties had been sent into it to lay it out, and complete the "Dawson Road" from Lake of the Woods to Red river. These parties had expressed contempt for the natives, who had Indian blood in their veins, and who were not being considered in the matter of the transfer. The French Metis, or half-breeds, especially were in a disturbed state, and were led by a rash and vainglorious young man, named Louis Riel. He was the son of a fiery French Canadian miller, who lived on the small river, the Seine, which empties into Red river, below Fort Garry. Louis Riel, the younger, was a French half-breed, and had been partially educated for a priest in Montreal.

On the arrival on the boundary-line at Pembina of William McDougall,

who on account of his long agitation on behalf of the Northwest was named as its first governor, he found himself opposed by the Metis, who had risen in rebellion. Buried in the wilds of Minnesota, four hundred miles north of St. Paul, warned against entering the new district for which he had laboured, McDougall issued his proclamation as governor, ordering the rebels to lay down their arms. The proclamation was a *brutum fulmen*, for the Red river people soon heard of its being valueless, from the territory not having been transferred. The few Canadians in the country and the English-speaking natives were anxious to receive the *soi-disant* governor, but Riel, who had seized Fort Garry, and formed a provisional government, refused.

"M. le président Riel," as the upstart desired to be called, arrested a band of Canadians, and imprisoned them at Fort Garry, treating them in a contemptuous and inhuman manner. He even went so far as to execute a young Canadian named Scott, who had been somewhat unyielding and independent. The news of the shooting of Scott, on its arrival in Canada, roused a wild feeling, and the cry for vengeance was loudly heard. Thousands of volunteers offered their services, of whom some seven hundred were accepted as sufficient, and with them five hundred regulars made up the Red River Expeditionary Force, which was commanded by Colonel Wolseley.

After a long and toilsome journey up Lake Superior, and by the old fur-trader's route, after passing five hundred miles of rapid and portage, and lake and stream, the little army reached Fort Garry on August 24th, 1870, to find the rebel leader fled, and the rebellion at an end.

The Canadian government had sent by Bishop Taché, from Ottawa, the promise of an amnesty, but the murder of Scott having taken place before the delegate could reach the country to promulgate the pardon, the authorities maintained that circumstances had changed, and refused to recognise Riel as entitled to the amnesty. Accordingly the besotted leader was induced to leave the country, and passed five years of exile in the United States. His "adjutant-general," Lepine, was afterwards tried, found guilty, and for a time imprisoned.

The Red River Rebellion grew out of a series of blunders. The Canadian government should have taken steps to conciliate the people of Red river, before taking possession of the country. The Hudson Bay Company officials in Fort Garry were singularly inert, the pseudo-proclamation of Governor McDougall was a great mistake, and the crowning blunder of Riel, in advocating the case of his compatriots, was the murder of Scott. The military enthusiasm awakened, however, throughout Canada was notable, and numbers of the volunteers of the expedition remained in Manitoba to be among its truest citizens.

The enormous influx of settlers to the Northwest had led Canada to believe that the French half-breed population was powerless. Many of the Metis had, after the suppression of the Red River Rebellion, gone west to settle on the Saskatchewan. In the remote settlements, no doubt, due attention was not given to the difficulties and grievances of these scattered settlers by the Canadian government. The settlers on the Saskatchewan river, in the neighbourhood of Prince Albert and Batoche, were ill at ease. The Indian population, too, on account of the destruction of the buffalo and the encroachment of the whites, were in a dissatisfied state of mind.

The malcontents invited the aforetime exile, Riel, from Montana, whither he had gone, to return and lead their movement. Riel accepted the call of his countrymen, and posed as the liberator of his race, and even promulgated a new religion. Little danger was apprehended from the wild harangues of

[1885 A.D.]

the adventurer. Suddenly Canada was convulsed by the news, telegraphed from within a few miles of the scene, that an attack had been made on the mounted police and Prince Albert volunteers at Duck Lake, on the 26th of March, 1885, and that the troops had been defeated with loss of life.

The excitement through all Canada was intense. The insurgents were intrenched at a point two hundred miles from the Canadian Pacific Railway, and there were unmistakable signs of restlessness among all the Indian tribes, for messengers to them had been sent in all directions by Riel, who had formed another provisional government. The 90th battalion, from Winnipeg, and a volunteer field battery were despatched to the scene of action, and from different parts of Canada in a few days some five or six thousand of the volunteer militia were on their way to the scene of the rebellion.

The first skirmish took place at Fish Creek on the Saskatchewan, where the French half-breeds held a strong position among the ravines with their skilfully arranged rifle-pits. After loss of life they were compelled to retire. In another portion of the country farther up the Saskatchewan, the Queen's Own, of Toronto, attacked an intrenched camp of Cree Indians under Chief Poundmaker, and inflicted severe loss. The defeated half-breeds, with a number of Sioux Indians as allies, after the fight of Fish Creek, fell back to their stronghold at Batoche; but here, after several days' skirmishing, and further loss of life, the position was taken on the 12th of May, 1885, after which the rebel chief was captured a few miles from the field. Taken to Regina, tried by civil process, and found guilty, on the 16th of November, 1885, Louis Riel, on the scaffold, expiated the crime of leading two rebellions and the country was again at peace.[b]



SIR JOHN ALEXANDER MACDONALD
(1815–1891)

AFTER CONFEDERATION

The governor-generalship of Canada became on confederation one of the greatest official appointments in the gift of the crown. It is agreed that the statesmen who have filled the post have been uniformly successful in holding evenly the balance between political parties, and Canadians are satisfied with the method of appointing the official head of the state. Canada's political history is interesting, as showing the gradual development of a policy strictly Canadian, and yet not divergent from that of the empire. The liberal conservative party which gathered round Sir John A. Macdonald, the first premier, represented a practical school of statesmen. Drawn from the ranks of

both parties, they adopted a system of compromise in political matters, and made the early and speedy development of the country the main object of their policy. Opposed to them were the reform party, who took as their watchword financial retrenchment, and therefore opposed the government in its railway policy and other schemes of rapid development. On the overthrow of the Macdonald ministry in 1873, a reform government was formed under the Hon. Alex. Mackenzie. Committed by their parliamentary record to a policy of economy, the reformers soon aroused discontent by their neglect of the Canadian Pacific Railway project. As consistent believers in free trade too, they seemed powerless in the face of the financial difficulties that then beset Canada and threatened the ruin of her manufactures. This led to their defeat in 1878. The conservative party, on returning to power, adopted a highly protective tariff as a defence against American trade encroachment, and this has so far proved itself favourable to the commercial well-being of the country that it has been continued to the present day.[g] On the death of Sir John A. Macdonald in 1891, Sir John Abbott became premier, but resigned through ill-health in the following year, and was succeeded by Sir John Thompson, who died at Windsor Castle in 1894, while attending to be sworn in as a member of her majesty's privy council. Sir Mackenzie Bowell then became premier, and held the office until 1896, when he gave way to Sir Charles Tupper. In the elections of the same year, under the able leadership of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the reformers, who had been in opposition since 1878, won a signal victory, which they repeated in 1900 and again in 1904. The reform administration has been marked by various measures tending to unite Canada more closely with the empire — such as the adoption of imperial penny postage; the denunciation of the German and Belgian treaties, with the subsequent preferential treatment accorded to British goods; the carrying out of plans previously made for cable connection between Canada and Australia; and the contribution of men for the South African war. On the other hand, the abandonment by the British government of the Canadian claims in the Alaskan boundary dispute aroused a storm of indignation in the dominion; and Sir Wilfrid Laurier went so far as to suggest that Canada should be given the right to conduct her own diplomatic negotiations. A notable feature of Canadian history in recent years has been a great flood of immigration, in large measure from the United States, into the northwest. In 1905 Alberta and Saskatchewan were erected into provinces. At present the Grand Trunk company, with the assistance of the government, is constructing a new transcontinental railway, which will greatly facilitate the settlement of this region.[a]

The general election of 1906 resulted in a great victory for the liberals, but this success coincided with their defeat in Ontario, where they had been in power for thirty years. In the session of parliament beginning in November, 1906, a new tariff bill was passed providing for three different rates on imports: (1) on imports from Great Britain, (2) on imports from other countries that do not have reciprocity agreements with Canada, and (3) on imports from countries that have such agreements. The establishment of a permanent commission to deal with difficulties arising between railways and shippers, the appointment of an insurance commission, and the development of the federal department of labour are among the other important political events of the time. In September, 1907, serious riots broke out in Vancouver against the Chinese and Japanese. A demonstration was also made against the landing of 900 Hindus, who were reported to be of a superior class and well supplied with funds.[a]

NEWFOUNDLAND

The discovery of John Cabot in 1497 of the island of Newfoundland, which thereby became the most ancient of all Great Britain's colonial possessions, has already been mentioned. Likewise we have touched upon the early attempts at colonisation of Sir Humphrey Gilbert (1583) and others. By the year 1650, a century and a half after its discovery, the entire population of Newfoundland was under two thousand, distributed along the southern shore in fifteen small settlements. This scant population was swelled in the summer time by several thousand fishermen, who made the island a temporary dwelling place while they salted and dried their season's catch. Hence the foreign fish-traders and shipowners discouraged permanent settlement in order to maintain a monopoly of the fisheries and to retain the shore and coves for their exclusive use. To retard permanent settlement the British government was led to make stringent laws prohibiting settlement within six miles of the shore and forbidding fishermen to remain over winter or to build or repair a house without special licence. The rivalry of the French fishermen was another element which retarded the prosperity of the island. During the long period of the French and English wars the constant hostility of the French harassed the few English settlers and rendered life and property insecure. The Peace of Utrecht (1713) which gave to France the right of catching and drying fish on the western and northern shores, known henceforth as the French Shore did not terminate the quarrel by any means, for although the sovereignty was confirmed to England the practical effect was to exclude settlers from the most habitable part of the island. It was only after a prolonged contest of over two centuries that the Newfoundland settlers obtained the repeal of the last of the restrictive laws.

Meanwhile, despite these adverse conditions, the colony grew. In 1728, in the face of the objection of the "adventurers," the appointment of a governor was secured, Captain Henry Osborne being sent on in that year with a commission to organise a civil government for the island. This marked a new era in the history of the colony, and by 1763 its permanent population had increased to eight thousand. In 1765 Labrador was attached to the Newfoundland jurisdiction. During the Napoleonic wars the French were swept from the seas, and the colonial merchants and fishermen reaped the whole advantage of the fisheries. The value of fish trebled, wages rose, and in 1814 no less than seven thousand immigrants settled in the colony, the population of which had by that time increased to over eighty thousand. In 1832 a new constitution embodying the principle of representative government was adopted, and in 1855 the system of responsible ministries was inaugurated.

In 1884 Newfoundland gained a new importance in international politics from the revival of the ancient dispute in regard to the French Shore. In 1884 and again in 1885 conventions arranged between the British and French governments were rejected by the Newfoundland legislature, which in 1886 went further and passed an act cutting off the supply of fish bait to French fishermen. This measure was rather tardily approved by Lord Salisbury, a year and a half later, and at once the French foreign secretary, M. de Freycinet, retaliated by ordering the seizure and confiscation of the implements and stock of all foreign fishermen found upon the French Shore. The order was subsequently made to apply to the Newfoundland lobster factories, although the treaty originally dealt only with the question of the cod fisheries. In 1890 a *modus vivendi* was agreed upon by which existing lobster factories, both French and British, were to be left undisturbed until a final settlement

could be arranged. The Newfoundland legislature was finally prevailed upon, by the promise that the imperial government would attempt to negotiate a new treaty, to incorporate the stipulations of the *modus vivendi* in an act which was passed annually thereafter up to 1904, each passage being accompanied with a protest. At length by the terms of an agreement signed April 7th, 1904, by M. Delcassé on the part of France and Lord Lansdowne on the part of England, France gave up her pretensions to exclusive fishing rights on the French shore in return for an indemnity to be settled by arbitration, and a recognition of her rights in Morocco.

A question of supreme importance in Newfoundland's domestic politics has been the so-called Reid Contract. A Montreal contractor of the name of R. G. Reid secured, in 1893, despite bitter opposition, a contract for the construction of a trans-insular railroad. The contract provided that the contractor should operate the road, and a telegraph system which he agreed to build, for a period of ten years, in return for a grant in fee-simple of 5,000 acres of land for each mile of road constructed amounting, if the railroad was fifty miles in length, to 2,500,000 acres. The railroad, completed in 1897, had a mileage of over six hundred miles. In 1898 Mr. Reid made a new contract with the Winter ministry by which in consideration of a further grant of 2,500,000 acres he undertook to pay into the colonial treasury the sum of $1,000,000 and to operate both the railway and telegraph systems free of charge for fifty years, with the provision that at the end of that period both should become his property. In the face of the declarations of the opponents of the measure that it practically meant the sale of the colony to Mr. Reid, the ministry secured the assent of the legislature and the approval of the imperial government. The action of the British government led to the resignation of the governor, Sir Herbert Murray, who disapproved of the measure, and eventually (1900) to the overthrow of the ministry of Sir James Winter and the formation of a liberal ministry by Sir Robert Bond who had led the opposition to the "contract." The proposal of Mr. Reid to convert his property into a limited liability company led the way to a readjustment of the terms of the new contract of 1898. The new agreement provided for the immediate transfer of the telegraph system to the company, for a more equitable arrangement of the land grants, and gave the colony the option of taking back the railroad system after fifty years by the paying back to the contractor of the sum of $1,000,000 and interest, and a further sum for betterments.

Legislation directed at American fishermen caused considerable friction during 1905 and 1906. In October of the latter year a *modus vivendi* arranged for one year between the United States and Great Britain on the subject aroused much dissatisfaction in the island. In August, 1907, the *modus vivendi* was renewed in a modified form and an agreement was reached to submit the questions at issue to the arbitration of The Hague.[a]



APPENDIX

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO BRITISH HISTORY

I

THE BULL OF POPE ADRIAN IV EMPOWERING HENRY II TO CONQUER IRELAND (1155 A.D.)

Bishop Adrian, servant of the servants of God, sends to his dearest son in Christ, the illustrious king of the English, greeting and apostolic benediction. Laudably and profitably enough thy magnificence thinks of extending thy glorious name on earth, and of heaping up rewards of eternal felicity in Heaven, inasmuch as, like a good catholic prince, thou dost endeavour to enlarge the bounds of the church, to declare the truth of the Christian faith to ignorant and barbarous nations, and to extirpate the plants of evil from the field of the Lord. And, in order the better to perform this, thou dost ask the advice and favour of the apostolic see. In which work, the more lofty the counsel and the better the guidance by which thou dost proceed, so much more do we trust that, by God's help, thou wilt progress favourably in the same; for that reason that those things which have taken their rise from ardour of faith and love of religion are accustomed always to come to a good end and termination.

There is indeed no doubt, as thy Highness doth also acknowledge, that Ireland and all other islands, which Christ the Sun of Righteousness has illumined, and which have received the doctrines of the Christian faith, belong to the jurisdiction of St. Peter and of the holy Roman Church. Wherefore, so much the more willingly do we grant to them that the right faith and the seed grateful to God may be planted in them, the more we perceive, by examining more strictly our conscience, that this will be required of us.

Thou hast signified to us, indeed, most beloved son in Christ, that thou dost desire to enter into the island of Ireland, in order to subject the people to the laws and to extirpate the vices that have there taken root, and that thou art willing to pay an annual pension to St. Peter of one penny from every house, and to preserve the rights of the churches in that land inviolate and entire. We, therefore, seconding with the favour it deserves thy pious and laudable desire, and granting a benignant assent to thy petition, are well pleased that, for the enlargement of the bounds of the church, for the restraint of vice, for the correction of morals and the introduction of virtues, for the advancement of the Christian religion, thou should'st enter that island, and carry out there the things that look to the honour of God and to its own salvation. And may the people of that land receive thee with honour, and venerate thee as their master; provided always that the rights of the churches remain inviolate and entire, and saving to St. Peter and the holy Roman Church the annual pension of one penny from each house. If, therefore, thou dost see fit to complete what thou hast conceived in thy mind, strive to imbue that people with good morals, and bring it to pass, as well through thyself as through those whom thou dost know from their faith, doctrine, and course of life to be fit for such a work, that the church may there be adorned, the Christian religion planted and made to grow, and the things which pertain to the honour of God and to salvation be so ordered that thou may'st merit to obtain an abundant and lasting reward from God, and on earth a name glorious throughout the ages.

II

JOHN'S CONCESSION OF ENGLAND TO THE POPE (1213 A.D.)

John, by God's grace, king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, count of Anjou, to all Christ's faithful that shall see the present charter, greeting. To all of you, through this our charter, furnished with our seal, we wish it to be known that inasmuch as we had offended God and our mother Holy Church in many ways and hence are known greatly to need God's mercy, and can not offer anything worthy to make due satisfaction to God and to the church unless we humble ourselves and our kingdoms: — wishing to humble ourselves for Him who humbled Himself for us unto death, and inspired by the grace of the Holy Spirit, not induced by force or driven by fear, but of our own good free will and by the common advices of our barons, we do offer and freely yield to God and His holy apostles Peter and Paul and the holy Roman church our mother, and to our lord pope Innocent and to his catholic successors, the entire realm of England and the entire realm of Ireland, with all their rights and appurtenances, for the forgiveness of our own sins and of those of all our race, both living and dead; and now receiving and holding them, as a vassal from God and the Roman church, in the presence of the wise Pandulph, subdeacon and of the household of the lord pope, fealty for them to him our aforesaid lord pope Innocent, and his catholic successors and the Roman church we do perform and swear according to the form appended. and in the presence of the lord pope, if we be able to come before him, we shall do liege homage to him binding our successors and our heirs by our wife forever, in like manner to perform fealty and show homage to him who shall be chief pontiff at the time, and to the Roman church without demur. As a sign, moreover, of this our perpetual obligation and concession

we will and establish that from the proper and especial revenues of our aforesaid realms, for all the service and customs which we ought to render for them, saving in all things the penny of St. Peter, the Roman church shall receive yearly a thousand marks sterling, namely at the feast of St. Michael five hundred marks, and at Easter five hundred marks — seven hundred, namely for the kingdom of England, and three hundred for the kingdom of Ireland — saving to us and to our heirs our rights, liberties and regalia; all of which things, as they have been described above, we declare to be forever holding and firm, and we bind ourselves and our successors not to act counter to them. And if we or any one of our successors make bold to attempt this, — whoever he be, unless after due admonition he repent, he shall lose his right to the kingdom, and this charter of our obligation and concession shall always remain firm.

Form of the Oath of Fealty

I, John, by God's grace, king of England and lord of Ireland, from this hour forth will be faithful to God and St. Peter and the Roman church and my lord pope Innocent and his successors who are ordained in a catholic manner: I shall not allow, by act, deed, word, consent or counsel, that they lose life or members or be taken captive. I will stop harm unto them, if I know of it, and will cause harm to be removed from them if I can: otherwise with all speed I will inform them or tell of it to such person as I believe will for certain inform them. Any counsel which they entrust to me through themselves or through their envoys or through their letters, I will keep secret, nor will I wittingly disclose it to any for their harm. The patrimony of St. Peter, and especially the kingdom of England and the kingdom of Ireland, I will aid to the best of my ability in holding and defending against all men. So God and these holy Gospels help me.

III

THE STATUTE DE RELIGIOSIS (STATUTE OF MORTMAIN) (1279 A.D.)

[The Statute de Religiosis, or as it is more commonly called, the Statute of Mortmain, was enacted by Edward I to forbid the acquisition of land by religious orders or by the church, in such wise that the land should come into mortmain. "The king and other lords," says Stubbs, "were daily losing the services due to them, by the granting of estates to persons or institutions incapable of fulfilling the legal obligations. In future all lands so bestowed were to be forfeited to the immediate lord of the fee; the crown standing in the position of ultimate sequestrator."]

The king to his Justices of the Bench, greeting. Inasmuch as of late it has been provided that members of orders should not enter into the fees of any without the will and licence of the lords in chief of whom these fees are held immediately; and members of orders, nevertheless, have hereafter entered as well into their own fees as into those of others, appropriating them to themselves, and buying them, and sometimes receiving them from the gift of others, whereby the services which are due of such fees, and which from the beginning were provided for the defence of the realm, are unduly withdrawn, and the lords in chief do lose their escheats thence; we, for the profit of our realm, wishing to provide a fit remedy, by advice of our prelates, counts and other subjects of our realm who are of our council, have provided, established and ordained, that no person, member of an order or no, or whatsoever else he be,

shall make bold to buy or sell any lands or holdings, or under colour of gift, or of any other term or title whatever, receive them from any one, or in any other way, by craft or by wile appropriate them to himself, whereby such lands and holdings may come into mortmain; under pain of forfeiture of the same. We have provided also that if any person, member of an order, or no, make bold either by craft or wile to go counter to this statute, it shall be lawful for us and for other immediate lords in chief of the fee so alienated, to enter it within a year from the time of such alienation and to hold it in fee as an inheritance. And if the immediate lord in chief shall be negligent and be not willing to enter into such fee within the year, then it shall be lawful for the next mediate lord in chief, within the half year following, to enter that fee and to hold it, as has been said; and thus each mediate lord may do if the next lord be negligent in entering such fee, as has been said before. And if all such chief lords of such fee, who shall be of full age and within the four seas and out of prison, shall be for one year negligent or remiss in this matter, we, straightway after the end of the year after the time when such purchases, gifts, or appropriations of another kind happen to be made, shall take such lands and holdings into our hand, and shall enfief others therein by certain services to us to be rendered thence for the defence of our realms; saving to the lords in chief of the same fees their wards, escheats and other things which pertain to them, and the services therefrom due and accustomed. And therefore we command you to cause the aforesaid statute to be read before you, and from henceforth to be firmly kept and observed. Witness the King at Westminster, the 15th day of November, the 7th year of our reign.

IV

THE STATUTE QUIA EMPTORES (1290 A.D.)

[The Statute Quia Emptores, known also as the Statute of Westminster III, was to feudalism what the Statute of Mortmain was to the church. Its abolition and prohibition of subinfeudation was one of the strongest restraints put upon the feudal system in England, and checked the natural tendency of development along the lines followed on the Continent. The difference between the feudal systems in England and in continental countries being one of the vital points in English mediæval history, the importance of the enactment is evident.]

Inasmuch as buyers of lands and holdings of the fees of magnates and others to the injury of the same, often in former times have entered upon their fees, and to them (the purchasers) the free tenants of these same magnates and others have sold their lands and holdings to be held in fee for themselves and their heirs from the subinfeudators and not from the lords in chief of the fees, whereby the same lords in chief have often lost the escheats, marriages, and wardships of lands and holdings belonging to their fees, which thing indeed to the same magnates and other lords seemed very hard and extreme, and likewise, in this case, manifest disinheritance; the lord king in his parliament at Westminster after Easter in the 18th year of his reign, *viz.*, in the Quinzime of St. John the Baptist, at the instance of the magnates, of his realm did grant, provide, and decree that henceforth it shall be lawful for any and every free man to sell at will his lands or holdings or a part of them; in such manner, however, that the infeudated person shall hold that land or holdings from the same lord and chief and by the same services and customs by which his infeudator previously held them. And if he shall have sold to any one any part of the same lands or holdings, the infeudated person shall hold

it directly of the lord in chief, and shall straightway be charged with as much service as pertains or ought to pertain to that lord for that parcel, according to the amount of the land or holding sold; and so in this case there shall fall away from the lord in chief that part of the service which is to be performed by the hand of the infeudator, from the time when the infeudated person ought to be attendant and answerable to that same lord in chief, according to the quantity of the land or holding sold, for that parcel of service thus due. And it must be known that by the said sales or purchases of lands or holdings or any part of them, those lands or holdings in part or in whole, can not come into mortmain, by art or by wile, contrary to the statute recently issued thereupon, etc. [the statute of 1279]. And it is to be known that that statute concerning lands sold holds good only for those holding in fee simple, etc.; and that it extends to future time; and it shall begin to take effect at the feast of St. Andrew next coming.

V

STATUTE OF LABOURERS (1349 A.D.)

[The first Statute of Labourers, passed in the twenty-third year of Edward III was an attempt to regulate labour, the price of which had become unusually high as a result of the dearth of labourers following the Black Death. A second statute, passed two years later, minutely regulated the scale of wages.]

Edward, by the grace of God, etc., to the reverend father in Christ, William, by the same grace, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, greeting. Because a great part of the people, and especially of the workmen and servants, has now died in that pestilence, some, seeing the straights of the masters and the scarcity of servants, are not willing to serve unless they receive excessive wages, and others, rather than through labour to gain their living, prefer to beg in idleness. We, considering the grave inconveniences which might come from the lack, especially of ploughmen and such labourers, have held deliberation and treaty concerning this with the prelates and nobles and other learned men sitting by us; by whose consentient counsel we have seen fit to ordain: that every man and woman of our kingdom of England, of whatever condition, whether bond or free, who is able bodied and below the age of sixty years, not living from trade nor carrying on a fixed craft, nor having of his own the means of living, or land of his own with regard to the cultivation of which he might occupy himself, and not serving another — if he, considering his station, be sought after to serve in a suitable service, he shall be bound to serve him who has seen fit so to seek after him; and he shall take only the wages, liveries, meed, or salary which, in the places where he sought to serve, were accustomed to be paid in the twentieth year of our reign of England, or the five or six common years next preceding. Provided, that in thus retaining their service, the lords are preferred before others of their bondsmen or their land tenants: so, nevertheless that such lords thus retain as many as shall be necessary and not more; and if any man or woman, being thus sought after in service, will not do this, the fact being proven by two faithful men before the sheriffs or the bailiffs of our lord the king, or the constables of the town where this happens to be done — straightway through them, or some one of them, he shall be taken and sent to the next jail, and there he shall remain in strict custody until he shall find surety for serving in the aforesaid form.

And if a reaper or mower, or other workman, or servant, of whatever

standing or condition he be, who is retained in the service of any one, do depart from the said service before the end of the term agreed, without permission or reasonable cause, he shall undergo the penalty of imprisonment, and let no one, under the same penalty, presume to receive or retain such a one in his service. Let no one, moreover, pay or permit to be paid to any one more wages, livery, meed or salary than was customary as has been said; nor let any one in any other manner, exact or receive them, under penalty of paying to him who feels himself aggrieved from this, double the sum that has thus been paid or promised, exacted, or received; and if such person be not willing to prosecute, then it (the sum) is to be given to any one of the people who shall prosecute in this matter; and such prosecution shall take place in the court of the lord of the place where such case shall happen. And if the lords of the towns or manors presume of themselves, or through their servants, in any way to act contrary to this, our present ordinance, then in the counties, wapentakes and tithings suit shall be brought against them in the aforesaid form for the triple penalty (of the sum) thus promised or paid by them or their servants; and if perchance, prior to the present ordinance, any one shall have covenanted with any one thus to serve for more wages, he shall not be bound by reason of the said covenant, to pay more than at another time was wont to be paid to such person; nay, under the aforesaid penalty he shall not presume to pay more.

Likewise saddlers, skinners, white-tawers, cordwainers, tailors, smiths, carpenters, masons, tilers, shipwrights, carters, and all other artisans and labourers shall not take for their labour and handiwork more than what, in the places where they happen to labour, was customarily paid to such persons in the said twentieth year and in the other common years preceding, as has been said; and if any man take more, he shall be committed to the nearest jail in the manner aforesaid.

Likewise let butchers, fishmongers, hostlers, brewers, bakers, pulters, and all other vendors of any victuals, be bound to sell such victuals for a reasonable price, having regard for the price at which such victuals are sold in the adjoining places: so that such vendors may have moderate gains, not excessive, according as the distance of the places from which such victuals are carried may seem reasonably to require; and if any one sell such victuals in another manner, and be convicted of it in the aforesaid way, he shall pay the double of that which he received to the party injured, or in default of him, to another who shall be willing to prosecute in this behalf; and the mayor and bailiffs of the cities and burroughs, merchant towns, and others, and of the maritime ports and places shall have power to inquire concerning each and every one who shall in any way err against this, and to levy the aforesaid penalty for the benefit of those at whose suit such delinquents shall have been convicted; and in case that the same mayor and bailiffs shall neglect to carry out the aforesaid, and shall be convicted of this before justices to be assigned by us, then the same mayor and bailiffs shall be compelled through the same justices, to pay to such wronged person or to another prosecuting in his place, the treble of the thing thus sold, and nevertheless, on our part too, they shall be grievously punished.

And because many sound beggars do refuse to labour so long as they can live from begging alms, giving themselves up to idleness and sins, and, at times, to robbery and other crimes — let no one, under the aforesaid pain of imprisonment presume, under colour of piety or alms, to give anything to such as can very well labour, or to cherish them in their sloth — so that thus they may be compelled to labour for the necessaries of life.

VI

PETITION OF RIGHT (1628 A.D.)

[The Petition of Right is memorable, as Gardiner points out, as the first statutory restriction of the powers of the crown since the accession of the Tudors. It received the name of petition because the commons stated their grievances in the form of a petition, refusing to grant supplies until Charles gave his assent to the measure. The king at first eluded the petition, but, finally, moved by the threat of the commons to proceed with charges against his favourite, Buckingham, affixed his signature to the enactment.]

THE PETITION EXHIBITED TO HIS MAJESTY BY THE LORDS SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL AND COMMONS, IN THIS PRESENT PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED, CONCERNING DIVERS RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES OF THE SUBJECTS, WITH THE KING'S MAJESTY'S ROYAL ANSWER THEREUNTO IN FULL PARLIAMENT.

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty

Humbly shew unto our Sovereign Lord the King, the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons in Parliament assembled, that whereas it is declared and enacted by a statute made in the time of the reign of King Edward I, commonly called *Statutum de tallagio non concedendo*, that no tallage or aid shall be laid or levied by the King or his heirs in this realm, without the good will, and assent of the archbishops, bishops, earls, barons, knights, burgesses, and other the freemen of the commonalty of this realm; and by authority of Parliament holden in the five-and-twentieth year of the reign of King Edward III, it is declared and enacted, that from thenceforth no person should be compelled to make any loans to the King against his will, because such loans were against reason and the franchise of the land; and by other laws of this realm it is provided, that none should be charged by any charge or imposition called a benevolence, nor by such like charge; by which statutes before mentioned and other the good laws and statutes of this realm, your subjects have inherited this freedom, that they should not be compelled to contribute to any tax, tallage, aid, or other like charge not set by common consent, in Parliament.

II. Yet nevertheless, of late divers commissions directed to sundry commissioners in several counties, with instructions, have issued; by means whereof your people have been in divers places assembled, and required to lend certain sums of money unto your Majesty, and many of them, upon their refusal so to do, have had an oath administered unto them not warrantable by the laws or statutes of this realm, and have been constrained to become bound to make appearance and give utterance before your Privy Council and in other places, and others of them have been therefore imprisoned, confined, and sundry other ways molested and disquieted; and divers other charges have been laid and levied upon your people in several counties by lord lieutenants, deputy lieutenants, commissioners for musters, justices of peace and others, by command or direction of your Majesty, or your Privy Council, against the laws and free customs of the realm.

III. And whereas also by the statute called "The Great Charter of the Liberties of England," it is declared and enacted, That no freeman may be taken or imprisoned, or be disseised of his freehold or liberties, or his free customs, or be outlawed or exiled, or in any manner destroyed, but by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land.

IV. And in the eight-and-twentieth year of the reign of King Edward III. it was declared and enacted by authority of Parliament, that no man, of what estate or condition that he be, should be put out of his land or tenements, nor taken, nor imprisoned, nor disherited, nor put to death without being brought to answer by due process of law.

V. Nevertheless, against the tenor of the said statutes, and other the good laws and statutes of your realm to that end provided, divers of your subjects have of late been imprisoned without any cause shewed; and when for their deliverance they were brought before justices by your Majesty's writs of *habeas corpus*, there to undergo and receive as the court should order, and their keepers commanded to certify the causes of their detainer, no cause was certified, but that they were detained by your Majesty's special command, signified by the lords of your Privy Council, and yet were returned back to several prisons, without being charged with anything to which they might make answer according to the law.

VI. And whereas of late great companies of soldiers and mariners have been dispersed into divers counties of the realm, and the inhabitants against their wills have been compelled to receive them into their houses, and there to suffer them to sojourn, against the laws and customs of this realm, and to the great grievance and vexation of the people.

VII. And whereas also by authority of Parliament, in the five-and-twentieth year of the reign of King Edward III, it is declared and enacted, that no man should be forejudged of life or limb against the form of the Great Charter and the law of the land; and by the said Great Charter and other the laws and statutes of this your realm, no man ought to be adjudged to death but by the laws established in this your realm, either by the customs of the same realm, or by Acts of Parliament: and whereas no offender of what kind soever is exempted from the proceedings to be used, and punishments to be inflicted by the laws and statutes of this your realm; nevertheless of late time divers commissions under your Majesty's great seal have issued forth, by which certain persons have been assigned and appointed commissioners with power and authority to proceed within the land, according to the justice of martial law, against such soldiers or mariners, or other dissolute persons joining with them, as should commit any murder, robbery, felony, mutiny, or other outrage or misdemeanour whatsoever, and by such summary course and order as is agreeable to martial law, and as is used in armies in time of war, to proceed to the trial and condemnation of such offenders, and them to cause to be executed and put to death according to the law martial.

VIII. By pretext whereof some of your Majesty's subjects have been by some of the said commissioners put to death, when and where, if by the laws and statutes of the land they had deserved death, by the same laws and statutes also they might, and by no other ought to have been judged and executed.

IX. And also sundry grievous offenders, by colour thereof claiming an exemption, have escaped the punishments due to them by the laws and statutes of this your realm, by reason that divers of your officers and ministers of justice have unjustly refused or forborne to proceed against such offenders according to the same laws and statutes, upon pretence that the said offenders were punishable only by martial law, and by authority of such commissions as aforesaid; which commissions, and all other of like nature, are wholly and directly contrary to the said laws and statutes of this your realm.

X. They do therefore humbly pray your most excellent Majesty, that no man hereafter be compelled to make or yield any gift, loan, benevolence, tax,

or such like charge, without common consent by Act of Parliament; and that none be called to make answer, or to take such oath, or to give attendance, or be confined, or otherwise molested or disquieted concerning the same or for refusal thereof; and that no freeman, in any such manner as is before mentioned, be imprisoned or detained; and that your Majesty would be pleased to remove the said soldiers and mariners, and that your people may not be so burthened in time to come; and that the aforesaid commissions, for proceeding by martial law, may be revoked and annulled; and that hereafter no commissions of like nature may issue forth to any person or persons whatsoever to be executed as aforesaid, lest by colour of them any of your Majesty's subjects be destroyed or put to death contrary to the laws and franchise of the land.

XI. All which they most humbly pray of your most excellent Majesty as their rights and liberties, according to the laws and statutes of this realm; and that your Majesty would also vouchsafe to declare that the awards, doings, and proceedings, to the prejudice of your people in any of the premises, shall not be drawn hereafter into consequence or example; and that your Majesty would be also graciously pleased, for the further comfort and safety of your people, to declare your royal will and pleasure, that in the things aforesaid all your officers and ministers shall serve you according to the laws and statutes of this realm, as they tender the honour of your Majesty, and the prosperity of this kingdom.

Quâ quidem petitione lectâ et plenius intellectâ per dictum dominum regem taliter est responsum in pleno parliamento, viz. Soit droit fait comme est desiré.

VII

THE SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT (1643 A.D.)

[The Solemn League and Covenant was the second of the public national covenants entered into in Great Britain, the first being the Scottish National Covenant, drawn up by order of James VI in 1580, and several times renewed, lastly in 1638. The Solemn League and Covenant was arranged by English and Scotch commissioners, and was practically an international treaty between England and Scotland for the purpose of securing the uniform establishment of the civil and religious liberties of the two kingdoms.]

A SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT FOR REFORMATION AND DEFENCE OF RELIGION, THE HONOUR AND HAPPINESS OF THE KING, AND THE PEACE AND SAFETY OF THE THREE KINGDOMS OF ENGLAND, SCOTLAND AND IRELAND

We, noblemen, barons, knights, gentlemen, citizens, burgesses, ministers of the Gospel, and commons of all sorts in the kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, by the providence of God living under one king, and being of one reformed religion; having before our eyes the glory of God, and the advancement of the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the honour and happiness of the king's majesty and his posterity, and the true public liberty, safety, and peace of the kingdoms, wherein every one's private condition is included; and calling to mind the treacherous and bloody plots, conspiracies, attempts, and practices of the enemies of God against the true religion and professors thereof in all places, especially in these three kingdoms, ever since the reformation of religion; and how much their rage, power, and presumption are of late, and at this time increased and exercised, whereof the deplorable estate of the church and kingdom of Ireland, the distressed estate of the church and kingdom of England, and the dangerous estate of the church and

kingdom of Scotland, are present and public testimonies: we have (now at least) after other means of supplication, remonstrance, protestations, and sufferings, for the preservation of ourselves and our religion from utter ruin and destruction according to the commendable practice of these kingdoms in former times, and the example of God's people in other nations, after mature deliberation, resolved and determined to enter into a mutual and solemn league and covenant, wherein we all subscribe, and each one of us for himself, with our hands lifted up to the most high God, do swear:

I

That we shall sincerely, really, and constantly, through the grace of God, endeavour in our several places and callings, the preservation of the reformed religion in the church of Scotland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, against our common enemies; the reformation of religion in the kingdoms of England and Ireland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, *according to the Word of God, and the example of the best reformed churches;* and we shall endeavour to bring the churches of God in the three kingdoms to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, confession of faith, form of church government, directory for worship and catechising, that we, and our posterity after us, may as brethren, live in faith and love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us.

II

That we shall in like manner, without respect of persons, endeavour the extirpation of popery, prelacy, (that is, church government by archbishops, bishops, their chancellors and commissaries, deans, deans and chapters, archdeacons, and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on that hierarchy), superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness lest we partake in other men's sins, and thereby be in danger to receive of their plagues; and that the Lord may be one, and His name one in the three kingdoms.

III

We shall, with the same sincerity, reality, and constancy, in our several vocations, endeavour with our estates and lives mutually to preserve the rights and privileges of the parliaments, and the liberties of the kingdoms, and to preserve and defend the king's majesty's person and authority, in the preservation and defence of the true religion and liberties of the kingdoms, that the world may bear witness with our consciences of our loyalty, and that we have no thoughts or intentions to diminish his majesty's just power and greatness.

IV

We shall also, with all faithfulness endeavour the discovery of all such as have been or shall be *incendiaries, malignants,* or evil *instruments,* by hindering the reformation of religion, dividing the king from his people, or one of the kingdoms from another, or making any faction or parties amongst the people, contrary to the league and covenant, that they may be brought to public trial and receive condign punishment, as the degree of their offences shall

require or deserve, or the supreme judicatories of both kingdoms respectively, or others having power from them for that effect, shall judge convenient.

V

And whereas the happiness of a blessed peace between these kingdoms, denied in former times to our progenitors, is by the good providence of God granted to us, and hath been lately concluded and settled by both parliaments: we shall each one of us, according to our places and interest, endeavour that they may remain conjoined in a firm peace and union to all posterity, and that justice may be done upon the wilful opposers thereof, in manner expressed in the precedent articles.

VI

We shall also, according to our places and callings, in this common cause of religion, liberty, and peace of the kingdom, assist and defend all those that enter into this league and covenant, in the maintaining and pursuing thereof; and shall not suffer ourselves, directly or indirectly, by whatsoever combination, persuasion or terror, to be divided and withdrawn from this blessed union and conjunction, whether to make defection to the contrary part, or give ourselves to a detestable indifferency or neutrality in this cause, which so much concerneth the glory of God, the good of the kingdoms, and the honour of the king; but shall all the days of our lives zealously and constantly continue therein, against all opposition, and promote the same according to our power, against all lets and impediments whatsoever; and what we are not able ourselves to suppress or overcome we shall reveal and make known, that it may be timely prevented or removed: all which we shall do as in the sight of God.

And because these kingdoms are guilty of many sins and provocations against God, and His Son Jesus Christ, as is too manifest by our present distresses and dangers, the fruits thereof; we profess and declare, before God and the world, our unfeigned desire to be humbled for our own sins, and for the sins of these kingdoms; especially that we have not as we ought valued the inestimable benefit of the Gospel; that we have not laboured for the purity and power thereof; and that we have not endeavoured to receive Christ in our hearts, nor to walk worthy of Him in our lives, which are the causes of other sins and trangressions so much abounding amongst us, and our true and unfeigned purpose, desire, and endeavour, for ourselves and all others under our power and charge, both in public and in private, in all duties we owe to God and man, to amend our lives, and each one to go before another in the example of a real reformation, that the Lord may turn away His wrath and heavy indignation, and establish these churches and kingdoms in truth and peace. And this covenant we make in the presence of Almighty God, the Searcher of all hearts, with a true intention to perform the same, as we shall answer at that Great Day when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed: most humbly beseeching the Lord to strengthen us by His Holy Spirit for this end, and to bless our desires and proceedings with such success as may be a deliverance and safety to His people, and encouragement to the Christian churches groaning under or in danger of the yoke of anti-Christian tyranny, to join in the same or like association and covenant, to the glory of God, the enlargement of the kingdom of Jesus Christ, and the peace and tranquillity of Christian kingdoms and commonwealths.

VIII

THE DECLARATION OF BREDA (1660 A.D.)

[The conciliatory proclamation of Charles II, known as the Declaration of Breda, from the town in the Netherlands where the fugitive king had set up his court, was published after Monk had declared for a free parliament and begun his advance from Scotland into England. It was intended and accepted as a proof of Charles' willingness to take the crown from the hands of the united Cavaliers and Presbyterians, and of his design to bury old animosities and in general to forgive those who had been keeping him from his inheritance.]

Charles R., by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all our loving subjects, of what degree or quality soever, greeting.

If the general distraction and confusion which is spread over the whole kingdom, doth not awaken all men to a desire and longing that those wounds which have so many years together been kept bleeding, may be bound up, all we can say will be to no purpose; however, after this long silence, we have thought it our duty to declare how much we desire to contribute thereunto; and that as we can never give over the hope, in good time, to obtain the possession of that right which God and nature hath made our due, so we do make it our daily suit to the Divine Providence, that He will, in compassion to us and our subjects, after so long misery and sufferings, remit and put us into a quiet and peaceable possession of that our right, with as little blood and damage to our people as possible; nor do we desire more to enjoy what is ours, than that all our subjects may enjoy what by law is theirs, by a full and entire administration of justice throughout the land, and by extending our mercy where it is wanted and deserved.

And to the end that the fear of punishment may not engage any, conscious to themselves of what is past, to a perseverance in guilt for the future, by opposing the quiet and happiness of the country, in the restoration of King, Peers and the people to their just, ancient and fundamental rights, we do, by these presents, declare, that we do grant a free and general pardon, which we are ready, upon demand, to pass under our Great Seal of England, to all our subjects, of what degree or quality soever, who, within forty days after the publishing hereof, shall lay hold upon this our grace and favour, and shall, by any public act, declare their doing so, and that they return to the loyalty and obedience of good subjects; excepting only such persons as shall hereafter be excepted by Parliament, those only to be excepted. Let all our subjects, how faulty soever, rely upon the word of a King, solemnly given by this present declaration, that no crime whatsoever, committed against us or our royal father before the publication of this, shall ever rise in judgment, or be brought in question, against any of them, to the least endamagement of them, either in their lives, liberties or estates, or (as far forth as lies in our power) so much as to the prejudice of their reputations, by any reproach or term of distinction from the rest of our best subjects; we desiring and ordaining that henceforth all notes of discord, separation and difference of parties be utterly abolished among all our subjects, whom we invite and conjure to a perfect union among themselves, under our protection, for the re-settlement of our just rights and theirs in a free Parliament, by which, upon the word of a King, we will be advised.

And because the passion and uncharitableness of the times have produced several opinions in religion, by which men are engaged in parties and animos-

ities against each other (which, when they shall hereafter unite in a freedom of conversation, will be composed or better understood), we do declare a liberty to tender consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matter of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom; and that we shall be ready to consent to such an Act of Parliament, as, upon mature deliberation, shall be offered to us, for the full granting of that indulgence.

And because, in the continued distractions of so many years, and so many and great revolutions, many grants and purchases of estates have been made to and by many officers, soldiers, and others, who are now possessed of the same, and who may be liable to actions at law upon several titles, we are likewise willing that all such differences, and all things relating to such grants, sales and purchases, shall be determined in Parliament, which can best provide for the just satisfaction of all men who are concerned.

And we do further declare, that we will be ready to consent to any Act or Acts of Parliament to the purposes aforesaid, and for the full satisfaction of all arrears due to the officers and soldiers of the army under the command of General Monk; and that they shall be received into our service upon as good pay and conditions as they now enjoy.

Given under our Sign Manual and Privy Signet, at our Court at Breda, this 4th day of April, 1660, in the twelfth year of our reign.

IX

THE BILL OF RIGHTS (1689 A.D.)

[The great statute known as the Bill of Rights was one of the first acts of the first parliament of William and Mary, which met on February 13th, 1689. It was, as Sir Edward Creasy points out, the third and last great bulwark of English liberty—the two earlier being the Magna Charta (1215) and the Petition of Right (1628).]

AN ACT FOR DECLARING THE RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES OF THE SUBJECT, AND SETTLING THE SUCCESSION OF THE CROWN

Whereas the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, assembled at Westminster, lawfully, fully, and freely representing all the estates of the people of this realm, did, upon the thirteenth day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred eighty-eight, present unto their Majesties, then called and known by the names and style of William and Mary, Prince and Princess of Orange, being present in their proper persons, a certain declaration in writing, made by the said Lords and Commons, in the words following; viz.—

Whereas the late King James II, by the assistance of divers evil counsellors, judges, and ministers employed by him, did endeavour to subvert and extirpate the Protestant religion, and the laws and liberties of this kingdom: —

1. By assuming and exercising a power of dispensing with and suspending of laws, and the execution of laws, without consent of Parliament.

2. By committing and prosecuting divers worthy prelates, for humbly petitioning to be excused from concurring to the said assumed power.

3. By issuing and causing to be executed a commission under the Great Seal, for erecting a court, called the Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes.

4. By levying money for and to the use of the Crown, by pretence of

prerogative, for other time, and in other manner than the same was granted by Parliament.

5. By raising and keeping a standing army within this kingdom in time of peace, without consent of Parliament, and quartering soldiers contrary to law.

6. By causing several good subjects, being Protestants, to be disarmed, at the same time when Papists were both armed and employed, contrary to law.

7. By violating the freedom of election of members to serve in Parliament.

8. By prosecutions in the Court of King's Bench, for matters and causes cognisable only in Parliament; and by divers other arbitrary and illegal courses.

9. And whereas of late years, partial, corrupt, and unqualified persons have been returned and served on juries in trials, and particularly divers jurors in trials for high treason, which were not freeholders.

10. And excessive bail hath been required of persons committed in criminal cases, to elude the benefit of the laws made for the liberty of the subjects.

11. And excessive fines have been imposed; and illegal and cruel punishments inflicted.

12. And several grants and promises made of fines and forfeitures, before any conviction or judgment against the persons upon whom the same were to be levied.

All which are utterly and directly contrary to the known laws and statutes, and the freedom of this realm.

And whereas the said late King James II having abdicated the government, and the throne being thereby vacant, his Highness the Prince of Orange (whom it hath pleased Almighty God to make the glorious instrument of delivering this kingdom from popery and arbitrary power) did (by the advice of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and divers principal persons of the Commons) cause letters to be written to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, being Protestants, and other letters to the several counties, cities, universities, boroughs and cinque-ports, for the choosing of such persons to represent them, as were of right to be sent to Parliament, to meet and sit at Westminster upon the two-and-twentieth day of January, in this year one thousand six hundred eighty and eight, in order to such an establishment, as that their religion, laws and liberties might not again be in danger of being subverted; upon which letters, elections have been accordingly made.

And thereupon the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, pursuant to their respective letters and elections, being now assembled in a full and free representation of this nation, taking into their most serious consideration the best means for attaining the ends aforesaid, do in the first place (as their ancestors in like case have usually done) for the vindicating and asserting their ancient rights and liberties, declare: —

1. That the pretended power of suspending of laws, or the execution of laws, by regal authority, without consent of Parliament, is illegal.

2. That the pretended power of dispensing with laws, or the execution of laws by regal authority, as it hath been assumed, and exercised of late, is illegal.

3. That the commission for erecting the late Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes, and all other commissions and courts of like nature, are illegal and pernicious.

4. That levying money for or to the use of the Crown, by pretence and prerogative, without grant of Parliament, for longer time or in other manner than the same is or shall be granted, is illegal.

5. That it is the right of the subjects to petition the King, and all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal.

6. That the raising or keeping a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with the consent of Parliament, is against law.

7. That the subjects which are Protestants, may have arms for their defence suitable to their conditions, and as allowed by law.

8. That elections of members of Parliament ought to be free.

9. That the freedom of speech, and debates or proceedings in Parliament, ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of Parliament.

10. That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed; nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

11. That jurors ought to be duly impanelled and returned, and jurors which pass upon men in trials for high treason ought to be freeholders.

12. That all grants and promises of fines and forfeitures of particular persons before conviction, are illegal and void.

13. And that for redress of all grievances, and for the amending, strengthening, and preserving of the laws, Parliaments ought to be held frequently.

And they do claim, demand, and insist upon all and singular the premises, as their undoubted rights and liberties; and that no declarations, judgments, doings or proceedings, to the prejudice of the people in any of the said premises, ought in any wise to be drawn hereafter into consequence or example.

To which demand of their rights, they are particularly encouraged by the declaration of his Highness the Prince of Orange, as being the only means for obtaining a full redress and remedy therein.

Having therefore an entire confidence that his said Highness the Prince of Orange will perfect the deliverance so far advanced by him, and will still preserve them from the violation of their rights, which they have here asserted, and from all other attempts upon their religion, rights, and liberties:

II. The said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, assembled at Westminster, do resolve that William and Mary, Prince and Princess of Orange be, and be declared, King and Queen of England, France and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, to hold the Crown and royal dignity of the said kingdoms and dominions to them the said Prince and Princess during their lives, and the life of the survivor of them; and that the sole and full exercise of the regal power be only in, and executed by, the said Prince of Orange, in the names of the said Prince and Princess, during their joint lives; and after their deceases, the said Crown and royal dignity of the said kingdoms and dominions to be to the heirs of the body of the said Princess; and for default of such issue to the Princess Anne of Denmark, and the heirs of her body; and for default of such issue to the heirs of the body of the said Prince of Orange. And the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, do pray the said Prince and Princess to accept the same accordingly.

III. And that the oaths hereafter mentioned be taken by all persons of whom the oaths of allegiance and supremacy might be required by law, instead of them; and that the said oaths of allegiance and supremacy be abrogated.

I, A. B., do sincerely promise and swear, That I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to their Majesties King William and Queen Mary:

So help me God.

I, A. B., do swear, That I do from my heart abhor, detest, and abjure as impious and heretical, that damnable doctrine and position, that Princes excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, or any authority of the See of

Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any other whatsoever. And I do declare, that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, preeminence, or authority ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm:

So help me God.

IV. Upon which their said Majesties did accept the crown and royal dignity of the kingdoms of England, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, according to the resolution and desire of the said Lords and Commons contained in the said declaration.

V. And thereupon their Majesties were pleased, that the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, being the two Houses of Parliament, should continue to sit, and with their Majesties' royal concurrence make effectual provision for the settlement of the religion, laws and liberties of this kingdom, so that the same for the future might not be in danger again of being subverted; to which the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, did agree and proceed to act accordingly.

VI. Now in pursuance of the premises, the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, for the ratifying, confirming and establishing the said declaration, and the articles, clauses, matters, and things therein contained, by the force of a law made in due form by authority of Parliament, do pray that it may be declared and enacted, That all and singular the rights and liberties asserted and claimed in the said declaration, are the true, ancient, and indubitable rights and liberties of the people of this kingdom, and so shall be esteemed, allowed, adjudged, deemed, and taken to be, and that all and every the particulars aforesaid shall be firmly and strictly holden and observed, as they are expressed in the said declaration; and all officers and ministers whatsoever shall serve their Majesties and their successors according to the same in all times to come.

VII. And the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, seriously considering how it hath pleased Almighty God, in his marvellous providence, and merciful goodness to this nation, to provide and preserve their said Majesties' royal persons most happily to reign over us upon the throne of their ancestors, for which they render unto Him from the bottom of their hearts their humblest thanks and praises, do truly, firmly, assuredly, and in the sincerity of their hearts, think, and do hereby recognise, acknowledge and declare, that King James II having abdicated the government, and their Majesties having accepted the Crown and royal dignity as aforesaid, their said Majesties did become, were, are, and of sovereign right ought to be, by the laws of this realm, our sovereign liege lord and lady, King and Queen of England, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, in and to whose princely persons the royal State, Crown, and dignity of the said realms, with all honours, styles, titles, regalities, prerogatives, powers, jurisdictions and authorities to the same belonging and appertaining, are most fully, rightfully, and entirely invested and incorporated, united and annexed.

VIII. And for preventing all questions and divisions in this realm, by reason of any pretended titles to the Crown, and for preserving a certainty in the succession thereof, in and upon which the unity, peace, and tranquillity, and safety of this nation doth, under God, wholly consist and depend, the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, do beseech their Majesties that it may be enacted, established and declared, that the Crown and legal government of the said kingdoms and dominions, with all and singular the premises thereunto belonging and appertaining, shall be and continued to

their said Majesties, and the survivor of them, during their lives, and the life of the survivor of them. And that the entire, perfect, and full exercise of the regal power and government be only in, and executed by, his Majesty, in the names of both their Majesties during their joint lives; and after their deceases the said Crown and premises shall be and remain to the heirs of the body of her Majesty; and for default of such issue, to her Royal Highness the Princess Anne of Denmark, and the heirs of her body; and for default of such issue, to the heirs of the body of his said Majesty: And thereunto the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons do, in the name of all the people aforesaid, most humbly and faithfully submit themselves, their heirs and posterities for ever; and do faithfully promise, That they will stand to, maintain, and defend their said Majesties, and also the limitation and succession of the Crown herein specified and contained, to the utmost of their powers, with their lives and estates, against all persons whatsoever that shall attempt anything to the contrary.

IX. And whereas it hath been found by experience, that it is inconsistent with the safety and welfare of this Protestant kingdom, to be governed by a Popish Prince, or by any King or Queen marrying a Papist, the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, do further pray that it may be enacted, That all and every person and persons that is, are, or shall be reconciled to, or shall hold communion with, the See or Church of Rome, or shall profess the Popish religion, or shall marry a Papist, shall be excluded, and be for ever incapable to inherit, possess, or enjoy the Crown and government of this realm, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, or any part of the same, or to have, use, or exercise any regal power, authority, or jurisdiction within the same; and in all and every such case or cases the people of these realms shall be and are hereby absolved of their allegiance; and the said Crown and government shall from time to time descend to, and be enjoyed by, such person or persons, being Protestants, as should have inherited and enjoyed the same, in case the said person or persons so reconciled, holding communion, or professing, or marrying as aforesaid, were naturally dead.

X. And that every King and Queen of this realm, who at any time hereafter shall come to and succeed in the Imperial Crown of this kingdom, shall, on the first day of the meeting of the first Parliament, next after his or her coming to the Crown, sitting in his or her throne in the House of Peers, in the presence of the Lords and Commons therein assembled, or at his or her coronation, before such person or persons who shall administer the coronation oath to him or her, at the time of his or her taking the said oath (which shall first happen), make, subscribe, and audibly repeat the declaration mentioned in the statute made in the thirteenth year of the reign of King Charles II, intituled "An act for the more effectual preserving the King's person and government, by disabling Papists from sitting in either House of Parliament." But if it shall happen, that such King or Queen, upon his or her succession to the Crown of this realm, shall be under the age of twelve years, then every such King or Queen shall make, subscribe, and audibly repeat the said declaration at his or her coronation, or the first day of meeting of the first Parliament as aforesaid, which shall first happen after such King or Queen shall have attained the said age of twelve years.

XI. All which their Majesties are contented and pleased shall be declared, enacted, and established by authority of this present Parliament, and shall stand, remain, and be the law of this realm for ever; and the same are by their said Majesties, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and

Temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, declared, enacted, or established accordingly.

XII. And be it further declared and enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after this present session of Parliament, no dispensation by *non obstante* of or to any statute, or any part thereof, shall be allowed, but that the same shall be held void and of no effect, except a dispensation be allowed of in such statute, and except in such cases as shall be especially provided for by one or more bill or bills to be passed during this present session of Parliament.

XIII. Provided that no charter, or grant, or pardon granted before the three-and-twentieth day of October, in the year of our Lord One thousand six hundred eighty-nine, shall be any ways impeached or invalidated by this Act, but that the same shall be and remain of the same force and effect in law, and no other than as if this Act had never been made.

X

THE ACT OF SETTLEMENT (1700 A.D.)

[" In order to obviate the confusion that was likely to arise as to the right of the crown, in the event (which actually occurred) of there being no surviving issue of William and Mary, of the Princess Anne, or of William, it was found necessary, in 1700, to fix more definitely the succession of the crown, and it was now further limited to the Princess Sophia, electress of Hanover, and her heirs, she being granddaughter of James I and the next in succession who held the Protestant faith. In the statute by which this was done, called the Act of Settlement, several very important constitutional provisions were introduced." — SIR EDWARD CREASY. The second, third and fifth provisions were obviously adopted because of the jealousy felt for a foreign dynasty. The third, fourth and sixth provisions were repealed before the act came into operation. It is upon the seventh, which supplements the Petition of Right and the Bill of Rights, that the greatest importance of the act rests.]

1. That whosoever shall hereafter come to the possession of this Crown, shall join in communion with the Church of England, as by law established.

2. That in case the Crown and imperial dignity of this realm shall hereafter come to any person, not being a native of this kingdom of England, this nation be not obliged to engage in any war for the defence of any dominions or territories which do not belong to the Crown of England, without the consent of Parliament.

3. That no person who shall hereafter come to the possession of this Crown, shall go out of the dominions of England, Scotland, or Ireland, without consent of Parliament.

4. That from and after the time that the further limitation by this Act shall take effect, all matters and things relating to the well governing of this kingdom, which are properly cognisable in the Privy Council by the laws and customs of this realm, shall be transacted there, and all resolutions taken thereupon shall be signed by such of the Privy Council as shall advise and consent to the same.

5. That, after the said limitations shall take effect as aforesaid, no person born out of the Kingdom of England, Scotland, or Ireland, or the dominions thereunto belonging (although to be naturalised or made a denisen — except such as are born of English parents), shall be capable to be of the Privy Council, or a member of either House of Parliament, or to enjoy any office or place of trust, either civil or military, or to have any grants of land, tenements, or hereditaments, from the Crown, to himself, or to any other or others in trust for him.

6. That no person who has an office or place of profit under the King, or receives a pension from the Crown, shall be capable of serving as a member of the House of Commons.

7. That, after the said limitation shall take effect as aforesaid, judges' commissions be made *quamdiu se bene gesserint*, and their salaries ascertained and established; but upon the address of both Houses of Parliament, it may be lawful to remove them.

8. That no pardon under the Great Seal of England be pleadable to an impeachment by the Commons in Parliament.

BRIEF REFERENCE-LIST OF AUTHORITIES BY CHAPTERS

[The letter [a] is reserved for Editorial Matter.]

Chapter I. The History of Australia

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Chapter II. The History of South Africa

[b] A. P. Hillier, article on "Orange River Colony" in the *New Volumes* of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. — [c] Anonymous, article on "Orange River Free State" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. — [d] A. H. Keane, article on the "Transvaal" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. — [e] A. P. Hillier, article on the "Transvaal" (Domestic History) in the *New Volumes* of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. — [f] Lionel James, article on the "Transvaal — the War of 1899–1902" in the *New Volumes* of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. — [g] J. W. Turnbull, article on "Natal" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. — [h] A. P. Hillier, article on "Natal" in the *New Volumes* of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. — [i] Keith Johnston, article on "Cape Colony" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. — [j] A. P. Hillier, article on "Cape Colony" in the *New Volumes* of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. — [k] Christian De Wet, *Three Years' War*. — [l] L. S. Amery, *The Times' History of the War in South Africa*. — [m] J. A. Hobson, *The War in South Africa*. — [n] A. C. Doyle, *The Great Boer War*. — [o] W. S. Churchill, *London to Ladysmith*.

Chapter III. The History of Canada

[b] G. Bryce, *History of the Canadian People*. — [d] C. G. D. Roberts, *History of Canada*. — [e] J. G. Bourinot, *Canada*. — [g] G. R. Parkin, article on the "History of Canada" in the *New Volumes* of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

Appendix. Documents Relating to British History

The documents here given are to be found in the following sources and publications: I in George Lyttleton's *History of the Life of Henry II*, London, 1767; II, III, and IV in Stubbs' *Select Charters of English Constitutional History*, Oxford, 1870; V, VI, VII, IX, and X in the *Statutes of the Realm*, London, 1810–1828; VIII in T. Rymer's *Fœdera*, London, 1704–1735.



A GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ENGLISH HISTORY

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Sir Archibald Alison was born at Kenly in Shropshire, December 29th, 1792, and after graduating from Edinburgh University with high honours, was called to the bar in 1814. His great success as an advocate soon enabled him to indulge his taste for travel, and he spent much of his leisure time upon the Continent visiting the localities rendered memorable by the Napoleonic wars. In 1835, having been appointed sheriff of Lanarkshire, he settled near Glasgow and devoted himself to literary work. His *History of Europe*, commenced in 1829 and completed in 1842, achieved immediate success, passing through six editions within two years, and was translated into many foreign languages, even into Arabic and Hindustani. This great success was due to the fact that the work presented for the first time, in compact though not always well arranged form, a mass of information regarding the most exciting period of European history. The interest aroused by its matter obscured, for the time, a faulty style, strong political partisanship, inaccurate statement and incomplete deductions. Alison's literary activity con-

tinued to the end of his life, and he received many public honours, being created a baronet in 1852, and chosen as rector of Glasgow University in the previous year. He died at Glasgow May 23rd, 1867.

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For nearly four hundred years after the death of Bede, no historian whose name has been preserved existed in England. During all this period, however, a record of current events written in the vernacular, was being compiled by many successive but now unknown hands, which is of inestimable value to the historian. Its beginning is uncertain—at least as early as the reign of Alfred—and it was continued through successive generations until after the death of Stephen. Being largely chronological, it is not, as a whole, interesting reading, but many important events, especially the Danish incursions and the deeds of some of the ancient worthies are described vividly and at length. Apart from its historical value the work possesses great interest as indicating the development and transformation of the language, and the fusion of the different dialects of the island. Its style is generally plain, clear, and matter of fact, without rhetorical embellishment; in the main it is a dry record of events, but it bridged the wide gap from Bede to Eadmer, and has proved a mine of information to later historians.

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Asser, the biographer of Alfred the Great, was probably of Welsh birth, as he was educated and ordained priest at the monastery of St. Davids in Pembrokeshire. His talents attracted the attention of Alfred, who invited him to the court and subsequently made him bishop of Exeter and abbot of several wealthy monasteries. It is said that he induced Alfred to found the University of Oxford and settle annual stipends upon its instructors. The life of Alfred is the sole work of Asser that has come down to our times; it is merely a fragment and largely a compilation, but derives its interest from the genuine greatness of the person described. Asser possessed genuine merit as a biographer, and many of his graphic anecdotes illustrative of the life and character of the great British king have become familiar to all readers of English history. His long and useful life ended in the year 909.

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Walter Bagehot was born at Langport, Somerset, England, in 1826, took his degree at London University in 1848, and after engaging for ten years in banking, became editor of the *Economist*, retaining the position until his death in 1877. Bagehot's fame rests chiefly on *The English Constitution*, a brilliant philosophic essay on the workings of the English government, already accepted as a classic, and *Lombard Street*, essays on practical finance, which have had a wide influence on the history of banking in England.

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Bede (*Beda*) surnamed the Venerable, was an English monk who was born about the year 672 at Wearmouth in the bishopric of Durham. At the age of seven he was placed in the monastery of St. Peter, at Wearmouth, and after a few years removed to the monastery of Jarrow, where he was ordained deacon in 691 and priest in 702. The fame of his learning spread to foreign lands, and Pope Sergius urged him to visit Rome, but Bede remained quietly in his cell gathering the material for his Ecclesiastical History, which was completed in 731. This great work was received with such favour that it was ordered read in the churches. Bede wrote numerous treatises on religious and scientific subjects, and besides conducting a large correspondence continued his instruction in the school of the monastery to the time of his death in the year 735. While his writings are, to modern view, subject to grave criticism as superficial, inexact, and disfigured by the credulity of his age in matters of religion, there is no doubt that his attainments were remarkable, and that he occupied the highest rank among the scholars of his period. His history was translated into Anglo-Saxon by King Alfred.

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Henry Thomas Buckle was born at Lee, Kent, November 24, 1821. Being a delicate child his studies were pursued at home, but to such advantage that at the age of thirty he knew nineteen languages. Possessing an independent fortune, he spent much time in foreign travel, and about 1844 conceived the design of writing a history of the Middle Ages. After several years of preparation he enlarged the scope of his work, and in 1857 published the first volume of his *History of Civilisation,* which achieved immediate and marked success. After the publication of the second volume in 1861, he sought to restore his wasted strength by travel, but died at Damascus, May 29th, 1862. Buckle's work is really only an unfinished introduction to the great history which he had planned. He seeks to establish history as an exact science: to show that climate, soil, and natural forces form the character of a people; that scepticism advances and credulity retards national progress, and that paternal government dwarfs the spirit of freedom and civilisation. His ideals are high, his style vigorous and elegant.

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Thomas Carlyle was born at Ecclefechan, Dumfriesshire, Scotland, December 4th, 1795. He began to study for the ministry at Edinburgh University, but abandoned this plan and, after teaching several years, settled at Edinburgh with the determination of supporting himself by letters. He first secured recognition with a *Life of Schiller* (1825). From that time on he busied himself with translations and essays, until 1837, when his first notable work, *The French Revolution,* appeared. His characterisation of that event

as "truth clad in hell fire" accounts for his method of treating it — but wonderful as it is, it can scarcely be called history. Several years devoted to writing and lecturing followed, and in 1845 his *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches* was published. This great work — hero-worship as it is — is considered by many his masterpiece. It certainly created a new and favourable picture of the Great Protector which has remained to this day. Between 1858-1865 appeared in six volumes his *History of Frederick the Great*. After the death of his wife in 1866 his life became more and more secluded, but he continued his literary activity almost up to his death, February 4th, 1881.

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Edward Shepherd Creasy was born at Bexford, in Kent, September 12th, 1812. Educated at Cambridge, he was called to the bar in 1837, and in 1840 was made professor of history in London University, where he remained for twenty years until his appointment as chief justice of Ceylon. During his connection with the university he published

several historical works of much merit, of which his *Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World* received high commendation and has been widely read. His death occurred January 27th, 1878.

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Mandell Creighton (1843-1901) graduated at Oxford in 1866 and entered the ministry of the Church of England. In 1884 he became professor of ecclesiastical history at Cambridge, in 1891 was made bishop of Peterborough, and in 1897 transferred to the see of London. His *History of the Papacy* is probably the most authoritative work on the subject written by an Englishman. His works on the Tudor period in English history are also of great value. He was a founder and first editor of the *English Historical Review.*

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Samuel Astley Dunham was associated with Lardner in the preparation of the *Cabinet Cyclopædia,* for which he compiled a number of histories. These works are not professedly original, but are well arranged and entertainingly written. He also collaborated with Southey, who speaks of his knowledge of the middle ages as "marvellous," and with Lingard. He received the degree of LL.D. in recognition of his labours, and died at London in 1858.

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Edward Augustus Freeman was born at Mitchley Abbey, in Staffordshire, August 2, 1823. He was educated at Oxford and after his marriage, in 1847, devoted his life to literary pursuits. His first publication was a *History of Architecture*, and by frequent contributions to periodicals he soon became known to the English reading public as an accurate and versatile writer. In 1867 the first volume of the *History of the Norman Conquest* established his position among English historians, and brought him numerous academic honours. To familiarise himself with countries whose history he was writing Freeman travelled extensively, and became well known as a lecturer in both England and the United States. He was a very voluminous writer and has treated of many nations and diverse periods with unfailing accuracy and critical ability. His prolixity, however, mars the literary quality of his work and interferes with the flow of his thought, but his honesty of purpose and profound search for truth will render his works always valuable and authoritative. Freeman succeeded Bishop Stubbs as regius professor of history at Oxford in 1884, but failing health compelled him to spend much of his time in a warmer climate, and while travelling in Spain he died at Alicante, March 16th, 1892.

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James Anthony Froude was born at Dartington, in Devonshire, April 23rd, 1818, and was educated at Westminster School and Oxford. He entered the church, but the change in his religious views, caused by the Tractarian movement, in which he became deeply interested, caused him to abandon the profession and devote his life to literature. A frequent contributor to the reviews, he was editor of *Fraser's Magazine* for many years and published numerous historical and biographical works. As literary executor of Carlyle he aroused vehement criticism by what many considered his lack of editorial discretion. He travelled extensively, both privately and on government missions, and gave numerous lectures in the United States as well as in England. His historical fame is mainly founded on his *History of England*, though this, like all his works, is injured by his adaptation of facts to suit his chosen views. But if he often subordinated accuracy to the exigencies of vivid description, his lucid style and the charm of his language cause his works to be ranked among the most noteworthy of his century and will give him high position among British historians. Froude succeeded E. A. Freeman as regius professor of modern history at Oxford in 1892, and died at Salcombe, Devonshire, October 20th, 1894.

Fuller, T., The Church History of Britain from the Birth of Christ to 1648, London, 1655; The Worthies of England, London, 1661. — **Fyfe,** B. H., Annals of Our Time, London, 1893. — **Fyffe,** C. A., A History of Modern Europe, London, 1891, 3 vols.

Gairdner, J., The Paston Letters, Westminster, 1874, 3 vols.; The Houses of Lancaster and York, in *Epochs of Modern History*, London, 1874, 1877; History of the Life and Reign of Richard III, London, 1875; Henry the Seventh, London, 1889; Richard the Third, Cambridge, 1898.

James Gairdner was born at Edinburgh, March 22nd, 1828. At the age of eighteen he was appointed to a clerkship in the Public Records Office in London, and displayed such capabilities that his advancement was rapid. For many years he was assistant keeper of the public records, and has published numerous works as the result of his assiduous study of the ancient documents. These publications have thrown a flood of light upon the early history of England, and will always be of invaluable service to the historian as well as of interest to the general reader.

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Samuel Rawson Gardiner was born at Ropley, Hants, March 4th, 1829, and was educated at Oxford, subsequently taking courses at Edinburgh and Göttingen. He was for many years professor of history at King's College, London, and was offered the professorship at Oxford made vacant by the death of Froude, but declined it. Gardiner's historical studies were mainly devoted to the revolutionary period following the death of James I, of which he made most exhaustive study, being greatly aided by the discovery of the hitherto unknown sources contained in the collections known as the Clarke and Verney MSS., the Paston Letters and the "Nicholas and Hamilton Papers." He was the first to treat this important epoch in a non-partisan spirit, and has given the first fair and adequate explanation of the rise of the Cavalier party, and the political quarrels which arose in the Long Parliament from differences of religious opinion. He edited many volumes for the Camden Society and was for ten years editor of the *English Historical Review*, to which his contributions were numerous and valuable. At his death, in 1902, he was engaged upon the last part of his great work, *The Commonwealth and The Protectorate*, which was completed to the year 1656.

Garneau, F. X., Histoire du Canada depuis sa découverte, Quebec, 1845-1852, 4 vols., Montreal, 1882. — **Gauthier,** J., Histoire de Marie Stuart, Paris, 1869, 2 vols. — **Geikie,** C., The English Reformation, London, 1875, 1883. — **George,** H. B., Battles of English History, London, 1895. — **Gerard,** J., Condition of Catholics under James I, London, 1871. — **Gerin La Joie,** Dix ans au Canada, London, 1888. — **Gervase of Canterbury,** Chronicles, in *Rolls Series*, London, 1879-1880. — **Gesta Stephani,** edited by R. C. Sewall, London, 1845. —

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Giraldus Cambrensis (Girald de Barri) was born near Pembroke, in South Wales, in the year 1145. He was educated by his uncle, the bishop of St. David's, and at the age of twenty was sent to Paris, where he studied theology under Peter Comestor, and lectured upon belles lettres and rhetoric in the English college. Upon his return to England, in 1172, his reputation for learning and his zeal for the church were so great that he was given an extraordinary commission to reform abuses in Wales. In 1176 he returned to Paris and spent three years in the study of the canon law, with such success that he was offered the professorship in the university. Henry II sent him to Ireland in 1185 as secretary to Prince John. Giraldus did not accompany the prince on his return, but remained in Ireland for more than a year in search of antiquities and to complete his topographical description, for which purpose he travelled over the whole island. In 1198 he was elected bishop of St. David's; the election being disputed, he went to Rome in 1200 to press his claim, but was defeated by a more wealthy competitor. Giraldus lived about seventy years and left many writings, some of which have been published. He was eloquent and profoundly learned for his age, but credulous and superstitious. A bitter enemy of the monks, it was a common saying with him "a monachorum malitia libera nos, Domine" (from the malice of monks, good Lord, deliver us).

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Heinrich Rudolf Hermann Friedrich von Gneist, a German jurist and statesman, was born at Berlin, August 13th, 1816. He was educated at the Berlin University and practised his profession for several years, becoming an assistant judge of the Superior Court. In 1850 he resigned this position to devote his time to teaching jurisprudence. He was a member of the Prussian Lower House from 1858 to 1893, and of the Reichstag from 1867 to 1884, where he became a leader of the National Liberal party. Gneist was an ardent admirer of the English constitution, of which he made exhaustive study and frequently cited as a model for German affairs. His published works are numerous, including many treatises upon the history of jurisprudence in addition to those relating to English parliamentary history. He was ennobled by Frederick III in 1888, and died at Berlin, July 22nd, 1895.

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John Richard Green was born at Oxford, December 12th, 1837. Upon completing his university course he entered the church, but failing health caused him to abandon clerical life and accept a position as librarian at Lambeth in 1869. From early years an enthusiastic student of English history, he sought in his *Short History of the English People* to present vivid pictures of the life and customs of the people and of the social conditions which had influenced their growth rather than to dwell upon dynasties and wars. The success of the work was immediate; its picturesque style and life-like descriptions proved eminently attractive to the general public, even though he often built a larger and more elaborate structure than his foundation warranted. Notwithstanding his bodily weakness, Green wrote *The Making of England*, a much more scholarly work, which was published in 1882; and so far collected and arranged the material for the succeeding volume on *The Conquest of England* that it was published by his widow shortly after his death, in 1883. Mrs. Green, who was a student and writer of much ability, rendered constant and valuable assistance to her husband, and has produced important works of her own composition.

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François Pierre Guillaume Guizot, a distinguished French historian and statesman, was born at Nîmes, October 4th, 1787. His father was guillotined during the Reign of Terror, and his mother sought refuge in Switzerland, where young Guizot was educated. Returning to Paris in 1805, he began the brilliant literary career which ended only with his life. History, biography, translations, essays and reviews followed in rapid succession, and quickly gave him high rank among French literati. In addition, he lectured for many years in the Sorbonne and occupied important positions in the government, attaining the premiership in 1847. The coup d'état of 1851 closed his public career and the remainder of his life was passed in literary labour. A close student of English history, his writings upon the Puritan period have great merit and deserved reputation. Guizot died at the age of eighty-seven at Val-Rocher, September 13th, 1874.

Gumble, T., The Life of General Monk, London, 1671. — **Gurwood**, J., The Despatches and Correspondence of the Duke of Wellington during his Various Campaigns, London, 1838, 13 vols.

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Richard Hakluyt was born in or near London about 1553. He took his degree at Oxford in 1573-4, and after taking his M.A. in 1577, commenced at Oxford the first public lectures on geography. His first published work was his *Divers Voyages Touching the Discoverie of America* (1582). From 1583 to 1588 he was chaplain to Lord Stafford, English ambassador to France, busying himself meanwhile with studies and researches in history and geography. Hakluyt's greatest work was *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation* (1598-1600), which has been truly called "the prose epic of the modern English Nation." Though but little read, it is an invaluable treasure house for the study of English history, geographical discovery and colonisation. He was archdeacon of Westminster from 1603 until his death in 1616.

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Henry Hallam was born at Windsor, July 9, 1777. He was educated at Eton and Oxford, studied law and was in active practice on the Oxford circuit until 1812, when he was enabled to retire and devote himself to historical study. He exhibited literary talent at an early age, and his contributions to the reviews had already established his position among English writers. In 1818 he published *A View of Europe during the Middle Ages*, the result of two years' research and extended European travel. Hallam's works, characterised by careful and painstaking study, impartial criticism, and sincere, straightforward

style, have taken a rank among English classics from which they will never be dislodged. Subsequent investigations and later discoveries of sources have, of course, rendered parts of his work of little value. Absolute justice to every one was Hallam's aim, and in his *Constitutional History* he has treated men and events with judicial coolness and impartiality. His general knowledge was immense, and he was a competent critic in science and theology, mathematics and poetry, metaphysics and law. Many honours were bestowed upon him by the state and various learned societies and universities. His domestic life was saddened toward its close by the death of his wife and ten of his eleven children. He died at Pickhurst, Kent, January 21, 1859.

Halliwell-Phillipps, J. O., Letters of the Kings of England, London, 1846, 2 vols. — **Hamley**, E. B., The War in the Crimea, London, 1855, new edition, 1891; Wellington's Career, London, 1860. — **Handbook of Indian History**, Madras, 1887. — **Hannay**, D., Admiral Blake, London, 1886. — **Hansard**, L., Parliamentary Debates, London, 1803-1900, 76 vols. — **Harcus**, W., South Australia—Its History, London, 1876. — **Hardwicke**, Philip Yorke (Earl of), Miscellaneous State Papers, London, 1778, 2 vols. — **Hardy**, F., Memoirs of James Caulfield, Earl of Charlemont, London, 1812, 2 vols. — **Hardy**, T. D., A Descriptive Catalogue of MSS. Relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland, London, 1862-1871, 3 vols. — **Harington**, J., Nugæ Antiquæ, London, 1779, 2 vols. — **Harris**, J. (Earl of Malmesbury), Diaries and Correspondence, London, 1844, 4 vols. — **Harrison**, F., History of the Law of Treason, in the *Fortnightly Review*, London, 1882, May and June. — **Harrison**, W., An Historical Description of the Island of Britaine, in the *Chronicles* of Holinshed, London, 1578, 2 vols.; 1807-1808, 6 vols.; 1877-1881. — **Havland**, O. A., The New Empire, London, 1891. — **Hawkins**, A., Picture of Quebec with Historical Recollections, Quebec, 1834. — **Haynes**, S., Collection of State Papers, left by William Cecil, Lord Burghley, London, 1740. — **Hazlitt**, W., The Character of W. Cobbett, M.P., London, 1835. — **Head**, F. B., Administration of the Government of Upper Canada, London, 1839. — **Hearn**, W. E., The Government of England, London, 1867, 2d edition, 1887. — **Heath**, J., A Chronicle of the Late Intestine War in the Three Kingdoms, London, 1661. — **Heaton**, W., The Three Reforms of Parliament; a History, 1830-1885, London, 1885. — **Heber**, R., Life of Jeremy Taylor, London, 1822; Journey through India from Calcutta to Bombay, with Notes on Ceylon, London, 1828, 2 vols. — **Heeren**, A. H. L., Historical Researches, Oxford, 1838-1846, 5 vols. — **Henry of Huntingdon**, Historia Anglorum, edited by Sir Henry Savile, 1596, translation by T. Forester, London, 1853. — **Henry**, R., History of Great Britain, London, 1771-1793, 6 vols. — **Hentzner**, P., England as Seen by Foreigners, London, 1865. — **Herbert of Cherbury**, E., History of the Life and Reign of Henry VIII, London, 1649. — **Herodotus**, History, translated by William Beloe, London, 1806. — **Hervé**, A. M. E., La Crise Irlandaise depuis la fin du dix-huitième siècle jusqu'à nos jours, Paris, 1885. — **Hervey**, J., Memoirs of the Reign of George II, London, 1848, 2 vols. — **Hewins**, W. A. S., English Trade and Finance, Chiefly in the Seventeenth Century, London, 1892. — **Heylin**, P., History of the Reformation, London, 1661, Cambridge, 1849, 2 vols. — **Hill**, G. B., Life of Sir Walter Rowland Hill, London, 1880, 2 vols. — **Hillier**, A. S., Articles on South African History in new volumes *Encyclopædia Britannica*. — **Hirst**, F. W., Life of W. E. Gladstone, London, 1899. — **Historical MSS. Commission**, Calendar of the MSS. of the Most Hon. the Marquis of Salisbury, preserved at Hatfield House, London, 1888, 8 vols. — **Hitchman**, F., Public Life of the Earl of Beaconsfield, London, 1881. — **Hocken**, T. M., Contributions to the Early History of New Zealand, London, 1898. — **Hodder**, E., The History of South Australia, London, 1893, 2 vols. — **Hodges**, N., Loimologia, London, 1622. — **Hodson**, G. H., Twelve Years of a Soldier's Life in India, Boston, 1860. — **Holland**, H. R. F. V., History of the Whig Party during My Time, London, 1852-1854, 2 vols. — **Holland**, S. (Lady), Memoirs of Sydney Smith, Leipsic, 1855, 2 vols., London, 1874. — **Holles**, D., Memoirs, London, 1699; printed in *Select Tracts relating to the Civil Wars in England, in the Reign of Charles the First*, London, 1815. — **Holmes**, A. M., England's Navy, London, 1897. — **Holmes**, T. R. E., History of the Indian Mutiny, London, 1883. — **Holwell**, J. L., Black Hole of Calcutta, in Wheeler's *Early Records of British India*, London, 1878. — **Hook**, W. F., Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury, London, 1861-1884, 14 vols. — **Hooker**, R., The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, London, 1594-1597, 5 vols., 1666, 8 vols., 7th edition 1888, 4 vols. — **Hosack**, J., Mary and Her Accusers, London, 1869-1874, 2 vols. — **Howell**, J., Familiar Letters, London, 1650. — **Hughes**, T. S., and T. **Smollett**, History of England from the Accession of George III, London, 1855, 18 vols. — **Hume** D., History of England from the Invasion of Julius Cæsar to the Revolution in 1688, London, 1754-1762, 6 vols., 1864, 8 vols.

David Hume was born at Edinburgh, April 26th, 1711. Being a younger son, with slender patrimony, and of a sober, studious disposition, he was destined by his parents for the law, but, seized with an early passion for letters, he had an insurmountable aversion to any other study. After an unsuccessful attempt at business life in Bristol, he went to France for the further prosecution of his studies, and remained three years, during which period he wrote his *Treatise on Human Nature*. Returning to England in 1737, he was at first secretary to the marquis of Annandale, afterwards on the staff of

General St. Clair, whom he accompanied to Austria and Italy in 1747. His early writings were not received with commendation, though his reputation as a man of letters was increasing. In 1754 he published the first volume of *A Portion of English History from the Accession of James I to the Revolution*, which he hoped to be a success, as he thought himself the first English historian free from bias, but he says "that he was herein miserably disappointed, and that, instead of pleasing all parties, had made himself obnoxious to all." The second volume, which appeared in 1756, was more favorably received. In 1759 he published the *History of the House of Tudor*, and in 1761 the early portion of the *English History*. Notwithstanding, possibly by reason of, the clamour raised by his opponents, his publications proved very remunerative, and he twice retired to Edinburgh, with the intention of leading a life of scholarly ease, but was recalled to accept important appointments. In 1769 he finally abandoned public life and lived in Edinburgh until his death, on August 25, 1776. His history, notwithstanding its faults, has a distinct place in English literature; it was the first attempt at comprehensive, thoughtful treatment of historic facts, the first to consider the social and literary aspects of the national life as little inferior to its politics and wars. While Hume was at all times an advocate, colouring facts to suit his theories, and glossing over the faults of his favourites, he established a standard of historical composition and developed a style animated, yet refined and polished.

Hume, M. A. S. (translator), Chronica del Rey Enrico Ottavo de Ingleterra, London, 1889; The Courtships of Queen Elizabeth, London, 1896; Calendar of State Papers in the Archives of Simancas, London, 1892-1899, 4 vols. — **Hunt,** J., Religious Thought in England, London, 1870. — **Hunt,** W., Bristol, London, 1887; The English Church from its Foundation to the Norman Conquest, London, 1899. — **Hunter,** W. W., The Indian Empire, London, 1878; article on "India" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. — **Huntingdon,** H. W. H., History of Australia, Newcastle, 1888. — **Huskisson,** W., Speeches, London, 1830, 3 vols. — **Hutchinson,** L., Memoirs of the Life of Col. Hutchinson, London, 1806. — **Hutchinson,** T., History of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, Boston, 1764-1774, 4 vols. — **Hutton,** W. H., Sir Thomas More, London, 1895.

Indian Student, An, India before and after the Mutiny, Edinburgh, 1886. — **Ingram,** J. K., A History of Political Economy, London and New York, 1888. — **Ingram,** T. D., History of the Legislative Union of Great Britain and Ireland, London, 1887, new edition, 1899. — **Innes,** C., History of Scotland to 818, Edinburgh, 1853; Scotland in the Middle Ages, Edinburgh, 1860; Sketches of Early Scottish History and Social Progress, Edinburgh, 1861. — **Irish History,** Two Centuries of, London, 1888.

James I, A Counterblast to Tobacco, London, 1616; A Remonstrance of the Most Gracious King James I against an Oration of the Cardinal of Perron, Cambridge, 1619; Book of Sports, London, 1709. — **James,** Lionel, article on the War in South Africa, 1899-1901, in new volumes of *Encyclopædia Britannica*. — **James,** W., The Naval History of Great Britain from the Declaration of War by France in 1793 to the Accession of George IV, London, 1822-1826, 6 vols., 1866. — **James,** W. N., The British in India, London, 1882. — **Jardine,** D., Criminal Trials, London, 1832, 2 vols.; Narrative of the Gunpowder Plot, London, 1857. — **Jenks,** E., The Australian Colonies to 1893, London, 1895. — **Jennings,** G. H., An Anecdotical History of the British Parliament, London, 1892. — **Jesse,** J. H., Memoirs of the Pretenders and Their Adherents, London, 1845; Memoirs of the Life and Times of George III, London, 1867. — **Jessopp,** A., Studies by a Recluse, London, 1893. — **Jevons,** W. S., The State in Its Relation to Labour, London and New York, 1885. — **John of Fordun,** Chronica gentis Scotorum, in T. Gales' *Scriptores Quindecim*, Edinburgh, 1691, translation by W. F. Skene in the *Historians of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1871. — **Jomini,** H., Vie politique et militaire de Napoleon, Paris, 1827, 4 vols., translation by H. W. Halleck, London, 1864, 4 vols. — **Jones,** W., Works, London, 1811, 13 vols.; articles in *Journal of Asiatic Researches*. — **Jones,** W. B., Vestiges of the Gael in Gwynedd, London, 1851; History of St. Davids, London, 1856. — **Joyce,** P. W., Concise History of Ireland, London and Dublin, 1893. — **Jung,** C. E., Australia, London, 1884. — **Junius,** Letters, London, 1772, 1812, 1854. — **Jusserand,** J. J., Les Anglais au moyen age, Paris, 1884, translation by L. T. Smith, English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages, London, 1899; The Romance of a King's Life, London, 1896.

Kaye, J. W., History of the War of Afghanistan, London, 1851. — **Kaye,** J. W., and G. B. **Malleson,** History of the Indian Mutiny, London, 1865-1880, 6 vols. — **Kebbel,** T. E., Life of Lord Beaconsfield, London, 1888. — **Keene,** H. G., The Fall of the Moghul Empire of Hindustan, London, 1876, 1887. — **Keightley,** T., History of England, London, 1837.

Thomas Keightley was born near Dublin in Ireland in October, 1789. He entered Trinity College in 1803, but did not take a degree, and in 1824 settled in London, where for nearly half a century he was busily engaged in literary work. He is probably best known for his *Mythology of Ancient Greece and Rome*, but his biographies and miscel-

laneous works possess much merit, and his historical writings are carefully compiled, and written in a clear and entertaining style. He died at Erith, Kent, November 4th, 1872.

Kemble, J. M., The Saxons in England: A History of the English Commonwealth till the Period of the Norman Conquest, London, 1849, 2 vols.

John Mitchell Kemble, the son of Charles Kemble the actor, was born in London in 1807. He entered Cambridge in 1826, where he became an intimate friend of Tennyson and Archbishop Trench, but left before completing his course, to take up the study of Anglo-Saxon law, afterwards pursuing philological studies at Göttingen and other German universities. His edition of Beowulf, published in 1833, established his rank as an Anglo-Saxon scholar, and his reputation was greatly enhanced by a course of lectures given at Cambridge in the following year. Kemble was editor of the *British and Foreign Review,* for nine years, and in 1840 succeeded his father as licenser of the stage plays. As a result of his study of Anglo-Saxon law, he published, in 1839-1840, a valuable collection of Saxon charters, and in 1849 the first two volumes of a *History of the Anglo-Saxons in England,* which was never completed, but was for many years the chief authority for this period of English history. He died at Dublin, March 26th, 1857.

Kent, C. B. R., The English Radicals, London, 1899. — **Kerr,** Robert, History of Scotland during the Reign of Robert Bruce, Edinburgh, 1811. — **King,** W., Political and Literary Anecdotes, London, 1819. — **Kinglake,** A. W., The Invasion of the Crimea, London, 1863-1887, 8 vols. — **Kingsford,** W., History of Canada, London, 1887-1898, 10 vols. — **Kirkup,** T., articles on "Henry VII" and "Henry VIII" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica.* — **Knight,** C., Pictorial History of England, London and New York, 1837-1844, 8 vols.; Popular History of England, London, 1856-1862, 8 vols.; Half-hours with English History, London, 1867.

Charles Knight was the son of a bookseller at Windsor, where he was born March 15th, 1791. His schooling was limited, most of his education being gained in his father's shop. While publishing the *Etonian* he formed the acquaintance of Macaulay, Praed, and Nelson Coleridge, who induced him to start *Knight's Quarterly Magazine* in 1824. The venture was a financial failure, but served to introduce Knight to the London public and encouraged him in his plans for popular instruction. The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, established by Brougham in 1825, was Knight's idea, and he was called to superintend its publications. Henceforth his literary activity was enormous and his influence widespread. Besides editing numerous cyclopædias, magazines, and literary and scientific works, he personally wrote several biographies and contributed largely to all his publications. After his retirement from active business life, he continued literary work until his death at Addlestone, March 9th, 1873.

Knighton, H., Chronicle, edited by J. R. Lumby (Rolls Series), London, 1889, 2 vols. — **Knox,** J., Historie of the Reformation of Religioun in the Realme of Scotland, London, 1584, 3 vols., 1664, 5 vols., 1844, 5 vols. — **Kydd,** S., see Alfred.

Labanoff, A., Letters of Mary, Queen of Scots, London, 1845, 3 vols.; Maria Stuart, London, 1859. — **Labillière,** F. P., Early History of the Colony of Victoria, London, 1878. — **Laing,** M., History of Scotland from the Accession of James VI to the Reign of Queen Anne, Edinburgh, 1800-1804. — **Lanercost,** Chronicon, edited by J. Stephenson, Edinburgh, 1839. — **Lang,** A., Oxford: Brief Historical and Descriptive Notes, London, 1879; Life, Letters and Diaries of Sir Stafford Northcote, first Earl of Iddesleigh, London, 1890, 2 vols.; The Mystery of Mary Stuart, London, 1901. — **Langtoft,** P., Chronicle of England, in *Rolls Series,* London, 1866-1868, 2 vols. — **Lanigan,** J., Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, Dublin, 1822, 4 vols. — **Lappenberg,** J. M., Geschichte von England, Hamburg, 1834-1837, 2 vols., translation by B. Thorpe, A History of England under the Anglo-Saxon Kings, London, 1845, 1857, 2 vols.; A History of England under the Norman Kings, London, 1857.

Johann Martin Lappenberg was born at Hamburg, July 30th, 1794. He studied medicine at Edinburgh, resided for some time in London, and afterwards studied law and history at Berlin and Göttingen. His appointment as archivist to the Hamburg Senate in 1823 led to the discovery of many important manuscripts and records. His historical writings were numerous and valuable, and he edited many specimens of early German literature. His death occurred November 28th, 1865.

Latimer, E. W., England in the Nineteenth Century, Chicago, 1894. — **Latimer,** H., Works, Cambridge, 1844-1845, 2 vols. — **Laud,** W., History of the Troubles and Tryal of the Most Reverend Father in God and Blessed Martyr William Laud, Written by Himself, London, 1695, Oxford, 1839; Works, Oxford, 1857-1860, 7 vols. — **Laughlin,** J. L., see Adams, H. — **Laughton,** J. K., The Story of Trafalgar, Portsmouth, 1890. — **Laurie,** T. S., The Story of Australia, London, 1890-1896. — **Lawrence,** H. M., Essays, Military and Political, Calcutta, 1859. — **Le Bon,** G., Les civilisations de l'Inde, Paris, 1886. — **Lechler,** G., John Wyclif and His Precursors in England, London, 1892, 2 vols. — **Lecky,** W. E. H., The Leaders of Public Opinion in Ireland, London, 1871; History of England in the

Eighteenth Century, London, 1878-1890, 8 vols.; Ireland in the Eighteenth Century, London, 1892, 4 vols.; Democracy and Liberty, London, 1899, 2 vols.

William Edward Hartpole Lecky was born near Dublin, March 26th, 1838, and educated at Trinity College, Dublin. His *History of the Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe*, published in 1865, aroused wide interest from its unusual erudition and profound thought. After many years of preparation he produced his *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, in which his object was "to disengage from the great mass of facts those which relate to the permanent forces of the nation, or which indicate the more enduring features of national life." The work is distinguished by the extent and fulness of its authorities, by its impartiality and its admirable style. The portion dealing with Ireland has since been published independently. Mr. Lecky has served in parliament, been a privy councillor, and has received many civic and literary honours. He died October 22d, 1903.

Leffmann, S., Geschichte des alten Indiens (Oncken Series), Berlin, 1889. — **Leland**, (Leyland), J., De Rebus Britannicis Collectanea, Oxford, 1715, 6 vols., London, 1770. — **Leland**, T., History of Ireland from the Invasion of Henry II, Dublin, 1774. — **Le Moine**, J. M., Maple Leaves; Canadian History, Quebec, 1863-1894; Quebec, Past and Present, Quebec, 1876. — **Lesley**, Bishop, De origine, moribus et rebus gestis Scotorum, Rome, 1578, 10 vols. — **Lethbridge**, R., Indian History, London, 1895. — **Levey**, G., Australasian Encyclopædia, London, 1892. — **Levi**, L., History of British Commerce and of the Economic Progress of the British Nation, 1763-1870 [the best account of the upbuilding of British commercial supremacy], London, 1879. — **Lewis**, G. C., Essays on the Administration of Great Britain from 1780-1830, London, 1864. — **Lewis**, J., A Complete History of the Several Translations of the Holy Bible and New Testament into English, London, 1818. — **Liber Pluscardensis**, see Buchanan, M. — **Lilly**, W., True History of King James and King Charles I, London, 1615. — **Lingard**, J., History of England from the First Invasion by the Romans to the Accession of William and Mary in 1688, London, 1819-1830, 8 vols., 1883, 10 vols.; Abridgement of the History of England, London, 1855.

John Lingard was born at Winchester, February 5, 1771. He was educated for the Catholic priesthood at Douay in France, where he remained until the college was broken up by the Revolution in 1793. With some of his former companions at Douay he established a seminary at Crook Hall near Lancaster, where he remained as professor and vice-president until 1811, when he retired to a small parish at Hornby. While at Crook Hall he had published a *History of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, a preliminary to his master-work, which appeared between 1819 and 1830 in eight quarto volumes, and passed through six editions during his lifetime. Being the first important history of England written from the Catholic standpoint, it attracted much attention from the start, and though conciliatory in tone, was vehemently attacked by Protesant partisans. Lingard's replies to the detractions displayed such profound knowledge and were fortified by such well-digested authorities as to add materially to his reputation. Although often invited to more important positions in the church, he remained in the seclusion of Hornby until his death, July 17th, 1851. He was granted a pension of £300 by the government; made doctor of divinity by Pope Pius VII, and Leo XII is said to have created him a cardinal *in petto*.

Lister, T. H., Life and Administration of Edward, First Earl of Clarendon, London, 1838, 3 vols. — **Lloyd**, D., The Statesmen and Favourites of England since the Reformation, London, 1665. — **Lodge**, E., Illustrations of British History, Biography and Manners in the Reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth and James I, London, 1791, 3 vols. — **Lodge**, H. C., see H. Adams. — **Long**, J., Eastern Proverbs and Emblems, London, 1881. — **Longman**, W., Lectures on the History of England, London, 1863; History of the Life and Times of Edward III, London, 1869, 2 vols. — **Lord**, W. F., Lost Possessions of England, London, 1896. — **Lorne**, Marquis of, Viscount Palmerston, K.G., London, 1892. — **Lough**, T., England's Wealth, Ireland's Poverty, London, 1896. — **Low**, S. J., and F. S. **Pulling**, Dictionary of English History, London, 1897. — **Lowth**, R., Life of William of Wykeham, London, 1777. — **Lubbock**, J., Prehistoric Times, London, 1900. — **Lucy**, H. W., Diary of Two Parliaments, London, 1885, 2 vols.; Diary of the Salisbury Parliament, London, 1892; Gladstone, A Study from Life, London, 1898. — **Ludlow**, E., Memoirs, London, 1698, 2 vols. — **Luttrell**, N., A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs from September, 1678, to April, 1714, Oxford, 1857, 6 vols. — **Lyall**, A. C., The Rise and Expansion of the British Dominion in India, London, 1893. — **Lynch**, J., Cambrensis Eversus, London, 1662. — **Lyndsay** of Pitscottie, R., Historie of Scotland 1436-1575, edited by A. J. G. Mackay, Edinburgh, 1899. — **Lyte**, H. C. M., History of the University of Oxford to 1830, London, 1886.

MacArthur, M., History of Scotland, London, 1873. — **Macaulay**, T. B., History of England from the Accession of James II, London, 1848-1855, vols. 1-4, 1861, vol. 5; Critical and Historical Essays, London, 1854, 2 vols.

Thomas Babington Macaulay was born at Rothley Temple, Leicestershire, October 25th, 1800. He exhibited unusual talent from a very early age, and his progress through

school and university was a constant series of literary triumphs. His first public appearance was in the pages of *Knight's Quarterly Magazine*, but his essay on Milton, published in the *Edinburgh Review* in 1825, established his reputation for brilliance, eloquence, and learning. Entering parliament in 1830, he at once took high rank as a debater, and became a member of the Board of Control for Indian Affairs in 1832. He was appointed a member of the Supreme Council in 1834, and spent the next four years in India, where he revised and greatly improved the penal code. Re-entering parliament in 1839 as member for Edinburgh, he became a member of the Melbourne ministry. After sharing the vicissitudes of fortune of the whig party until 1847, he retired from public life to devote himself to the preparation of his *History of England from the Accession of James I.* The first two volumes appeared in 1848, and achieved a reputation and sale which have scarcely been surpassed by the most popular novel, and were only exceeded by the reception granted the later volumes in 1855. University and national honours were heaped upon him, and his reputation became world-wide. Ill-health, which had interfered with the prosecution of his work in 1852, soon became permanent, and he died December 28th, 1859. Macaulay was a man of remarkable talent, with most unusual powers of literary acquisition, and his knowledge of modern history was unsurpassed, but his great work, while a masterpiece of style, is partial and prejudiced.

McCarthy, J., Outline of Irish History, London, 1883; History of the Four Georges, London, 1884-1901, 4 vols.; History of Our Own Times, London, 1879-1897, 5 vols.; Modern England, in *Story of the Nations* Series, London, 1898-1899. — **MacCarthy**, J. H., A History of England under Gladstone, London, 1887. — **MacCarthy**, M. J. F., Mr. Balfour's Rule in Ireland, London, 1891. — **M'Crie**, T., Life of John Knox, Edinburgh, 1812; Life of Andrew Melville, Edinburgh, 1824, 2 vols. — **Macfarlane**, C., Civil and Military History of England, in Knight's *Pictorial History of England*, London, 1838-1844, 2 vols, 1881.

Charles Macfarlane was of Scotch descent, but most of his early life was spent in Italy and Turkey. In 1829 he went to London, and was for a number of years engaged in literary work in connection with the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. He contributed the *Civil and Military History of England* to Knight's *Pictorial History*, and also wrote several popular biographies and historical novels. In his later years he again travelled extensively in Italy and Turkey, but returning to London was admitted, as a poor brother, to the Charterhouse, where he died, December 9th, 1858.

Machar, A. M., Stories of New France, Boston, 1890. — **Mackay**, A. J. G., articles on "Scotland" and "Robert Bruce" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. — **Mackay**, G., History of Bendigo, Melbourne, 1891. — **Mackinnon**, J., The Union of England and Scotland, London, 1896; History of Edward III, London, 1900. — **Mackintosh**, J., History of the Revolution in England in 1688, London, 1834, 1853, 2 vols.; Miscellaneous Works, London, 1851. — **MacLagan**, R., article on "Punjab" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. — **MacLennan**, W., Montreal and Some of the Makers Thereof, Montreal, 1893. — **MacMorrar**, A., The Local Government Act, London, 1888. — **MacMullen**, J., History of Canada from Its First Discovery to the Present Time, London, 1868. — **Macy**, J., The English Constitution, New York, 1897. — **Madhava Acharya**, The Serva-Dorsane-Samgraha: or Review of the Different Systems of Hindu Philosophy, London, 1882. — **Mahan**, A. T., Influence of Sea Power upon History 1660-1783, London, 1889; Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution and Empire 1793-1812, London, 1892, 2 vols.; Life of Nelson, the Embodiment of the Sea Power of Great Britain, London, 1899, 2 vols.

Alfred Thayer Mahan was born September 27th, 1840, at West Point, N. Y., where his father was for many years professor of engineering at the United States Military Academy. He graduated from the Naval Academy in 1859, and saw active service during the war between the states, gaining the rank of lieutenant-commander in 1865, and that of captain in 1885. For four years he was president of the Naval War College at Newport, but was retired at his own request in 1896. His great work, *Influence of Sea Power upon History*, which was an expansion of his lectures in the War College, received immediate recognition as the first philosophic discussion of the influence of maritime activity. *The Life of Nelson* has been accepted as the best biography of that renowned admiral yet published, and Mahan's other works have given him the first rank among writers upon his special topic.

Mahendranatha, D., Sketch of the History of the Establishing of British Rule in India, Benares, 1888. — **Mahon** (P. H. Stanhope), Lord, History of England from the Peace of Utrecht to the Peace of Versailles 1713-1783, London, 1836, 2 vols, 5th edition, 1858, 7 vols.; The Forty-five, London, 1851; Life of Sir Robert Peel, London, 1856-1857, 2 vols.; History of England, Comprising the Reign of Queen Anne, London, 1870, 2 vols.; Life of William Pitt, London, 1879, 2 vols.

Philip Henry Stanhope, Lord Mahon and fifth Earl of Stanhope, was born in Kent in 1805. He was educated at Oxford and entered parliament in 1832, in which he represented Hertford for nearly twenty years, and introduced and carried the copyright law which bears his name. He was under-secretary for foreign affairs in 1834, and secretary to the board of control under Peel. He was largely instrumental in the establishment of the

National Portrait Gallery and the Historical Manuscript Commission. Though not a great historian, he was a diligent student, an impartial critic, and exhibited great judgment in weighing facts. His style is clear and concise, and his works are recognised as authoritative.

Maine, H. J. S., Lectures on the Early History of Institutions, London, 1875; India 1837-1887, London, 1887. — **Maitland,** F. W., Justice and Police, London and New York, 1885; Domesday Book and Beyond, Cambridge, 1897 [the best analysis of the contents of Domesday]. See also Pollock F. — **Maitland,** S. R., The Dark Ages, Being a Series of Essays Intended to Illustrate the State of Religion and Literature in the Ninth, Tenth, Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries, London, 1844. — **Major,** J., Historia Majoris Britanniæ tam Angliæ quam Scotiæ, Paris, 1521, 4 vols., English translation by A. Constable, Edinburgh, 1892. — **Makower,** L., Constitution of the English Church, London, 1895. — **Malcolm,** J., Memoir of Central India, London, 1823, 2 vols.; Political History of India from 1784 to 1823, London, 1826, 2 vols.; Life of Lord Clive, London, 1836. — **Malleson,** G. B., History of the French in India, London, 1868; Founders of the Indian Empire, London, 1882; Decisive Battles in India, London, 1885; The Indian Mutiny of 1857, London, 1890. — **Malmesbury,** Earl of, Memoirs of an Ex-Minister; an Autobiography, London, 1884. — **Malmesbury,** William of, De Gestis Regum Anglorum, edited by T. D. Hardy, London, 1840, 2 vols., translation by J. A. Giles, Chronicle of the Kings of England, London, 1847; De Vita S. Wulstani, London, 1691, 2 vols.; Gesta Stephani, edited by R. C. Sewell, London, 1846.

William of Malmesbury was of English and Norman parentage, and was born apparently about thirty years after the Conquest. His love for letters was encouraged by his father, who placed him in the monastic school at Malmesbury, where he became a monk and subsequently librarian and annalist to the monastery. He declined the appointment of abbot in 1140, took part in the council at Westminster in 1141, and probably died in 1142. Though little is known of his life, his works testify to his intellect and literary capacity. His reputation was widespread, and he was often requested by other monasteries to write the lives of their patron saints and the history of their communities. His research was painstaking and comprehensive, and the clear, flowing style of his narratives is in striking contrast with the dry compilations of other writers of his day. His education seems to have raised him above the superstitious credulity of the period; he is careful in weighing evidence and sifts thoroughly all doubtful stories. His pictures of social life and customs are vivid and accurate, and his narrative of the upheavals of that stirring period is graphic and picturesque.

Malthus, T. R., An Essay on the Principle of Population, London, 1798, 9th edition, 1888. — **Manning,** Mrs., Ancient and Mediæval India, London, 1869, 2 vols. — **Manvier,** X., Les États Unis et le Canada, Tours, 1886. — **Markham,** C. R., Life of the Great Lord Fairfax, London, 1870. — **Marris,** H. M., The Rt. Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, London, 1890. — **Marsden,** J. B., History of the Later Puritans, London, 1852. — **Marshall,** C., The Canadian Dominion, London, 1871. — **Marshall,** H., Ceylon and Its Inhabitants, London, 1846. — **Marshman,** J. C., The History of India, London, 1893. — **Martin,** A. P., Stories from Australian History, London, 1893; Australia and the Empire, Edinburgh, 1893. — **Martin,** H., Histoire de France depuis 1789, Paris, 1879, 2 vols. — **Martin** R. M., The Colonies of the British Empire, London, 1834-1838, 6 vols. — **Martin,** T., The Life of the Prince Consort, London, 1875, 5 vols. — **Martineau,** H., History of England during the Thirty Years' Peace, London, 1849-1850, 2 vols.; British Rule in India, London, 1857; Introduction to the History of the Peace, London, 1857; Palmerston, in *Biographical Sketches,* London, 1869; History of England 1800-1815, London, 1878.

Harriet Martineau was of Huguenot descent, and was born at Norwich, June 12th, 1802. At her father's death, being left in comparative poverty, she began a literary career, and continued to be a prolific and popular writer throughout her life. She spent two years in the United States, from 1834 to 1836, and in 1846 travelled extensively in the Levant. Her works are numerous and varied in subject, and are distinguished for lucid style, sincerity, and wise judgment.

Marvell, A., Life and Works, edited by Cooke, London, 1726, 2 vols., by Thompson, London, 1776, 3 vols., by J. Dove, London, 1832, by E. P. Hood, London, 1853. — **Massey** W., History of England during the Reign of George III, London, 1855-1860, 4 vols., 2nd edition, 1865-1866. — **Masson,** D., Life of John Milton [containing in chapters alternating with the personal biography, one of the best accounts to be found of social life during the Civil War and under the Commonwealth], London, 1859-1879, 6 vols. — **Matthew of Paris,** Historia Major Angliæ, edited by Luard, London, 1872-1880, 5 vols.; Historia Minor Angliæ, edited by Madden, London, 1866-1869, 3 vols.

Little is known of *Matthew Paris,* save that he became a monk of St. Albans in 1217, and was appointed chronographer of that abbey in 1236, a position which he held until his death about 1259. In 1248 he was sent by the pope on a special mission to Norway, where he remained eighteen months. He is believed to have been a skilful artist and illuminator as well as a worker in metals. His writings indicate an education far broader

than that of most of his contemporaries, and a cosmopolitan view which must have been gained by extensive travel and wide reading. His views of English politics are singularly clear and accurate, and his estimates of foreign nations in their relations with England are almost modern in their breadth and freedom from insular prejudice.

Matthew of Westminster, Flores Historiarum, translation by D. Young, London, 1853, 2 vols. — **Maude,** F. C., Memoirs of the Mutiny, London, 1894. — **Maures de Malartic,** A. J. H. de, Journal des Campagnes au Canada, Dijon, 1890. — **Maurice,** E. C., Lives of the English Popular Leaders in the Middle Ages, London, 1875, 2 vols. — **Maxwell,** H. E., Life of the Right Hon. W. H. Smith, London, 1893; Life of the Duke of Wellington, London, 1899, 2 vols. — **Maxwell,** W. H., Life of the Duke of Wellington, London, 1831-1841, 3 vols. — **May,** T., A History of the Parliament of England which began November 3rd, 1640, London, 1650, Oxford, 1854. — **May,** T. E., A Constitutional History of England since the Accession of George III 1760-1860 [supplementing and continuing the works of Stubbs and Hallam, it is the most valuable constitutional history of England for the period covered], London, 1861, 1863, 2 vols. — **Mede,** J., Works, London, 1664, 2 vols. — **Medley,** D. J., Manual of English Constitutional History, London, 1898. — **Melville,** J., Memoirs of His Own Life, edited by T. Thomas, Edinburgh, 1827. — **Melville,** J. (Rev.), Diary, Edinburgh, 1836. — **Mercier,** H., L'avenir du Canada, Montreal, 1893. — **Merewether,** H. A., and A. J. **Stephens,** The History of the Boroughs and Municipal Corporations in the United Kingdom, from the Earliest to the Present Time, London, 1835, 3 vols. — **Merivale,** C., A General History of Rome, London, 1875. — **Merryweather,** F. S., Glimmerings in the Dark, London, 1850. — **Meteren,** E. van, Belgieshe of Nederlantsche historien van onse tyden, Delft, 1599. — **Mezlhiac,** G. de, Essai comparatif entre le cardinal duc de Richelieu et M. William Pitt, Paris, 1816. — **Michele,** G., Les dépêches de G. Michiel, Ambassadeur de Venise en Angleterre pendant les années de 1554 à 1557, Venice, 1869. — **Mignet,** F. A. M., Négociations relatives à la succession d'Espagne sous Louis XIV, Paris, 1836-1844, 4 vols.; Histoire de Marie Stuart, Paris, 1851, 2 vols., translation by A. Scoble, London, 1851, 1881. — **Mill,** J., The History of British India, London, 1818, 3 vols, 1851, 9 vols, 1872, 10 vols. — **Milman,** H. H., History of Latin Christianity, London, 1854-1856, 6 vols., 1883, 9 vols. — **Milner,** A., England in Egypt, London, 1899. — **Milner,** I. and J., History of the Church of Christ, London, 1794-1809, 5 vols. — **Milton,** J., History of Britain, London, 1670; Prose Works, London, 1808, 7 vols, in Vol. I, Defence of the People of England in answer to Salmasius.

John Milton was born in London, December 9th, 1608. He gave early promise of unusual mental power, and became distinguished at Cambridge for the remarkable grace of his Latin verse. From childhood destined for the church, the policy of Laud caused him to hesitate and finally to abandon his chosen calling. After leaving the university he passed six years upon his father's estate in study and poetical composition. In 1638 he went to Italy, where he was received with great honour, but was recalled to England by the civil strife then approaching a climax. For ten years he was engaged in ecclesiastical controversy, and published numerous pamphlets in defence of the Puritan contentions. In 1649 he issued his famous *Iconoclastes*, and in 1650 the *Defensio Populi Anglicani* in reply to Salmasius. On the establishment of the Commonwealth he was appointed Latin secretary to the council of state, a post for which he was especially qualified, and notwithstanding the total loss of his eyesight in 1652, he continued to perform the duties of the office until the abdication of Richard Cromwell in 1659. After his retirement from public life he completed the great epics whose preparation he had long planned. He died November 8th, 1674. Milton's poetic fame has largely obscured his merit as a controversialist. His prose writings have the defects of his time: personalities, grossness and pedantry; but in them he defends religious, civil, and political liberty with an eloquence unsurpassed in English literature for grandeur, harmony, and colour.

Moberley, G. H., Life of William of Wykeham, Winchester, 1887. — **Molesworth,** W. M., The History of England from the Year 1830, London, 1866-1873, 3 vols. — **Momerie,** A. W., English Church and Roman Schism, Edinburgh, 1896. — **Moncrieff,** J., Influence of John Knox and the Scottish Reformation in England, London, 1860. — **Monstrelet,** E. de, Chronique, in Buchon's *Chroniques Françaises du XIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1824-1829, 47 vols. — **Montcalm de St. Veran,** L. J., Journal de Marquis de Montcalm, Quebec, 1895. — **More,** T., Utopia, Louvain, 1516, translation by R. Robynson, London, 1551, by G. Burnet, London, 1688, London, 1893. — **Morgan,** H. J., Canadian Men and Women of the Time, Ottawa, 1898 — **Morley,** J., Life of Edmund Burke, London, 1879; Life of Richard Cobden, London, 1881, 2 vols.; Walpole, London, 1889; Cromwell, London, 1900; Life of Gladstone, London, 1903.

John Morley was born at Blackburn, in Lancashire, December 24th, 1838, and was educated at Oxford. He was successively editor of the *Literary Gazette* and of the *Morning Star* until 1867, when he took charge of the *Fortnightly Review* which he conducted with great success until 1883, when he became editor of *Macmillan's Magazine*. During this period he supervised the "English Men of Letters Series," writing the lives of Burke and Cobden. Upon entering parliament in 1883 he soon became prominent, and

in 1886 was made secretary for Ireland under Gladstone, whose political vicissitudes he shared. He has been a prominent figure in public life for many years, and in addition to his editorial labours has published numerous valuable biographies, notably those of Cromwell and Gladstone. Morley was one of the three literary men of England chosen by Edward VII to receive the new Order of Merit, instituted at the time of his coronation.

Morris, W. O'C., Ireland, Cambridge, 1896. — **Mozley,** T. B., Essays, Historical and Theological, London, 1884, 2 vols. — **Mueller,** F. M., India, What Can It Teach Us? London, 1892. — **Munro,** J. E. C., The Constitution of Canada, Cambridge, 1889. — **Mullinger,** J. B., The Schools of Charles the Great, London, 1876; History of the University of Cambridge, London, 1888. — **Murdin,** W., Collection of State Papers Relating to the Affairs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, London, 1759. — **Murdock,** J., History of Constitutional Reform in Great Britain and Ireland, London, 1885. — **Murison,** A. F., Sir William Wallace, Edinburgh, 1898.

Nalson, J., Impartial Collection of the Great Affairs of State from the Beginning of the Scotch Rebellion to the Murder of Charles I, London, 1682. — **Napier,** W. F. P., History of the War in the Peninsula, London, 1836, 6 vols.; History of the Conquest of Scinde, London, 1845, 2 vols.

William Francis Patrick Napier, who was born at Celbridge, Ireland, December 17th, 1785, entered the army at an early age, took part in the siege of Copenhagen, served with Moore at Corunna, and was made lieutenant-colonel in 1813, for distinguished services in Spain. He rose to the rank of general and was knighted in 1848. His active participation in the Peninsular War well qualified him in some respect to write its history, and he gained great reputation by the work, though many of his statements were bitterly controverted. Napier died February 10th, 1860, at Scinde House, Clapham.

Nasse, E., Über die mittelalterliche Feldgemeinschaft und die Einhegungen des 16. Jahrhunderts in England, Bonn, 1869, English translation, On the Agricultural Community of the Middle Ages, London, 1871. — **Naunton,** R., Fragmenta Regalia, or Observations on the late Queen Elizabeth, her Times and Favourites, London, 1642. — **Neal,** D., History of the Puritans, London, 1811. — **Nennius,** Historia Britonum, in *Monumenta Historica Britannica,* London, 1848. — **Néve,** J. le, Fasti Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, London, 1854, 3 vols. — **Newland,** S., The Far North Country, Adelaide, 1894. — **Nicholls,** G., A History of Scotch Poor Law and also Irish Poor Law; A History of English Poor Law, London, 1854, 2 vols. — **Nicolas,** N. H., History of the Battle of Agincourt, 3d edition, London, 1833; History of the Royal Navy, London, 1847, 2 vols. — **Nicoll,** H. J., Great Orators, Edinburgh, 1880. — **Nimmo,** History of Stirlingshire, Edinburgh, 1777. — **Nineteenth Century,** article called "Tancred," by B. Disraeli, London, 1895; article called "The Queen and Lord Beaconsfield," by R. B. Brett, London, 1895. — **Noailles,** A. de, Négociations en Angleterre, Paris, 1766. — **Norgate,** K., England under the Angevin Kings, London, 1869. — **North,** R., The Lives of the Norths, London, 1740-1742, 2 vols., new edition 1898. — **Norton,** G., History, Constitution, etc., of the City of London, London, 1869. — **Nugent,** G. N. C., Memorials of John Hampden, London, 1825.

Oblate of Mary Immaculate, An, History of Ceylon, Jaffna, 1887. — **O'Brien,** R. B., The Irish Land Question and English Public Opinion, London, 1881; Fifty Years of Concessions to Ireland, 1831-81, London, 1883-1885, 2 vols.; Life of Charles Stewart Parnell, 1846-1891, London, 1898. — **O'Connell,** T., in *Correspondence of D. O'Connell,* London, 1888, 2 vols. — **O'Connor,** T. P., The Parnell Movement, London, 1889. — **O'Donovan, J.,** The Four Masters, Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland, Dublin, 1848-1851, 3 vols. — **Oldmixon,** J., Critical History of England, London, 1730-1739, 3 vols. — **Oliphant,** M., Historical Sketches of the Reign of George II, London, 1869, 2 vols. — **Oman,** C. W. C., The Art of War in the Middle Ages, London, 1885; England and the Hundred Years' War, London, 1898.

Charles William Chadwick Oman was born at Mozufferpore, India, January 12th, 1860. He was educated at Winchester and Oxford, and in 1900 was made deputy professor of modern history in that university. Since 1888 he has been busily engaged in historical research, and has produced a number of valuable works relating to the history of England, as well as of other nations.

One of Her Majesty's Servants, The Private Life of the Queen, London, 1897. — **Ordericus Vitalis,** Historia Ecclesiastica, Paris, 1619, English translation, Ecclesiastical History of England and Normandy, London, 1853-1856, 4 vols.

Ordericus Vitalis, born at Atcham, near Shrewsbury, about the year 1075, was of French parentage, and was sent abroad at an early age to receive his education. The greater part of his life was spent at the abbey of St. Evrault, at Ouche, in Normandy, where he composed his history. This work, in thirteen books, is wholly without chronological arrangement, and seems to have been thrown together at random, as the author gained information. This discursiveness of style, however, does not detract from the interest of the work, and it furnishes a series of valuable facts regarding the history of England and Normandy, narrated in a remarkably clear and vivid manner, interspersed

with vigorous sketches of the life and character of the period. Ordericus died at Ouche in 1142.

Orme, R., History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Hindostan, Madras, 1775-1778, 3 vols.; Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire of the Mahrattas, Madras, 1782. — **Orr,** J., The Reformers, Glasgow, 1885. — **Osborne,** F., Traditional Memoirs of the Reign of King James I, Edinburgh, 1811. — **Osler,** E., Life of Admiral Viscount Exmouth, London, 1840. — **Overall,** J., Convocation Book of MDCVI, commonly called Bishop Overall's Book of Canons, Oxford, 1844. — **Owen,** T. M., History of England and Wales, London, 1882.

Palgrave, F., Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth, London, 1831, 2 vols.; History of the Anglo-Saxons, London, 1832; History of Normandy and England, London, 1857, 4 vols.

Francis Palgrave was born in London in 1788. He was the son of Meyer Cohen, a wealthy Hebrew, and was privately educated, exhibiting marked precocity. On his marriage, in 1823, he obtained permission to assume the name of Palgrave. From an early age he was interested in antiquarian and historical research, and contributed frequently to the *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly Reviews.* After the publication of his *Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth,* in 1831, he received the honour of knighthood. In 1838 he was appointed deputy keeper of records, and to him was due the establishment of the great Public Record Office. His *History of Normandy* was mainly published after his death, July 6th, 1861. While his works display research and ingenuity, they are lacking in style and arrangement, and have been largely superseded by those of later writers.

Palgrave, R. F. D., The House of Commons, London, 1878. — **Palmer,** R., (Baron Selborne), Memorials, London, 1898, 4 vols. — **Paris,** M., see Matthew Paris. — **Parker,** C. S., Life of Peel, London, 1890. — **Parker,** J., Some Account of Domestic Architecture in England, Oxford, 1859. — **Parkes,** H., Fifty Years in the Making of Australian History, London, 1892, 2 vols. — **Parkin,** J. R., The Great Dominion, London, 1895. — **Parkman,** F., The Conspiracy of Pontiac and the Indian War, Boston, 1851; The Old Régime in Canada, Boston, 1864, London, 1899; Count Frontenac and New France under Louis XVI, Boston, 1878; A Half Century of Conflict, Boston, 1892, 2 vols. — **Parliamentary or Constitutional History of England,** London, 1751-1761, 24 vols. — **Parsons,** R., Leycester's Commonwealth, London, 1641. — **Paston Letters,** edited by J. Gairdner, in Arber's *English Reprints,* London, 1872-1875, 3 vols. — **Pauli,** G. R., König Alfred und seine Stelle in der Geschichte Englands, Berlin, 1851, English translation, Life of King Alfred, London, 1852; Geschichte Englands seit den Friedensschlüssen von 1814 und 1815, Leipsic, 1864-1875, 3 vols.; Simon von Montfort, Graf von Leicester, der Schopfer des Hauses der Gemeinen, Tübingen, 1867, English translation, Simon de Montfort, London, 1876.

Georg Reinhold Pauli was born at Berlin, May 25th, 1823. He was educated at Berlin and Bonn and spent several years in England in antiquarian research and as secretary to the Prussian embassy. Upon his return to Germany he became a professor at Tübingen, and afterwards at Marburg and Göttingen. His historical writings are largely connected with England and are marked by lucidity and research. He died June 3rd, 1882.

Payne, E. J., and J. S. **Cotton,** Colonies and Dependencies, London, 1883. — **Peacock,** E., Archæological Journal, London, 1883. — **Pearson,** C. H., History of England during the Early and Middle Ages, London, 1867, 2 vols.; English History in the Fourteenth Century, London, 1876.

Charles Henry Pearson, born at Islington, September 7th, 1830, was educated at King's college, London, and at Oxford. From 1855 to 1865 he was professor of modern history at King's college, and from 1869 to 1871 lecturer at Trinity college, Cambridge. In 1871 he went to Australia, engaged in sheep-farming, and sat for a number of years in the legislative assembly of South Australia. From 1886 to 1890 he was minister of education. Compelled by ill-health to return to England, he died at London, May 29th, 1894.

Pepys, S., Diary and Correspondence, London, 1825.

Samuel Pepys was born in London, February 23d, 1633, and educated at Cambridge. He entered the public service and held the position of secretary to the admiralty from 1673 until the revolution of 1688. For two years he was president of the Royal Society, and was busy throughout his life in the collection of the vast store of ancient manuscripts which he bequeathed to Magdalen college. He wrote a *History of the Royal Navy,* and has been credited with *The Portugal History,* but will always be famous for his *Diary,* written during the years 1660 to 1669, which presents a most vivid picture of the court and times of Charles II. It was written from day to day in a sort of shorthand, which was deciphered by the Rev. J. Smith, and first published in 1825. Pepys was a diligent and laborious public servant, and an exceedingly shrewd observer of men and events, and has left us an invaluable record of a most interesting period. He died at London, May 26th, 1703.

Percy, T., Reliques of Ancient English Poetry, Edinburgh, 1765, 3 vols., edited by Wheatley, London, 1891, 3 vols. — **Perry,** G. G., History of the English Church, London, 1878-1881, 3 vols. — **Peter of Blois,** Epistolæ, Paris, 1667. — **Petitot,** E., Traditions in-

diennes du Canada Nord Ouest, Paris, 1886.—**Petty,** W., Political Arithmetic, London, 1682.—**Phayre,** A., History of Burma, London, 1883.—**Pimblett,** W. M., How the British Won India, London, 1893.—**Pinkerton,** J., History of Scotland from the Accession of the House of Stuart to that of Mary, London, 1797, 2 vols.—**Plener,** E. E. von, Die Englische Fabrikgesetzgebung, Vienna, 1871, English translation, English Factory Legislation, London, 1873.—**Plinius,** C. Secundus, Historia Naturalis, Venice, 1469, translation by Philemon Holland, London, 1601.—**Plunket,** D., Life, Letters and Speeches of Lord Plunket, London, 1867, 2 vols.—**Pole,** R., Apologia, Rome, 1538; Pro unitate ecclesiæ, Rome, 1538.—**Pollock,** F., The Land Laws, London and New York, 1882-1885; with F. W. Maitland, History of the English Law before the time of Edward I, Cambridge, 1895, 2 vols.—**Pope,** G. U., Indian History and Geography, London, 1871.—**Porter,** R. G., The Progress of the Nation, London, 1836-1843, 3 vols., 1851.—**Powell,** F. Y., Saga Growth in Folk-Lore, Oxford, 1883, 2 vols.—**Prentice,** A., Personal Recollections of Manchester, London, 1851; History of the Anti-Corn Law League, London, 1853, 2 vols.—**Prinsep,** H. T., The India Question in 1853, London, 1853.—**Prothero,** G. W., Life and Times of Simon de Montfort, London, 1877; Statutes and Constitutional Documents, 1559-1625, Cambridge, 1897; articles in the *Encyclopædia Britannica.*

George Walter Prothero, born in Wiltshire, October 14th, 1848, was educated at Cambridge and Bonn. He was lecturer on modern history at Cambridge from 1876 to 1894, and professor at Edinburgh until 1899, when he became editor of the *Quarterly Review.* He has edited a number of important works and has written valuable biographies.

Prynne, W., Canterburies Doome, London, 1646.—**Puiseux,** M. L., Siège et prise de Rouen, Caen, 1867.—**Pulling,** F. S., Life and Speeches of the Marquis of Salisbury, London, 1885.—**Pulling,** F. S., and S. J. **Low,** Dictionary of English History, London, 1897.—**Purchas,** S., Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas his Pilgrimes, London, 1625-1626, 5 vols.

Quarterly Review, Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, London, 1866; The Conservative Surrender, London, 1867; Mr. Balfour's Administration of Ireland, London, 1888.

Radcliffe, G., The Earl of Stafford's Letters—with an Essay Towards His Life, London, 1739.—**Rae,** W. F., Wilkes, Sheridan, Fox, London, 1874; Sheridan, London, 1896, 2 vols.—**Raleigh,** W., Discoverie of Guiana, London, 1596; Works, Oxford, 1829.—**Ramsay,** J. H., Lancaster and York, Oxford, 1892; Foundations of England, London, 1898.

James Henry Ramsay, who was born in 1832 and educated at Eton and Oxford, was called to the bar in 1863. Since his succession to the estates of his ancient family he has engaged in literary pursuits, and has made some valuable contributions to English history, and by his diligent investigation has solved many controverted points.

Ranke, L. von, Englische Geschichte vornehmlich im 17. Jahrhundert, Berlin, 1858-1867, 7 vols., 4th edition 1877-1879, 9 vols., English translation, A History of England Principally in the Seventeenth Century, London, 1875, 6 vols.

Leopold von Ranke, (1795-1886), who, with Niebuhr, was a founder of the modern school of historical research, in support of his theory of the essential unity of history—especially that of the Latin and Germanic peoples of Europe—has made very careful study of England in her continental relations. His investigations of the Protestant revolutions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are marked by the same careful research, excellent critical judgment, and sharp, accurate characterisation which distinguish his other writings.

Ransome, C., Our Colonies and India; How We Got Them, London, 1885; Rise of Constitutional Government in England, London, 1887.—**Rapson,** E. J., Struggle between England and France in India, London, 1887.—**Rashdall,** H., Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, Oxford, 1895.—**Raumer,** F. L. G. von, Political History of England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, London, 1837, 2 vols.

Friedrich Ludwig Georg von Raumer was born at Wörlitz, near Dessau, May 14th, 1781, educated at Halle and Göttingen, and began the practice of law in 1801. He was appointed professor of history at Breslau in 1811, and in 1819 became professor of political science at Berlin. His utter lack of oratorical power proved a great obstacle to his success as a lecturer and he resigned in 1831. The following years were spent in travel through France, Italy, England and America, and bore fruit in several works upon the history of these countries. Von Raumer entered public life in 1848 and represented Prussia at the French court for several years. In 1853 he was made professor *emeritus* at the university of Berlin, and was a member of the House of Lords of Prussia from 1851 until his death, June 14th, 1873. Von Raumer was the first to popularise history in Germany, and his works have attained high reputation.

Raven, J., Parliamentary History of England from the Passing of the Reform Bill in 1832, London, 1885.—**Rees,** R., Essay on the Welsh Saints, London, 1836.—**Reeves,** W. P., The Long White Cloud, A History of New Zealand, London, 1898.—**Reid,** S. J., Lord John Russell, London, 1895.—**Reid,** T. W., Life of W. E. Forster, London, 1888; Life, Letters and Friendships of R. M. Milnes, First Lord Houghton, London, 1890.—**Reresby,**

J., Memoirs, London, 1875, edited by J. J. Cartwright.—**Retz,** Cardinal de, Mémoires, Paris, 1717, edited by A. Champollion, Paris, 1837. — **Reynolds,** T., Life of Thomas Reynolds of Kilkea Castle, London, 1839, 2 vols. — **Rhys,** J., Early Britain, Celtic Britain, London, 1882; Studies in the Arthurian Legend, Oxford, 1891. — **Richard of Devizes,** Chronicon de Rebus Gestis Richard I, edited by J. Stevenson, London, 1838.

Richard of Devizes, a chronicler of the twelfth century, was a Benedictine monk of St. Swithin's at Winchester. His chronicle is of interest as relating to the condition of England during the reign of Richard I. While he gives much information regarding Richard's crusade, his work is chiefly occupied with the record of domestic events and the contests of Prince John with the adherents of Richard. An interesting item is that of the first incorporation of the city of London. The chronicle is written in a pedantic, artificial style, and filled with classical quotations; but its matter is of exceptional value and enables us to form a clear idea of the spirit of the age.

Richey, A. G., A Short History of the Irish People, London, 1887. — **Ridpath** J. C., Life and Times of Gladstone, Cincinnati, 1898. — **Riley,** H. T., Memorials of London and London Life, London, 1868. — **Rishanger,** W., Chronicon et Annales, in *Chronica Monasterii S. Albani* (*Rolls Series*), London, 1863-1876, 11 vols. — **Roberts,** C. G. D., History of Canada, Boston, 1897, London, 1898. — **Roberts,** F. S., Lord, The Rise of Wellington, London, 1895; Forty-one Years in India, London, 1898. — **Roberts,** P. (translation from the Welsh), Chronicles of the Kings of Britain, London, 1811. — **Robertson,** E. W., Scotland under her Early Kings, Edinburgh, 1862, 2 vols. — **Robertson,** W., History of Scotland during the Reigns of Mary and of James VI till his Accession to the crown of England, London, 1759, 2 vols. — **Robertson,** W. J., Leading Facts of Canadian History, 1891. — **Rockhill,** W. W., The Life of Buddha and the Early History of his Order (derived from Tibetan Works, etc.), New York, 1884. — **Roe,** W. F., Columbia and Canada, London, 1878. — **Roebuck,** J. A., History of the Whig Ministry of 1830, London, 1852, 2 vols. — **Roger of Hoveden,** Chronica, Oxford, 1596, edited by W. Stubbs, History of England from 731-1202 (*Annals of English History*), London, 1868-1871, 4 vols. — **Roger of Wendover** Flores Historiarum, translation by J. A. Giles, Flowers of History, London, 1849, 2 vols. — **Rogers,** J. E. Thorold, A History of Agriculture and Prices in England from 1250-1793, Oxford, 1866-1888, 6 vols.; Six Centuries of Work and Wages; A History of English Labour, London, 1884, 2 vols.; Industrial and Commercial History of England, London, 1892-1894, 2 vols. — **Romilly,** S., Memoirs, London, 1842, 2 vols. — **Roosevelt,** T., The Naval War of 1812, New York, 1882; Cromwell, New York, 1900. — **Rosebery,** Lord, Pitt, London, 1891. — **Ross,** C., Correspondence of Charles, First Marquis of Cornwallis, London, 1859. — **Royal,** Le Canada République ou Colonie, Montreal, 1894. — **Rusdorf,** J. J. de, Mémoires et négociations secrètes, Leipsic, 1789, 2 vols. — **Rush,** R., Narrative of a Residence at the Court of London from 1817 till 1825, Philadelphia, 1833-1845, 2 vols. — **Rushworth,** J., Historical Collections of Private Passages of State, etc. (1618-1649), London, 1659-1701, 8 vols. — **Russell,** G., Right Honourable William Ewart Gladstone, London, 1891. — **Russell,** J. (Lord), Correspondence of the Duke of Bedford, London, 1842-1846, 3 vols.; Life and Times of Charles James Fox, London, 1859-1860; An Essay on the English Government and Constitution from Henry VII, London, 1873; Recollections and Suggestions, London, 1875. — **Russell,** H., Canada, its Defences, Condition, and Resources, London, 1865. — **Russell,** T. B., Last Year, Events of 1890, London, 1891. —**Russell.** W. C., Horatio Nelson and the Supremacy of England, London, 1890. — **Rymer,** T., Foedera Conventiones Literæ et alia Acta Publica inter Reges Angliæ et alios Principes, London, 1704-1734, 20 vols., edited by T. Cayley and F. Holbrooke, London, 1869, 4 vols.

St. Remy, J. Lefèvre de, Chronique de Lalain, Paris, 1668, edited by Buchon, in *Panthéon littéraire,* Paris, 1826-1838. — **Saintsbury,** G., The Earl of Derby, London, 1892. — **Sanders,** L. C., Life of Viscount Palmerston, London, 1888. — **Sanders,** N., De Origine ac Progressu Schismatis Anglicani, London, 1585, English version by Lewis, London, 1877. — **Sanderson,** E., Africa in the Nineteenth Century, London, 1898. — **Sanderson,** W., Aulicus Coquinariæ, edited by Sir W. Scott, Edinburgh, 1811, 2 vols. — **Sandham,** A., Ville Marie, or Montreal Past and Present, Montreal, 1870. — **Satyachandra,** M., Indian History of Our Own Times, London, 1891. —**Savile,** B. W., How India was Won, London, 1881. — **Savile,** H., Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores post Bedam præcipui, ex vetustissimis codicibus manuscriptis nunc primum in lucem editi, Frankfort, 1601. — **Scott,** Walter, Secret History of the Court of James I, Edinburgh, 1811, 2 vols.; History of Scotland (in Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia), London, 1830, 3 vols.

Walter Scott, poet, novelist and historian, was born at Edinburgh, August 15th, 1771. He was descended from a family of Border lairds of which the first known representative was a Walter Scott, known as "Auld Wat of Harden." Scott's health in early youth was delicate and his schooling was irregular. At the age of sixteen he was apprenticed to his father, who was a lawyer, and was admitted to the faculty of advocates in 1792. His subsequent appointment to certain official positions enabled him to apply much of his time to literary work. Study of ancient Scottish manuscripts had supplied him with a store

of old traditions and romantic tales, and the success attained by his translation of some of Bürger's ballads in 1792, encouraged him to undertake original composition. The immediate popularity of the *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, published in 1805, determined his choice of a literary career. For the next few years his connection with the publishing house of Ballantyne and Co. occupied his time and mind, still he produced *Marmion* and the *Lady of the Lake*, besides many miscellaneous poems. In 1812 the rash speculative ventures of the Ballantynes so involved him that he was on the verge of bankruptcy. Under the spur of an enormous debt, Scott exhibited the marvellous powers of his mind and the fertility of his imagination by pouring forth a succession of historic novels, treatises on chivalry and romance, Border antiquities, biographies, and histories with a rapidity that has never been equalled. Success and honour rewarded his labours. His name became a household word and his fame undying, but the strain was too great upon an originally delicate constitution, and the end came September 21st, 1832. Scott's reputation rests more upon his poems and historical novels than upon his histories. These were to a large extent hackwork, but were informed and enlivened by the same intimate knowledge and wealth of description.

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Sir John R. Seeley was born in London in 1834. He graduated at Christ's College, Cambridge, and in 1863 was appointed professor of Latin at University College, London. From 1869 till his death, in 1895, he was professor of modern history at Cambridge. His valuable, but unduly long and unattractive, *Life and Times of Stein* was followed by his illuminating essay on *The Expansion of England*, which, coming at an opportune time, did much to make Englishmen regard the colonies, not as mere appendages, but as an expansion of the British state and nationality. His last work, a lucid and thoughtful study entitled *The Growth of British Policy*, was published posthumously in 1896.

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Goldwin Smith, born at Reading, August 23d, 1823, was educated at Oxford, and became an enthusiast upon the subject of university reform. He served as secretary to the Royal Commissions of 1850 and 1854, and in 1858 was made regius professor of modern history at Oxford. During the Civil War in the United States he strongly espoused the cause of the North, and was largely influential in turning English sentiment to that side. In 1868 he removed to the United States and became professor of English history at Cornell University, where he remained until 1871, when he removed to Toronto, Canada, where he still resides. Since his removal to Toronto he has been editor of the *Canadian Monthly*, also of the *Week* and the *Bystander*. He has written many pamphlets and treatises on questions of the day and several historical works, which, although terse and brilliant in style, make no claim to original research.

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Prior to 1833 the public records of England were most negligently kept. Packed in chests, unindexed, and, therefore, almost unavailable, they were stored in various lumber rooms, exposed to theft and to destruction by damp and vermin. Upon the establishment of the State Paper Office these important documents began to take their proper place in the national literature, and having been largely calendared and arranged — the more ancient transcribed and in many instances translated — now constitute a most valuable source of historical knowledge. Large volumes containing condensations of many of these records from the time of Henry VIII to the end of the eighteenth century have been published, and in time every paper of historical value will be available.

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Agnes Strickland was born at Reydon Hall, Suffolk, July 19th, 1796. Her earliest literary efforts were historical romances in the style of Scott, followed by a number of histories for children. For nearly twenty years Miss Strickland was engaged in the preparation of a series of biographies of the queens of England and Scotland, which were published between the years 1840 and 1859. Earnest study of official documents and records enabled her to present lifelike pictures of the manners and customs of former times. Miss Strickland was an enthusiastic champion of Mary Stuart, and published an edition of the letters of that unfortunate queen in 1843. In 1871 she was granted a pension of £100 in recognition of her talents, and died at Reydon Hall, July 8th, 1874.

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William Stubbs, born at Knaresborough, June 21st, 1825, was educated at Oxford. Entering the church, he was rector of Navestock, in Essex, from 1850 to 1866, when he was appointed regius professor of modern history at Oxford. The duties of his professorship were irksome, as they seriously interfered with his historical researches, which he pursued diligently until his elevation to the bishopric of Chester in 1884. Dr. Stubbs was especially qualified for historical work, possessing remarkable keenness of judgment and a love for minute and critical investigation. He edited numerous Latin texts and wrote ecclesiastical history, but his reputation is largely based upon his *Constitutional History*, which is the highest authority on the period it covers, and undoubtedly one of the most scholarly historical works ever written. He became bishop of Oxford in 1889, and died in London, April 22nd, 1901.

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William Makepeace Thackeray was born in Calcutta, India, July 18th, 1811. He was educated at Cambridge, but left without taking a degree. Having inherited a considerable fortune, he pursued the study of art for several years, but about 1840 adopted a literary career. The superior talent for humour and satire displayed in his writings soon gave him wide reputation, which was extended and established by the series of novels published during the years 1844 to 1854. During 1852 and 1856 Thackeray visited the United States, lecturing in the principal cities. For the second tour, he wrote the *Lectures on the Four Georges*, his only historical work. In 1860 he became editor of the *Cornhill Magazine*, but resigned in 1862. He died suddenly, December 24th, 1863.

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Sir George Otto Trevelyan, author and statesman, was born in 1838, and took his degree at Trinity college, Cambridge. He spent several years in the Indian civil service, was a member of parliament from 1868 to 1886, where he advocated such radical measures as a woman's suffrage bill and the abolition of the house of lords. He entered the Gladstone ministry of 1868 as civil lord of the admiralty, was chief secretary for Ireland in 1882, chancellor for the Duchy of Lancaster, 1884-1885, and secretary for Scotland 1886. In 1876 he published his admirable *Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, and in 1880 his *Early History of Charles James Fox*. From 1892-1895 he was again secretary for Scotland, retiring to private life in the latter year.

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Alexander Fraser Tytler was born at Edinburgh, October 15th, 1747. He was educated at Edinburgh and London, called to the bar in 1770, and appointed joint-professor of universal history in the university of Edinburgh in 1780, becoming sole professor in 1786. The general heads of his lectures were published in 1782, under the title of *Elements of History* but their full text did not appear until 1834. The work attained great popularity and was translated into several foreign languages. In 1802 Tytler was raised to the bench under the title of Lord Woodhouselee. He died at Edinburgh, January 5th, 1813.

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Sir Spencer Walpole, born 1839, was educated at Eton and entered the Civil Service; was lieutenant-governor of the Isle of Man in 1882, and has been secretary of the Post Office since 1892. His *History of England* is the best treatment of the modern period, noteworthy for its impartiality and breadth of view.

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Expedition of Brute to the End of the Reign of James I, London, 1709. — **Wilberforce,** R. J. and S., An Unrecorded Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, London, 1895; Life of William Wilberforce, London, 1838, 5 vols., 1898, 3 vols. — **Wilberforce,** W., Pitt and Wilberforce, edited by Lord Rosebery, Edinburgh, 1897. — **William of Jumièges,** Historiæ Normannorum, in Migne's *Patrologiæ Latine*, vol. 149, Paris, 1844-1864, 221 vols. — **William of Malmesbury,** see Malmesbury. — **William of Newburgh,** Historia Rerum Anglicarum (1066-1098), in *Rolls Series*, London, 1884. — **William of Poitiers,** Historia Normannorum, in Migne's *Patrologiæ Latine*, vol. 149, Paris, 1844-1864, 221 vols. — **Williams,** J., History of Wales, London, 1869. — **Williams,** M., Modern India and the Indians, London, 1879. — **Wilson,** A., History of Great Britain, being the Life and Reign of James I, London, 1653; Complete History of England, with the Lives of all the Kings and Queens Thereof, London, 1706, 2 vols. — **Wilson,** A. J., The National Budget, Debt, Taxes, and Rates, London and New York, 1882. — **Wilson,** H. H., History of British India from 1805 to 1835, London, 1846, 2 vols. — **Wilson,** R., Life and Times of Queen Victoria, London, 1888, 1891, 1893. — **Winsor,** J., The Struggle in America between England and France, London, 1895. — **Withers,** H., English and Dutch in South Africa, London, 1896. — **Wodrow,** R., History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland from the Restoration to the Revolution, Edinburgh, 1722, 2 vols., Glasgow, 1829, 4 vols. — **Wolseley,** G. J., Viscount, John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, London, 1894, 2 vols.; The Decline and Fall of Napoleon, London, 1895. — **Wood,** A., Athenæ Oxonienses; an Exact History of all the Writers and Bishops who have had their Education in the University of Oxford from 1500 to 1690, London, 1691-1692, 2 vols. — **Woodward,** B. B., History of Wales, London, 1853. — **Worsaae,** J. J. A., Minder om de Danske og Nordmændene i England, Skotland og Irland, Copenhagen, 1852, translation, an Account of the Danes and Northmen in England, Scotland and Ireland, London, 1852.

Jens Jacob Asmussen Worsaae, a Danish historian and antiquary, was born in Veile, Jutland, March 14th, 1821. In 1847 he became inspector of antiquarian monuments of the kingdom of Denmark, and in 1865 was made director of the Museum of Northern Antiquities and of the Ethnological Museum in Copenhagen. From 1874 to 1875 he was minister of public instruction. His works on Scandinavian history and antiquities are numerous and valuable. Worsaae has made extensive investigation of the Danish and Norwegian invasions of England and presents many valuable facts showing their permanent results in English history.

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PART XXIII

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

BOOK I. THE EARLY COLONIAL PERIOD

BASED CHIEFLY UPON THE FOLLOWING AUTHORITIES

C. K. ADAMS, G. BANCROFT, H. H. BANCROFT, J. S. BARRY, W. BRADFORD, G. CHALMERS, S. DE CHAMPLAIN, P. F. X. CHARLEVOIX, CODEX FLATEYENSIS, F. V. DE CORONADO, H. M. DEXTER, E. EGGLESTON, EYRBRIGGIA SAGA, J. FISKE, F. L. GOMARA, R. HAKLUYT, R. HAMOR, H. HARRISSE, R. HILDRETH, A. HOLMES, W. IRVING, B. LAS CASAS, H. C. LODGE, R. H. MAJOR, MOURT'S RELATION, M. F. DE NAVARRETE, J. G. PALFREY, F. PARKMAN, T. ROOSEVELT, J. G. SHEA, JOHN SMITH, R. G. THWAITES, G. DA VERRAZANO, J. WINSOR

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BOOK I

THE EARLY COLONIAL PERIOD

CHAPTER I

THE DISCOVERERS OF AMERICA

Venient annis
Sæcula seris, quibus Oceanus
Vincula rerum laxet, et ingens
Pateat tellus, Tiphysque novos
Detegat Orbes, nec sit terris
Ultima Thule.

SENECA: *Medea.*[1]

IF the Europeans had never happened upon America, then at some period — far later, indeed, yet inevitable — the Americans would have discovered Europe. Perhaps they would have come down from behind the horizon with all the sudden, barbaric pomp and terror that marked the appearance of the Gauls at Rome's gates, of the Tatars in China, of the Huns on the French plain of Chalons, of the Moslems in Granada and round Constantinople, of the Northmen in Sicily, of the Portuguese in India, of the Spanish at the court of Montezuma and in Peru.

[1] These famous lines have been regarded as a prophecy of the discovery of America. Even if so intended, Seneca was not the first, by any means, to dream of land beyond the ocean-river. His verses may be translated: "There will come, after the years have lapsed, cycles wherein Ocean shall loosen the chains of things, and a vast land shall be revealed, and Tiphys shall explore new worlds; nor shall Thule remain ultimate on earth." Tiphys was the helmsman of the Argonauts, whom some writers credited with exploring the northern Atlantic. Seneca died in 65 A.D.; by a curious coincidence he was born in the Spain that gave Columbus the means to immortalise these very lines, which, indeed, Columbus was fond of quoting. The son of the admiral wrote on the margin of his copy of Seneca. "This prophecy was fulfilled by my father, Christopher Columbus, admiral, in the year 1492. (*Hæc prophetia expleta ē per patrē meum Cristoforū Colō almirantē anno 1492.*")

We are too prone to think of history as revolving round a European hub. We think of America as coming into view only with Columbus. We minimise all previous explorations in the light of the legend Columbus has become to us. Then we minimise the importance of Columbus himself because, after all, the nation whose agent he was made no lasting impression upon the civilisation of America north of Mexico.

Even physical geography suffers from this egoism which makes ourselves, our lineage, and our conditions the central point of the universe and all history. Though we may not give the fallacy voice or serious acceptance, it yet is part of our mental attitude. We almost dream of the great continent of the new world languishing impatiently, dully vegetating until the present white peoples appeared there in the proxy of their forefathers. Merely to bring such a false thought to the light is to destroy it. To destroy it is to open and enlarge the mind to the larger view of history, to the conception of it as founded far down in geology. With new eyes we can follow the growth of the earth through the long slow patiences or the enormous catastrophes of the world-energy. Without knowing just when or whence, just how or why, we can imagine the gradual appearance of the first men upon the continent, their timid explorations, their groping after the simplest ideas, the most brutish comforts, the most pitiful delights, the most puerile dignities.

PREHISTORIC CONDITIONS

It was long the fashion to think of the "Indians" whom Columbus found, as degenerate relics of a noble civilisation. Crude ruins were invested with a meaning and an antiquity that the science of to-day finds ludicrous. The myths of the Mound Builders are the most vivid example. Thousands of these curious artificial hillocks are scattered about the United States. In some of them are found skeletons, bits of pottery, weapons, and utensils of various sort. To these were added various forgeries of inscriptions by those enthusiastic and laborious practical jokers who make the life of the antiquary one of exquisite terror.

Upon a solution of the mysteries of the mounds, scholars of wide learning, deep thoroughness, and complete honesty spent years of research and printed their opinions in hundreds of volumes. An element of imagination is necessary to a constructive scientist, but in American archæology it was given the free reign. Pipes and trinkets made by European traders, bartered to the Indians, and found among their relics were thought to be the ancient vestiges of a civilisation highly advanced in art. The famous ruined tower at Newport was credited to Norse colonists ages before Columbus, because it was said to be of an unknown style of architecture, yet it is spoken of by Governor Arnold, in 1677, as "my stone-built windmill," and as Palfrey shows,[b] an almost exact duplicate of it, probably its original, is found in Chesterton, England.

The notorious Dighton rock, near Berkeley, Massachusetts, was solemnly accepted as a mysterious Phœnician or Norse inscription, though even George Washington smilingly said he recognised its close resemblance to battle accounts or hunt-records which he himself had seen the Indians carving on trees, and Schoolcraft,[c] on showing a copy of it to an old Indian chief, was told that it was easily translatable save for a few characters. Yet the simplest and nearest-at-hand explanation was, as usual, the last to be tried.

One by one the antiquities of America have thus been brought nearer and nearer modern times. And yet a satisfactory account of the origin of the

[— 985 A.D.]

people found by Columbus is still lacking, though theories have not, by any means, been wanting, on which brilliant minds have amused themselves with elaborate futility. They range from the theory that America was peopled from Europe or Asia, to the theory that Europe and Asia were peopled from America; from the doctrine that the Indians were the lost ten tribes of Israel, to the doctrine that the Indians were autochthonous and were gradually reared from lower states of life by evolution; from the hypothesis that man extended his habitat as rapidly as the prehistoric glaciers receded, to the blunt denial that there is any trustworthy evidence of great antiquity in human appearance on American soil. But, after all, the important thing is that America is capable of sustaining and encouraging an industrious civilisation and that its capabilities were finally discovered by the peoples who actually could, would, and did start that civilisation on its way.

While then there is no theory of the prehistoric American on which all archæologists are willing to repose, perhaps the most cautious view and the one most largely and recently accepted would be something as follows: So far as negative proof can decide, it is evident that no race had ever reached a state of high civilisation before the advent of the Europeans. Even the southern races, so romantically described by the Spanish conquistadors, were simply passing from the stone age to the bronze; they did not use beasts of burden and had not mastered the art of writing. They are not to be distinguished from the other Americans as a superior race, but were simply at a more advanced point of the civilisation toward which all the others were trending, as even to-day Boston differs from the backwoods of Arkansas.

ANTIQUITY AND ORIGIN OF MAN IN AMERICA

How long had these people been here? Some years ago John T. Short[d] declared brusquely, "No truly scientific proof of man's great antiquity in America exists." But Dr. C. C. Abbott[e] found hundreds of undoubtedly palæolithic implements in the glacial drift near Trenton, New Jersey; his proofs were met with a counter-theory that the glacial age was perhaps of later period than had been supposed. As to the relative antiquity of man's appearance in America and in Europe there has been a sharp division of opinion among scholars, and every link in the two chains of proof has been matter of bitter dispute. In the words of H. H. Howorth,[f] "The evidence for the existence of palæolithic man in America has been more fiercely contested even than in Europe, and the problem there is certainly more complicated. In Europe we can test the age of the remains not merely by their actual character, but also by the presence or absence of associated domestic animals. In America this test is absent, for there were virtually no domestic animals save the dog known to the pre-European inhabitants. We are therefore remitted to less direct evidence, namely, the provenance of the remains from beds of distinctly Pleistocene age, the fabric of the remains, and their association with animals, we have reason to believe, become extinct at the termination of that period."

The battle still rages on all the problems of American palæography, and the general reader must perhaps rest content with some such cautious generalisation as that of Henry W. Haynes,[g] who thinks it probable that, at least in the valley of the Delaware river, man appeared in the palæolithic stage, developed to the neolithic, and became extinct. "The so-called Indians," he says, "with their many divisions into numerous linguistic families, were later comers than the primitive population; the so-called 'mound builders' were

the ancestors of tribes found in the occupation of the soil; and the Pueblos and the Aztecs were only peoples relatively further advanced than the others."

DID THE AMERICANS COME FROM ASIA?

Whence, then, came this invading race? The most nearly accepted theory accepts Asia as the original home. As Justin Winsor [h] says, "There is not a race of eastern Asia — Siberian, Tatar, Chinese, Japanese, Malay, with the Polynesians — which has not been claimed as discoverers, intending or accidental, of American shores, or as progenitors, more or less perfect or remote, of American peoples; and there is no good reason why any of them may not have done all that is claimed. The historical evidence, however, is not such as is based on documentary proofs of indisputable character, and the recitals advanced are often far from precise enough to be convincing in details, if their general authenticity is allowed."

The paths by which the Asiatics might have come are various. The ice of the Behring Sea might have afforded a bridge; the Aleutian Islands lie like stepping-stones for gradual ventures; the great northern Pacific current might have brought to the Californian shores vessels whose sails or rudders were lost in storm, and the intermarriage of these waifs with the primitive races may have occasioned the physical differences observable between the Americans and the Asiatics, though there are numerous points of strong resemblance, and the very flora of the two coasts of the same ocean have much in common. Finally it is not thought impossible that the Malays of the Polynesian islands may have advanced timidly or accidentally toward South America, where there are many curious traces of apparent Malaysian occupation.

WHO DISCOVERED AMERICA? THE NUMEROUS CLAIMANTS

The problem of the origin of the so-called native races must then join the problem of the antiquity of man in the limbo of the unsolved. There remains still another problem unsolved, despite a whole literature of controversy. Who were the first to have brought the continent into the ken of the older and more civilised world? So many are the theories in this direction that the question is almost less, "Who discovered America?" than "Who did not?"

Vigorously defended claims exist for the priority of the Chinese, Japanese, Polynesians, Phœnicians, Romans, Arabians, Turks, Hindoos, Basques, Welsh, Irish, French, Polish,[1] German, Dutch, Portuguese, and Scandinavians. The Welsh asserted that Madoc, the son of Owen Gwyneth discovered America in 1170, and Hakluyt [i] thus describes his adventures:

"Madoc, another of Owen Gwyneth his sonnes, left the land in contention betwixt his brethren and prepared certaine ships, with men and munition, and sought adventures by seas, sailing west and leaving the coast of Ireland so farre north, that he came unto a land unknowen, where he saw many strange things. This land must needs be some part of that countrey of which the Spanyards affirme themselves to be the first finders since Hanno's time. Whereupon it is manifest that that countrey was by Britaines discovered, long before Columbus led any Spanyards thither. Of the voyage and returne of this Madoc there be many fables fained, as the common people doe use in distance of place and length of time, rather to augment than to diminish:

[1 The Pole, John Szkolny, latinised as Skolmus, is said to have reached Labrador in 1476 while in Danish service.]

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but sure it is, there he was. And after he had returned home, and declared the pleasant and fruitfull countreys that he had seene without inhabitants, and upon the contrary part, for what barren and wild ground his brethren and nephewes did murther one another, he prepared a number of ships, and got with him such men and women as were desirous to live in quietnesse: and taking leave of his friends, tooke his journey thitherward againe. Therefore it is supposed that he and his people inhabited part of those countreys: for it appeareth by Francis Lopez de Gomara, that in Acuzamil and other places the people honoured the crosse. Whereby it may be gathered that Christians had bene there before the coming of the Spanyards. But because this people were not many, they followed the manners of the land which they came unto, and used the language they found there."

The Basque claim is based on better evidence, for in addition to the stories that French and Basque fishermen had known the fisheries of Newfoundland for centuries before Columbus, it is a fact, according to Peter Martyr, that Sebastian Cabot named those regions Baccalaos "because that in the seas thereabout he found so great multitude of certaine bigge fishes, much like unto tunies (which the inhabitants call *baccalaos*), that they sometimes stayed his shippes."

Now *baccalaos* is the Basque word for a codfish, and since Cabot found it in use among the inhabitants of Newfoundland, the Basques have a good argument for having arrived earlier than Cabot.

The little city of Dieppe which furnished France one of its few great naval warriors, Duquesne, claims not only to have made important discoveries in Africa, but also that a citizen named Jean Cousin was blown to Brazil in 1488 and brought back the news. There is a story that two Italians, Nicolo and Antonio Zeno reached America in 1380 or 1390. It is not considered improbable that certain Basque whalers were blown across the ocean. Two Portuguese sailors, Cortereal and Ramalho also are mentioned as discoverers of Newfoundland in 1463, and the Nuremburg map-maker Martin Behaim is said to have reached South America in 1476, though he did not himself make the claim.

From the Scriptures the sons of Japhet and the Canaanites expelled by Joshua have been looked to; in Greek mythology the inhabitants of the lost land of Atlantis have been advocated. In 1673 an American, probably with humorous intent, suggested that the exiled Trojans had found America. The study of the Indian languages has led some to find what they declared undeniably words from the Norse, the Welsh, Irish, Japanese, Tatar, and even from the Roman tongues. In the ruins of Central America, Hindu and Egyptian elements have been seen by ethnologists, and botanists have found trees of African origin.

In 1790 Benjamin Smith Barton,*i* working with a true sense of the difference between proof and probability, heaped up a mountain of evidence on all sides of the question, and declared that a definite decision was impossible. This is the view now held by the most catholic students. None the less it is of interest to state the principal claimants for whom there is any serious evidence.

THE LAND OF FOUSANG

There exists a strange old account of some Buddhist priests who discovered the land of Fousang or Fusang. The Chinese historian Ma Twan-lin claims to quote one of these priests, Hoei Shin, who in 499 described this

voyage and the land of Fusang. Some have claimed that Japan or some adjacent region was the coast described; others have insisted on Mexico, claiming that the fusang tree was the Mexican maguey plant. Among those who have believed that the Buddhists actually reached America a thousand years before Columbus, and who have claimed to find traces of their residence, have been De Guignes,[k] Neumann,[l] Paravey,[m] Leland,[n] and more recently Vining;[o] the vast weight of authority, however, is most decidedly against the theory.

ICELANDIC SAGAS CONCERNING THE IRISH DISCOVERY: GREAT IRELAND

The next oldest claim after the Chinese is the Irish. Irish monks and colonists were in Iceland as early as the ninth century and there is an Icelandic saga which not only claims that the Irish preceded the Norse in Iceland, but also describes the fate of the Icelandic chief, Ari Marson, who in the tenth century was storm-driven to a land occupied by Irishmen. It was called Huitramannaland, *i.e.* White Man's Land; or Irland it Mikla, *i.e.* Ireland the Great. He was there detained.

The story of Ari Marson's voyage is thus quoted by Beamish,[p] from Ari's[q] famous *Landnamabok:* "Ulf the Squinter, son of Högna the White, took all Reykjanes, between Thorkafjord and Hafraffell; he married Björg, daughter to Eyvind the Eastman, sister to Helge the Lean; their son was Atli the Red, who married Thorbjörd, sister to Steinolf the Humble; their son was Mar of Holum, who married Thorkatla, daughter of Hergil Neprass; their son was Ari; he was driven by a tempest to White Man's Land, which some call Great Ireland; it lies to the west in the sea, near to Vinland the Good, and VI days' sailing west from Ireland.[1] From thence could Ari not get away, and was there baptized. The story was first told Rafn the Limerick merchant, who had long lived at Limerick in Ireland. Thus said [also] Thorkell Gellerson, that Icelanders had stated, who had heard Thorfinn Jarl of the Orkneys relate that Ari was recognised in White Man's Land, and could not get away from thence, but was there much respected."

There is an old geographical fragment, quoted by Beamish as corroborative of the preceding: "Now are there, as is said, south from Greenland, which is inhabitated, deserts, uninhabitated places, and ice-bergs, then the Skrælings, then Markland, then Vinland the Good; next, and somewhat behind, lies Albania, which is White Man's Land; thither was sailing, formerly, from Ireland; there Irishmen and Icelanders recognised Ari the son of Mar and Katla of Reykjaness, of whom nothing had been heard for a long time, and who had been made a chief there by the inhabitants."

Then there is the romantic story of the *Eyrbyggja Saga* concerning Bjarni Asbrandson, who having betrayed an Icelandic married woman named Thurid, who bore him a son, was attacked by her husband, Thorodd, and others, but fought off his assailants; finally, for the sake of peace, he consented to leave the country. He sailed away in 999 A.D. and was never seen there again. But in 1029 a merchant, Gudleif Gudlangson, was blown to a strange land and there found Bjarni Asbrandson among a people who spoke Irish. We quote from this quaint saga:[a]

[1 "*Vi daegra sigling vestr fra Irlandi.*" Rafn[r] is of opinion that the figures VI have arisen through mistake or carelessness of the transcriber of the original manuscript which is now lost, and were erroneously inserted instead of XX, XI, or perhaps XV, which would better correspond with the distance; this mistake might have easily arisen from a blot or defect in that part of the original manuscript.]

[— 985 A.D.]

The Eyrbyggja Saga concerning the Irish Colony

It happened in the last years of the reign of King Olaf the Saint that Gudleif undertook a trading voyage to Dublin; but when he sailed from the west, intended he to sail to Iceland; he sailed then from the west of Ireland, and met with northeast winds, and was driven far to the west and southwest, in the sea, where no land was to be seen. But it was already far gone in the summer, and they made prayers that they might escape from the sea; and it came to pass that they saw land.

It was a great land, but they knew not what land it was. Then took they the resolve to sail to the land, for they were weary of contending longer with the violence of the sea. They found there a good harbour; and when they had been a short time on shore, came people to them: they knew none of the people, but it rather appeared to them that they spoke Irish. Soon came to them so great a number that it made up many hundreds. These men fell upon them and seized them all, and bound them, and drove them up the country. There were they brought before an assembly, to be judged. They understood so much that some were for killing them but others would have seem distributed amongst the inhabitants, and made slaves.

And while this was going on, saw they, where rode a great body of men, and a large banner was borne in the midst. Then thought they that there must be a chief in the troop; but when it came near, saw they that under the banner rode a large and dignified man, who was much in years, and whose hair was white. All present bowed down before the man, and received him as well as they could. Now observed they that all opinions and resolutions concerning their business were submitted to his decision.

Then ordered they this man Gudleif and his companions to be brought before him, and when they had come before this man, spoke he to them in the Northern tongue, and asked them from what country they came. They answered him that the most of them were Icelanders. The man asked which of them were Icelanders. Gudleif said that he was an Icelander. He then saluted the old man, and he received it well, and asked from what part of Iceland he came. Gudleif said that he was from that district which hight Borgafjord. Then inquired he from what part of Borgafjord he came, and Gudleif answered just as it was. Then asked this man about almost every one of the principal men in Borgafjord and Breidafjord; and when they talked thereon, inquired he minutely about everything, first of Snorri Godi, and his sister Thurid of Froda, and most about Kjartan her son.

The people of the country now called out, on the other side, that some decision should be made about the seamen. After this went the great man away from them, and named twelve of his men with himself, and they sat a long time talking. Then went they to the meeting of the people and the old man said to Gudleif: "I and the people of the country have talked together about your business, and the people have left the matter to me; but I will now give ye leave to depart whence ye will; but although ye may think that the summer is almost gone, yet will I counsel ye to remove from hence, for here are the people not to be trusted, and bad to deal with, and they think besides that the laws have been broken to their injury."

Gudleif answered: "What shall we say, if fate permits us to return to our own country, who has given us this freedom?" He answered: "That can I not tell you, for I like not that my relations and foster-brothers should make such a journey hereto, as ye would have made, if ye had not had the benefit of my help; but now is my age so advanced, that I may expect every

hour old age to overpower me; and even if I could live yet for a time, there are here more powerful men than me, who little peace would give to foreigners that might come here, although they be not just here in the neighbourhood where ye landed."

Then caused he their ship to be made ready for sea, and was there with them, until a fair wind sprang up, which was favourable to take them from the land. But before they separated took this man a gold ring from his hand, and gave it into the hands of Gudleif, and therewith a good sword; then said he to Gudleif: "If the fates permit you to come to your own country, then shall you take this sword to the yeoman, Kjartan of Froda, but the ring to Thurid his mother." Gudleif replied: "What shall I say, about it, as to who sends them these valuables?"

He answered: "Say that he sends them who was a better friend of the lady of Froda, than of her brother, Godi of Helgafell; but if any man therefore thinks that he knows who has owned these articles, then say these my words, that I forbid any one to come to me, for it is the most dangerous expedition, unless it happens as fortunately with others at the landing place as with you: but here is the land great, and bad as to harbours, and in all parts may strangers expect hostility, when it does not turn out as has been with you."

After this, Gudleif and his people put to sea, and they landed in Ireland late in harvest, and were in Dublin for the winter. But in the summer after, sailed they to Iceland, and Gudleif delivered over these valuables; and people held it for certain that this man was Bjorn, the champion of Breidavik, and no other account to be relied on is there in confirmation of this, except that which is now given here.[s]

THE NORSE DISCOVERERS

We have given the account of the Irish settlement of Great Ireland, which sceptics have thought to be merely some European island. We come now to the Norse claims which assert that these sea-rovers came to America by way of the stepping stone of Iceland, into Greenland, and thence down the coast as far as a region where vines grew. It is claimed that the year after the first Norse settlers reached Iceland a Norseman called Gunnbjörn was driven west so far that he sighted a new land. Half a century later the Norse adventurers of whom we have already read, found Ireland the Great.

Next appears the Red Eric, a murderous brawler who left Norway for his country's good, and later found even Iceland too peaceful for him. Sent into three years' exile, he went hunting a more congenial shore. Having heard of the land that Gunnbjörn had seen, he sailed due west and found it. Returning at the end of his term of banishment he desired to take out colonists. *The Saga of Eric the Red* credits him with shrewdness, for "he called the land which he had found Greenland, because, quoth he, 'people will be attracted thither if the land has a good name.'"

So effective were his stories of the arctic region, that in 985 (?) thirty-five ships set forth with him, of which twenty-one were lost on the way. This was the beginning of genuine colonisation. In 999 Eric's son Leif went back to Norway and found that Christianity had become the state religion. He was converted and took back to Greenland a priest, the first Christian missionary to America. This great and undoubted colonisation of a portion of arctic America was doomed to an ultimate failure, and the colonies eventually disappeared. Some have said that the Eskimos began to drive the Northmen

out as early as 1342. Communication with Iceland and the home country of Norway ceased entirely in the fifteenth century. All that remains of the colony now is a few ruins and a few doubtful remnants of custom or tradition among the Eskimos.

As early as 986, if we can believe the sagas, one Bjarni Herjulfson, set out from Iceland for Greenland; but was so beset by north winds and fogs that he lost his bearings and at last made out a coast which did not conform to Eric the Red's account of the mountainous and icy coast of Greenland. This land was "without mountains and covered with wood." They turned north and on their way they saw four different lands and finally reached Greenland, where Bjarni gave up sea-faring." Such is the simple detail of the first voyage of the Northmen to the western hemisphere.

Rafn[r] felt that there were sufficient data in the ancient Icelandic geographical works to determine the position of the various coasts and headlands thus discovered by Bjarni Herjulfson. A day's sail was estimated by the Northmen at from twenty-seven to thirty geographical miles, and the knowledge of this fact, together with that of the direction of the wind, the course steered, the appearance of the shores, and other details contained in the narrative itself, together with the more minute description of the same lands given by succeeding voyagers, leave no doubt, according to some writers, that the countries thus discovered by Bjarni Herjulfson were Connecticut, Long Island, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland; and that the date of the expedition is determined by the passage in the preliminary narrative which fixes the period of Herjulfson's settlement at Herjulf's Ness in Iceland. R. G. Haliburton gives a map in which Bjarni's course is marked as entering the St. Lawrence Gulf by the south, and emerging by the straits of Belle-Isle.

It may, perhaps, be urged in disparagement of these discoveries that they were accidental — that Bjarni Herjulfson set out in search of Greenland, and fell in with the eastern coast of North America; but so it was, also, with Columbus.

Bjarni had had enough of the north Atlantic winds, but the story excited Leif, Eric's son, to hunt that fair shore seen by Bjarni. About the year 1000 he set out with thirty-five companions. The old account as given in the sagas is interesting and important enough to quote as translated from the *Codex Flatoyensis* or Flatey Book. We have put in footnotes Rafn's[r] shrewd guesses at the identity of the places mentioned, though it is necessary to caution the reader that they are only careful speculations not adhered to by many severe critics.[a]

THE SAGA OF VINELAND THE GOOD (*Codex Flatoyensis*)

The next thing now to be related is that Bjarni Herjulfson went out from Greenland, and visited Eric Jarl [*i.e.* Red Eric, the earl or jarl], and the jarl received him well. Bjarni told about his voyages, that he had seen unknown lands, and people thought that he had shown no curiosity when he had nothing to relate about these countries; and this became somewhat a matter of reproach to him. Bjarni became one of the jarl's courtiers, and came back to Greenland the summer after. There was now much talk about voyages of discovery. Leif, the son of Eric the Red, of Brattelid, went to Bjarni Herjulfson, and bought the ship of him, and engaged men for it, so that there were thirty-five men in all. Leif asked his father Eric to be the leader on the voyage, but Eric excused himself, saying that he was pretty well stricken in

years, and could not now, as formerly, hold out all the hardships of the sea. There was a southerner on the voyage, hight Tyrker.

Now prepared they their ship, and sailed out into the sea when they were ready, and then found that land first which Bjarni had found last. There sailed they to the land, and cast anchor, and put off boats, and went ashore, and saw there no grass. Great icebergs were over all up the country, but like a plain of flat stones was all from the sea to the mountains, and it appeared to them that this land had no good qualities. Then said Leif, "We have not done like Bjarni about this land, that we have not been upon it; now will I give the land a name, and call it Helluland [from *hella*, a flat stone, perhaps slate."] Then went they on board, and after that sailed out to sea, and found another land; they sailed again to the land, and cast anchor, then put off boats and went on shore.

This land was flat, and covered with wood, and white sands were far around where they went, and the shore was low. Then said Leif, "This land shall be named after its qualities, and called Markland (woodland)." They then immediately returned to the ship. Now sailed they thence into the open sea, with a northeast wind, and were two days at sea before they saw land, and they sailed thither and came to an island which lay to the eastward of the land, and went up there, and looked round them in good weather, and observed that there was dew upon the grass; and it so happened that they touched the dew with their hands, and raised the fingers to the mouth, and they thought that they had never before tasted anything so sweet.[1]

After that they went to the ship, and sailed into a sound, which lay between the island and a ness (promontory), which ran out to the eastward of the land; and then steered westwards past the ness. It was very shallow at ebb tide, and their ship stood up, so that it was far to see from the ship to the water.

But so much did they desire to land that they did not give themselves time to wait until the water again rose under their ship, but ran at once on shore, at a place where a river flows out of a lake: but so soon as the waters rose up under the ship, then took they boats, and rowed to the ship, and floated it up to the river, and thence into the lake, and there cast anchor, and brought up from the ship their skin cots, and made their booths.[2]

After this took they counsel, and formed the resolution of remaining there for the winter, and built there large houses. There was no want of salmon either in the river or in the lake, and larger salmon than they had before seen. The nature of the country was, as they thought, so good that cattle would not require house feeding in winter, for there came no frost in winter, and little did the grass wither there. Day and night were more equal than in Greenland or Iceland, for on the shortest day was the sun above the horizon from half past seven in the forenoon till half past four in the afternoon.[3]

But when they had done with the house building, Leif said to his comrades: "Now will I divide our men into two parts, and have land explored,

[1 This island appears to have been Nantucket, where honey dew is known to abound, and Helluland and Markland are clearly shown by Rafn *r*—on the authority of modern voyagers and hydrographers, the chief of whom are quoted in the preceding notes—to be Newfoundland and Nova Scotia.— BEAMISH.*p*]

[2 From these details Rafn *r* thinks it evident that Leif and his companions shaped their course through Nantucket Bay, beyond the southwestern extremity of the peninsula of Cape Cod; thence across the mouth of Buzzard's Bay to Seaconnet Passage, and thus up the Pocasset river to Mount Hope Bay, which they seem to have taken for a lake.*p*]

[3 This would give very nearly the latitude of Mount Hope Bay, which locality is previously pointed out by the details relating to the soil and climate, and fully corresponds with the descriptions of modern travellers.*p*]

[1000 A.D.]

and the half of the men shall remain at home at the house, while the other explore the land; but, however, not go further than that they can come home in the evening, and they should not separate." Now they did so for a time, and Leif changed about, so that the one day he went with them, and the other remained at home in the house. Leif was a great and strong man, grave and well favoured, therewith sensible and moderate in all things.

It happened one evening that a man of the party was missing, and this was Tyrker the German. This took Leif much to heart, for Tyrker had been long with his father and him, and loved Leif much in his childhood. Leif now took his people severely to task, and prepared to seek for Tyrker, and took twelve men with him. But when they had gotten a short way from the house, then came Tyrker towards them, and was joyfully received. Leif soon saw that his foster-father was not in his right senses. Tyrker had a high forehead, and unsteady eyes, was freckled in the face, small and mean in stature, but excellent in all kinds of artifice. Then said Leif to him: "Why were thou so late, my fosterer, and separated from the party?"

He now spoke first, for a long time, in German, and rolled his eyes about to different sides, and twisted his mouth, but they did not understand what he said. After a time he spoke Norsk: "I have not been much further off, but still have I something new to tell of; I found vines and grapes." "But is that true, my fosterer?" quoth Leif. "Surely is it true," replied he, "for I was bred up in a land where there is no want of either vines or grapes." They slept now for the night, but in the morning Leif said to his sailors: "We will now set about two things, in that the one day we gather grapes, and the other day cut vines and fell trees, so from thence will be a loading for my ship," and that was the counsel taken, and it is said their long boat was filled with grapes. Now was a cargo cut down for the ship, and when the spring came, they got ready, and sailed away, and Leif gave the land a name after its qualities, and called it Vinland.[1] They sailed now into the open sea, and had a fair wind until they saw Greenland, and the mountains below the jöklers.

Leif was, after that, called Leif the Lucky. Leif had now earned both riches and respect. This winter died also Eric the Red. Now was there much talk about Leif's voyage to Vinland, and Thorvald, his brother, thought that the land had been much too little explored. Then said Leif to Thorvald: "Thou canst go with my ship, brother, if thou wilt, to Vinland."

Now Thorvald made ready for this voyage with thirty men, and took counsel thereon with Leif his brother. Then made they their ship ready, and put to sea, and nothing is told of their voyage until they came to Leif's booths in Vinland. There they laid up their ship, and spent a pleasant winter, and caught fish for their support. But in the spring said Thorvald that they should make ready the ship, and that some of the men should take the ship's long boat round the western part of the land, and explore there during the summer. To them appeared the land fair and woody, and but a short distance between the wood and the sea, and white sands; there were many islands, and much shallow water. They found neither dwellings of men nor beasts except upon an island, to the westward, where they found a corn-shed

[1 It appears by a communication from Dr. Webb, secretary to the Rhode Island Historical Society, which is given in that part of Rafn's[r] work entitled *Monumentum vetustum in Massachusetts*, that wild grape vines of several varieties, as well as maize or Indian corn, and other esculents, were found growing in that district, in great profusion, when it was first visited by the Europeans. Hence the name of Vinland (Vineland), given to the country by Leif, a name mentioned by Adam of Bremen,[t] and Torfæus,[u] as well as by Pinkerton[v] and Malte Brun,[w] as designating a country frequently visited by the Northmen.[p]]

of wood, but many works of men they found not; and they then went back and came to Leif's booths in the autumn.

But the next summer went Thorvald eastward with the ship, and round the land to the northward. Here came a heavy storm upon them when off a ness, so that they were driven on shore, and the keel broke off from the ship and they remained here a long time, and repaired their ship. Then said Thorvald to his companions: "Now will I that we fix up the keel here upon the ness, and call it Keelness" (Kjarlness), and so did they. After that they sailed away round the eastern shores of the land, and into the mouths of the friths, which lay nearest thereto, and to a point of land which stretched out, and was covered all over with wood. There they came-to with the ship and shoved out a plank to the land, and Thorvald went up the country, with all his companions. He then said: "Here it is beautiful, and here would I like to raise my dwelling." Then went they to the ship, and saw upon the sands within the promontory three elevations, and went thither, and saw there three skin boats (canoes) and three men under each.

Then divided they their people, and caught them all, except one, who got away with his boat. They killed the other eight, and then went back to the cape, and looked round them, and saw some heights inside of the frith, and supposed that these were dwellings. After that, so great a drowsiness came upon them, that they could not keep awake, and they all fell asleep. Then came a shout over them, so that they all awoke. Thus said the shout: "Wake thou! Thorvald! and all thy companions, if thou wilt preserve life, and return thou to thy ship, with all thy men, and leave the land without delay."

Then rushed out from the interior of the frith an innumerable crowd of skin boats, and made towards them. Thorvald said then: "We will put out the battle-screen, and defend ourselves as well as we can, but fight little against them." So did they, and the Skrælings[1] shot at them for a time, but afterwards ran away, each as fast as he could. Then asked Thorvald his men if they had gotten any wounds; they answered that no one was wounded.

"I have gotten a wound under the arm," said he, "for an arrow fled between the edge of the ship and the shield, in under my arm, and here is the arrow, and it will prove a mortal wound to me. Now counsel I ye that ye get ready instantly to depart, but ye shall bear me to that cape, where I thought it best to dwell; it may be that a true word fell from my mouth, that I should dwell there for a time; there shall ye bury me, and set up crosses at my head and feet, and call the place Krossaness[2] forever in all time to come." Greenland was then christianised, but Eric the Red died before Christianity was introduced. Now Thorvald died, but they did all things according to his directions, and then went away, and returned to their companions, and told to each other the tidings which they knew, and dwelt there for the winter, and gathered grapes and vines to load the ship. But in the spring they made ready to sail to Greenland and came with their ship in Eriksfjord, and could now tell great tidings to Leif.[x]

In the season following these events (1005–6), Thornstein, the third son of Eric, embarked with his wife Gudrida, in search of the body of Thorvald, which they wished to bring back to Greenland. The voyage was unsuccessful. They were tossed about all summer, and knew not whither they were driven.

[1] Of *Skrælinger*, various definitions have been given, some authors attributing it to the low stature of the Eskimos, who are also called Smælingar (diminutive men) by Icelandic authors, and others deducing it from *skræla*, to make dry, in allusion to their withered appearance. The word *skrækja*, to cry out, has also been given as the etymology of the term, from their habit of shouting.[p]

[2] This appears to have been Cape or Point Aldeeton, according to Rafn.[r]

[1006–1008 A.D.]

It was winter before they made the western coast of Greenland, where Thornstein died. In the spring, Gudrida, his wife, returned to the family seat at Eriksfjord.

The following year, 1006, is of importance in the history of these expeditions. In the summer of this year, there arrived in Greenland two ships from Iceland. The one was commanded by Thorfinn, surnamed Karlsefne, that is, the Hopeful, a wealthy and powerful personage, of illustrious lineage, descended from Danish, Norwegian, Swedish, Irish, and Scottish ancestors, some of whom were of royal rank. The other ship was commanded by Bjarni Grimolfson and Thorhall Gamlason. They kept the festival of Yule (Christmas) at Eriksfjord. Here Thorfinn became enamoured of Gudrida, and espoused her in the course of the winter.

The discoveries in Vinland were the subject of great interest in the family of Eric. Thorfinn was urged by his wife and the other members of the family to undertake a voyage to the newly-discovered country. Accordingly, in the spring of 1007, he and his associates embarked in their two vessels; and a third ship, commanded by Thorvald (who had married Freydisa, a natural daughter of Eric), was joined to the expedition. The party consisted, in the whole, of one hundred and forty men. They took with them all kinds of live stock, intending, if possible, to colonise the country. They touched at Helluland, on their way southward, and found many foxes there. Markland also they found stocked with wild animals.

Proceeding southward, the voyagers made Kjarlness (Cape Cod?)[1], and passed trackless deserts and long tracts of sandy beach, which they called Furdustrandir. They continued their course until they came to a place, where a frith penetrated far into the country. Off the mouth of it was an island, past which there ran strong currents, which was also the case farther up the frith. On the island there was an immense number of eider-ducks, so that it was scarcely possible to walk without treading upon their eggs. They called the island Straumey or Stream Isle (Martha's Vineyard?), and the frith, Straum Fjords or Stream Frith (Buzzard's Bay?); and on its shores they landed and made preparations for a winter's residence. They found the country extremely beautiful, and set themselves to explore it in all directions.

Thorhall, with a party of eight men, took a course northward, in search of the settlements of Leif, at Vinland; but they were driven by westerly gales to the coast of Ireland, and there made slaves. Thorfinn, with the rest of the company, in all one hundred and thirty-one men, sailed southward, and arrived at a place where a river falls into the sea from a lake. Opposite to the mouth of the river were large islands. They steered into the lake and called the place Hop (Mount Hope Bay?). On the low grounds they found fields covered with wheat growing wild, and on the rising grounds, vines. Here they were visited by great numbers of the natives in canoes. These people are described as sallow-coloured, ill-looking, with unsightly heads of hair, large eyes, and broad cheeks. Thorfinn and his company erected their houses a little above the bay and passed the winter there. No snow fell, and the cattle found their food in the open field.

In the following spring, 1008, the natives began to assemble in numbers, and open a trade with the strangers. The articles exchanged were furs on the one side, and strips of cloth on the other. In the course of the season, Gudrida, the wife of Thorfinn, gave birth to a son, who was called Snorre, and who was the first child, of European descent, born in America, and the ancestor of many

[1 The suggestions in parentheses are by Rafn.]

distinguished personages at the present day, whose descent is lineally traced to Thorfinn and Gudrida, in the Icelandic genealogical tables. Among these is Thorvaldsen, the great sculptor.

After other adventures and contests with the natives, Thorfinn returned to Greenland, leaving a part of his company established in the new country. After a few years spent in Greenland, Thorfinn purchased an estate in Iceland, in 1015, where he passed the rest of his life, as did Snorre, his American son. After the death of Thorfinn, and the marriage of her son, Gudrida made a pilgrimage to Rome. The family remained distinguished for wealth, influence, and intelligence. Thorlak, the grandson of Snorre, was raised to the Episcopal rank, and was of great repute for his learning. He compiled a code of the ecclesiastical law of Iceland, which is still extant; and he is very likely to have been the person who committed to writing the *Sagas*, or traditions of the voyages and adventures of which the foregoing narrative is an abstract.

In the year 1011, the colony in Vinland left by Thorfinn, was joined by Helge and Finnboge, two brothers from Iceland, who were accompanied in their voyage by Thorvald, and his wife Freydisa, a daughter of Eric the Red. This woman excited a quarrel, which proved fatal to about thirty of the colonists. Detested for her vices, she was constrained to return to Greenland, where she lived despised and died unlamented.

From this period, we hear no more of the northern colony in America till the year 1059, when an Irish or Saxon priest, named Jon or John, who had preached some time as a missionary in Iceland, went to Vinland for the purpose of converting the colonists to Christianity, where he was murdered by the heathen. A bishop of Greenland, Erik Upsa, afterwards (1121) undertook the same voyage, for the same purpose, but his success is uncertain. The authenticity of the Icelandic accounts of the discovery and settlement of Vinland, were recognised in Denmark, shortly after this period, by King Sweyn Estrithson, Sweno II, in a conversation which Adam of Bremen *t* had with this monarch.

In the latter part of the fourteenth century, two Venetian navigators, sailing in the service of a Norman prince of the Orcades, are said to have visited Vinland, and to have found traces of the colony left by the Northmen. From that time to the discovery of the New World by Columbus, there was no communication — none at least that is known — between it and the north of Europe.

This circumstance has induced many to doubt of facts which have already been related. If, they contend, North America were really discovered and repeatedly visited by the Icelanders, how came a country so fertile in comparison with that island or with Greenland, or even Norway, to be so suddenly abandoned? This is certainly a difficulty, but a greater one in our opinion is involved in the rejection of all the evidence that has been adduced. The history is not founded upon one tradition or record, but upon many; and it is confirmed by a variety of collateral and incidental facts, as well established as any of the contemporary relations upon which historical inquirers are accustomed to rely. For relations so numerous and so uniform, for circumstances so naturally and so graphically described, there must have been some foundation. Even fiction does not invent, it only exaggerates. There is nothing improbable in the alleged voyages. The Scandinavians were the best navigators in the world.[1] From authentic and indubitable testimony, we

[1 That their eager and daring nature should have deserted them at this point is hardly conceivable. We may consider that the weight of probability is in favour of a Northman descent upon the coast of the American mainland at some point or at several, but the evidence

[1059–1459 A.D.]

know that their ships visited every sea, from the Mediterranean to the Baltic, from the extremity of the Finland Gulf to the entrance of Davis Strait.

Men thus familiar with distant seas must have made a greater progress in the science of navigation than we generally allow. The voyage from Reykjavik, in Iceland, to Cape Farewell, is not longer than that from the south-western extremity of Iceland — once well colonised — to the eastern coast of Labrador.

But does the latter country itself exhibit in modern times any vestiges of a higher civilisation than we should expect to find if no Europeans had ever visited it? So at least the Jesuit missionaries inform us. They found the cross, a knowledge of the stars, a superior kind of worship, a more ingenious mind among the inhabitants of the coast which is thought to have been colonised from Greenland. They even assure us that many Norwegian words are to be found in the dialect of the people. The causes which led to the destruction of the settlement were probably similar to those which produced the same effect in Greenland.

A handful of colonists, cut off from all communication with the mother country, and consequently deprived of the means for repressing their savage neighbours, could not be expected to preserve always their original characteristics. They would either be exterminated by hostilities or driven to amalgamate with the natives: probably both causes led to the unfortunate result. The only difficulty in this subject is that which we have before mentioned, *viz.*: the sudden and total cessation of all intercourse with Iceland or Greenland; and even this must diminish when we remember that in the fourteenth century the Norwegian colony in Greenland disappeared in the same manner, after a residence in the country of more than three hundred years.

On weighing the preceding circumstances and the simple and natural language in which they are recorded, few men not born in Italy or Spain will deny to the Scandinavians the claim of having been the original discoverers of the New World.[g]

WHAT CREDIT IS DUE TO COLUMBUS?

In many of the cases of alleged discovery, historians can only say: "This is not impossible. It is even probable. But it is not supported by genuine evidence, except in the case of the Scandinavians. The one certain thing is that Columbus brought America into general European cognisance, and made possible the great flow of colonisation over seas.

Discovery was indeed the fashion of the time. The Portuguese began it with the support of Prince Henry, "the navigator." Their wonderful prowess has been discussed in our history of Portugal. Had Columbus not discovered America, someone else would certainly have done so soon. But this should not be allowed to diminish his credit. Had Newton not made his generalisation on gravitation, someone else would eventually have reached it. Just as Darwin was about to present to the world his life-thesis on evolution he received an elaborate presentation of the same idea from Alfred Russel Wallace, then in the Antipodes. Immediately upon the publication of the two works a deluge of citations appeared showing how ancient the idea was. But whereas philosophers, poets, and modern scientists had recorded their opinions, dreams, and theories only as so much learned guess-work, Charles Darwin

is hardly that which establishes well-established records. The archæological traces which are lacking further south are abundant in Greenland, and confirm in the most positive way the Norse occupation.—WINSOR.[h]]

spent ten years piling up evidence based on actual experiment and investigation. So it is with Columbus; ancient Greek theories, old-time poetry, the adventures of voyagers unwillingly blown to strange lands and eager only to get home again — these were but the smoke that precedes every cannon ball.

The theory that the world is round dates at least from Pythagoras. It was Columbus alone that determined to prove the sphericity of the globe by actual travel: it was he that spent eighteen long years of travel from court to court, suggesting, imploring, bribing, threatening, wrangling, haggling, cajoling, till he secured his three ships. It was he that went forth to see what lay beyond the western horizon. It was he that held a mutinous, hysterical, superstitious crew under his will by threats, lies, prayers, and bribery. It was he that found land, and brought back natives, fruits, metals, maps, facts, allurements.

Columbus could not, of course, explore all he had discovered; but he was the forerunner of the swarm of exploration that became almost the chief industry of the time. It was pitiable that he should have died in the belief that he had found India; but his mistake was soon discovered by the rest of mankind.

The personal character of Columbus has been a battle-ground, men like Irving[z] smoothing over his defects and enlarging upon the no greater defects of men like Bobadilla; historians like Winsor[bb] dealing with his faults unsparingly. But it was the old truth that a man has "the defects of his qualities." If Columbus had been less mercenary, he would not have haggled with the queen, or denied the seaman who first saw land his pension, or begun the slave trade as a means of wringing profit from the goldless islands; but neither would his dream of the wealth that would accrue from finding a waterway to India have upheld him in his long poverty and deferment. If he had been more rigidly honest and more merciful he would not have butchered the wretched natives and earned the bitter hatred of his subordinates and the suspicion of his superiors as he did; but neither would he have kept two log-books, one of them false, to deceive his crew as to the distance they had gone — he would have listened to their prayers, had pity for their anguish of terror, and turned back to Spain. His vices were but the other side of the pendulum swing of the fierce, unending energy that made him the man he was, and led him to the deed he did.

If mercy is shown to his faults, it should also be shown to the faults of his enemies and his well-meaning opponents. It must be remembered that Columbus promised Spain the vast trade of India and China; and gave Spain a savage wilderness of naked paupers living in jungles that absorbed vast sums of Spain's money and great numbers of Spain's sons. The disappointment was bitter, and as Columbus had made his appeal to Spanish cupidity, by Spanish cupidity he was judged. The adventurers returning in rags and sickness became beggars for the king's charity. When they saw the children of Columbus go about in splendour, they jeered at them as "the sons of the admiral of Mosquitoland — that man who discovered the lands of deceit and regret — a region of graves and misery for the hidalgos of Spain."

To them Columbus was a failure as a discoverer. Even to us his failure as a governor was absolute and dire. He was the fanatic that does one great service to the world and with it outweighs a myriad mistakes and crimes equally fanatic.

In this connection occurs a speculation of some importance as indicating that there is actually some progress in human affairs. What would have been the result for the world if America had not been discovered till two or three

centuries later? It would undoubtedly have been the worse for Europe in many ways, particularly for the poor and the oppressed who would have been denied the loophole of escape into freedom and ambition and work that was in the largest sense constructive. It would have delayed the uplifting of the common people and the bringing down at least to some extent of the self-declared anointed royalties. It would have held back the establishment of English liberties, to which as before mentioned, the American Revolution contributed largely. It would have at least altered the character, and perhaps prevented the possibility of the French Revolution, which, for all its excesses, was conceived in the spirit of liberty and mercy, and which, after the reaction had taken the Napoleonic form and again subsided, undoubtedly contributed enormously to the betterment of all European and colonial conditions. The later discovery of America after the idea of slavery had been discarded in Europe would have meant much in the history of the United States; it would have made unnecessary the war of the Rebellion, with its destruction of American sea-trade and its loss of at least a million men disabled, killed or dead of disease.

The other side of the picture is the fate of the wretched aboriginals found in America by Europeans. The wrongs they suffered can never be atoned for to them; the atrocities wrought against them by the old-world civilisation (and later in some degree by the new-world civilisation) are an indelible stain on the history of mankind.

It was in many senses a disaster to the world that America was discovered at a period when the Inquisition was filling hearts with a blood-thirst for inflicting pain, taking life, and suppressing thought. It was a double disaster that America should have been discovered by the Spanish in the very midst of their devotion to torture as a fine art, to the revenging of Christ's crucifixion upon the Jews of their own day, and to the waging upon the swart and heretic race of Moors of a ruthless feud under the alias of a holy war. As great good and great evil fought bitterly in the soul of Columbus, so they have fought in the results of his discovery. We may now take up in some detail the account of his origin, his theories, voyages, and their results, without pausing over the voluminous controversies that qualify almost every possible statement concerning his motives and his achievements.[a]

STATE OF GEOGRAPHICAL SCIENCE; THE SPIRIT OF MARITIME DISCOVERY

A thousand years had passed away since the barbarous nations of the north of Europe overthrew the Roman Empire of the West, and erected new institutions upon its ruins; yet the science of geography had made but little progress. The western world was still unknown, and the intercourse between Europe and India was carried on through the Red Sea. The spirit of maritime discovery received its first impulse from the kings of Castile, in the beginning of the fifteenth century. These monarchs, in following up their conquests and settlements in the Canary Islands, led the way to further navigations into the Atlantic, in search of new islands in the west. Hence, also, arose the traffic with the African coast, and the splendour and wealth of the city of Seville, the great mart for slaves and other African productions; and hence the extraordinary zeal for nautical adventure along the coast of Andalusia.

The Portuguese, emulous of the glory of their neighbours, entered into the same career, and pursued it with such vigour and perseverance, as to outstrip their precursors, by improving naval science and extending their commerce in a surprising manner. Their ships sailed along the western coast of Africa, and

at length reached the Cape of Good Hope. Curiosity received a new stimulus from these discoveries; the boundless ocean of the west offered a wide field for speculation. The annals of the Egyptians, contemporary with the most ancient human records; the marvellous narratives of Plato, concerning the Atlantic island, and its mighty monarchs and nations in the western ocean, regained their lost reputation; and the credit which Alexander the Great gave to the opinion of Anaxarchus, respecting the existence of a new world, was now deemed to be well founded.

These notions spread themselves over Europe, from the period of the Spanish conquest of the Canary Islands, as literature and nautical science shed mutual light on each other. A number of ancient manuscripts were brought to light, in which many sayings were found relative to several countries, formerly seen or conjectured to exist in the Atlantic Ocean. What chiefly impressed the minds of men, however, was the large island, abounding with navigable rivers, which, it was said, the Carthaginians had discovered at a distance from the continent, the extraordinary fertility of which had induced them to inhabit it; but the government, afraid that this happy colony might eclipse the mother country, ordered the settlers to evacuate it, and never to return thither under pain of death.



Spanish Explorer

The book in which this account was found bore the name of Aristotle, and its authenticity no person dared to doubt. To the narration of this philosopher several embellishments were added: for instance, that seven Spanish bishops, with a number of Christians, had fled thither, and found an asylum from the persecution of the Moors, the conquerors of Spain, in the eighth century. There were also fabulous, but still credited accounts of Portuguese voyagers who had sailed to that island; and the settlements were soon represented in books and maps under the name of the Seven Towns. At last it was reported that of a quantity of earth, brought from one of these western harbours, the third part was pure gold. This idle legend stimulated several mariners to set out in pursuit of the ore; and though they persisted in vain yet their disappointment was not sufficient to discredit the story; on the contrary, it spread still wider, and the island was actually represented under the name of Antilla on most of the maps of the fifteenth century.

The island of Brandon was not less renowned and stood higher in fable. This name was given to a meteoric appearance which had been observed westward of the Canary Islands; and which induced the inhabitants of the Azores and Madeira, as well as the mariners who sailed to the coast of Africa, to fancy that they saw a country, which, however, only existed in their own imagination. This gave rise to a number of voyages of discovery in the

[1459 A.D.]

western ocean, and not a few by the orders of the court of Portugal. Various pretended discoveries were soon represented on the maps as realities. General maps of the unknown ocean were drawn, and filled with painted islands and continents which no person had really visited or even seen. Notwithstanding this, after the mature consideration of all authorities, maps, and traditions, so little certainty could be attained, nay, even so little probability, that no person would venture to seek discoveries in such a boundless sea, unless he had yielded himself up wholly to the influence of rash credulity.

The ancient Carthaginians, the Arabs of the Middle Ages, and the later adventurers of Portugal and Spain, had made researches in vain for this purpose. The unsuccessful perseverance of the latter seemed to be an evident proof that, if those pretended western countries were really in existence, they were not, however, situated at a convenient distance from those shores to which the seamen, in the existing state of navigation, were under the necessity of returning. As long as this necessity existed, adventurers dared not risk a distant voyage on the Atlantic wave; nor could they be expected to persevere long enough in fruitless, hazardous, and expensive efforts. But now a man appeared, who was born for the achievement of discoveries of incalculable importance to mankind.[cc]

THE EARLY LIFE OF COLUMBUS

Of the early life of Columbus[1] little is known. He was born in Genoa. He was sent by his father, Dominico Colombo, to Pavia, the chief seat of learning in Italy, to prosecute his studies; but these he broke off at the age of fourteen, to commence his naval career — not, however, before he had made extraordinary progress and imbibed a taste for literary cultivation which he preserved during his life. He surpassed his contemporaries in geometry, astronomy, and cosmography, studies which appear to have been peculiarly congenial to his enterprising character. He took part, it seems, in a naval expedition, fitted out at Genoa, by John of Anjou, Duke of Calabria, in 1459, against Naples. He subsequently went to Lisbon, where his brother Bartholomew found a profitable occupation in constructing sailing-charts for navigators. Portugal was at that time engaged in promoting geographical discovery; and Columbus soon embarked in an arduous voyage to the north, in which he reached the 73rd degree of north latitude, or, as he expresses it, one hundred degrees beyond the Thule of Ptolemy. He made several other voyages to England, it seems, and to the islands possessed by Spain and Portugal in the Western Ocean; he soon became, in consequence, the most experienced navigator of his time. By taking notes of everything he saw, comparing them with the existing systems of cosmography, and by drawing maps and constructing globes he kept his mind intently fixed on the studies in which he was destined to effect so great a revolution.

While a resident in Lisbon, he married Donna Felipa, the daughter of Bartolomeo Munnis de Perestrello, an Italian cavalier, who had been one of the most distinguished navigators under Prince Henry of Portugal, and had colonised and governed the island of Porto Santo. By this marriage Columbus

[1 The family name in Italian is Colombo; it was latinised into Columbus by himself, in his earlier letters. He is better known, in Spanish history, as Christoval Colon, having altered his name when he removed to Spain. The date of his birth is uncertain; it was formerly placed about 1436, but most recent investigators incline to a later date. Sixteen towns claim the honor of his nativity, but he named Genoa himself. His father was probably a wool comber. But all his career before his first voyage is rendered vague by the radical discrepancies in the various records.]

procured access to the charts and papers of Perestrello, and of other experienced navigators connected with his wife's family. In his conversations with the able geographers and pilots whom he found in Lisbon, he consulted them on the possibility of discovering a western passage to the countries of Cathay and Zipangu or Cipango, described by Marco Polo. The theory which he had already formed on this subject received confirmation by certain facts which came to his knowledge.[y]

Pedro Torrea, his wife's relation, had found, on the coast of Porto Santo, pieces of carved wood, evidently not cut with a knife, and which had been carried thither by strong westerly winds; other navigators had picked up in the Atlantic canes of an extraordinary size, and many plants not apparently belonging to the Old World. The bodies of men were found, thrown by the waves on the shore of one of the Azores, who had features differing essentially from those of Africans or Europeans, and who had evidently come from the West.[y]

WASHINGTON IRVING'S ACCOUNT OF COLUMBUS' TRIALS

It is impossible to determine the precise time when Columbus first conceived the design of seeking a western route to India. It is certain, however, that he meditated it as early as the year 1474, though as yet it lay crude and unmatured in his mind. This fact, which is of some importance, is sufficiently established by the correspondence with the learned Toscanelli of Florence, which took place in the summer of that year. The letter of Toscanelli is in reply to one from Columbus, and applauds the design which he had expressed of making a voyage to the west. To demonstrate more clearly the facility of arriving at India in that direction, he sent him a map, projected partly according to Ptolemy, and partly according to the descriptions of Marco Polo, the Venetian. The eastern coast of Asia was depicted in front of the western coasts of Africa and Europe, with a moderate space of ocean between them, in which were placed at convenient distances Cipango, Antilla, and the other islands. This map, by which Columbus sailed on his first voyage of discovery, Las Casas[dd] says he had in his possession at the time of writing his history. It is greatly to be regretted that so interesting a document should be lost. It may yet exist among the chaotic lumber of the Spanish archives. Few documents of mere curiosity would be more precious.

Columbus was greatly animated by the letter and chart of Toscanelli, who was considered one of the ablest cosmographers of the day. He appears to have procured the work of Marco Polo, which had been translated into various languages, and existed in manuscript in most libraries. This author gives marvellous accounts of the riches of the realms of Cathay and Mangi, or Mangu, since ascertained to be northern and southern China, on the coast of which, according to the map of Toscanelli, a voyager sailing directly west would be sure to arrive. The work of Marco Polo is a key to many parts of Columbus' history. In his applications to the various courts, he represented the countries he expected to discover as those regions of inexhaustible wealth which the Venetian had described. The territories of the grand khan were the objects of inquiry in all his voyages; and in his cruisings among the Antilles, he was continually flattering himself with the hopes of arriving at the opulent island of Cipango, and the coasts of Mangi and Cathay.

While the design of attempting the discovery in the west was maturing in the mind of Columbus, he made a voyage to the north of Europe. Of this we have no other memorial than the following passage, extracted by his son,

[1477–1481 A.D.]

Fernando,[ee] from one of his letters: "In the year 1477, in February, I navigated one hundred leagues beyond Thule, the southern part of which is seventy-three degrees distant from the equator, and not sixty-three, as some pretend: neither is it situated within the line which includes the west of Ptolemy, but is much more westerly. The English, principally those of Bristol, go with their merchandise to this island, which is as large as England. When I was there, the sea was not frozen, and the tides were so great as to rise and fall twenty-six fathoms." The island thus mentioned is generally supposed to have been Iceland, which is far to the west of the Ultima Thule of the ancients, as laid down in the map of Ptolemy.

Columbus is Duped by the Portuguese Court

Several more years elapsed, without any decided efforts on the part of Columbus to carry his design into execution. He was too poor to fit out the armament necessary for so important an expedition. Indeed it was an enterprise only to be undertaken in the employ of some sovereign state, which could assume dominion over the territories he might discover, and reward him with dignities and privileges commensurate to his services. It is asserted that he at one time endeavoured to engage his native country, Genoa, in the undertaking, but without success. No record remains of such an attempt, though it is generally believed, and has strong probability in its favour. His residence in Portugal placed him at hand to solicit the patronage of that power, but Alfonso, who was then on the throne, was too much engrossed in the latter part of his reign with a war with Spain, for the succession of the princess Juana to the crown of Castile, to engage in peaceful enterprises of an expensive nature; the public mind, also, was not prepared for so perilous an undertaking. Notwithstanding the many recent voyages to the coast of Africa and the adjacent islands, and the introduction of the compass into more general use, navigation was still shackled with impediments, and the mariner rarely ventured far out of sight of land.

Discovery advanced slowly along the coasts of Africa, and the mariners feared to cruise far into the southern hemisphere, with the stars of which they were totally unacquainted. To such men, the project of a voyage directly westward, into the midst of that boundless waste, to seek some visionary land, appeared as extravagant as it would be at the present day to launch forth in a balloon into the regions of space, in quest of some distant star. The time, however, was at hand that was to extend the sphere of navigation. The era was propitious to the quick advancement of knowledge. The recent invention of the art of printing enabled men to communicate rapidly and extensively their ideas and discoveries. It drew forth learning from libraries and convents, and brought it familiarly to the reading desk of the student. There was, henceforth, to be no retrogression in knowledge, nor any pause in its career. Every step in advance was immediately, and simultaneously, and widely promulgated, recorded in a thousand forms, and fixed forever. There could never again be a dark age; nations might shut their eyes to the light, and sit in wilful darkness, but they could not trample it out; it would still shine on, dispensed to happier parts of the world, by the diffusive powers of the press.

At this juncture, in 1481, a monarch ascended the throne of Portugal, of different ambition from Alfonso. John II, or João, then in the twenty-fifth year of his age, had imbibed the passion for discovery from his grand-uncle, Prince Henry, and with his reign all its activity revived. The African dis-

coveries had conferred great glory upon Portugal, but as yet they had been expensive rather than profitable. The accomplishment of the route to India, however, it was expected would repay all cost and toil, and open a source of incalculable wealth to the nation. The project of Prince Henry, which had now been tardily prosecuted for half a century, had excited a curiosity about the remote parts of Asia, and revived all the accounts, true and fabulous, of travellers.

Impatient of the slowness with which his discoveries advanced along the coast of Africa, and of the impediments which every cape and promontory presented to nautical enterprise, João II called in the aid of science to devise some means by which greater scope and certainty might be given to navigation. His two physicians, Roderigo and Joseph, the latter a Jew, the most able astronomers and cosmographers of his kingdom, together with the celebrated Martin Behaim, entered into a learned consultation on the subject. The result of their conferences and labours was the application of the astrolabe to navigation, enabling the seaman, by the altitude of the sun, to ascertain his distance from the equator. This instrument has since been improved and modified into the modern quadrant, of which, even at its first introduction, it possessed all the essential advantages.

It is impossible to describe the effect produced upon navigation by this invention. It cast it loose at once from its long bondage to the land, and set it free to rove the deep. The mariner now, instead of coasting the shores like the ancient navigators, and, if driven from the land, groping his way back in doubt and apprehension by the uncertain guidance of the stars, might adventure boldly into unknown seas, confident of being able to trace his course by means of the compass and the astrolabe.

It was shortly after this event, which had prepared guides for discovery across the trackless ocean, that Columbus made the first attempt, of which we have any clear and indisputable record, to procure royal patronage for his enterprise. Encouraged by the liberality, and by the anxiety evinced by King João II to accomplish a passage by sea to India, Columbus obtained an audience of that monarch, and proposed, in case the king would furnish him with ships and men, to undertake a shorter and more direct route than that along the coast of Africa. His plan was to strike directly to the west, across the Atlantic. He then unfolded his hypothesis with respect to the extent of Asia, describing also the immense riches of the island of Cipango, the first land at which he expected to arrive. Of this audience we have two accounts, written in somewhat of an opposite spirit; one[1] by his son Fernando,[ee] the other by João de Barros[ff] the Portuguese historiographer. It is curious to notice the different views taken of the same transaction by the enthusiastic son, and by the cool, perhaps prejudiced, historian.

The king, according to Fernando, listened to his father with great attention, but was discouraged from engaging in any new scheme of the kind, by the cost and trouble already sustained in exploring the route by the African coast, which as yet remained unaccomplished. His father, however, supported his proposition by such excellent reasons that the king was induced to give his consent. The only difficulty that remained was the terms; for Columbus, being a man of lofty and noble sentiments, demanded high and honourable titles and rewards, to the end, says Fernando, that he might leave behind him a name and family worthy of his deeds and merits.

Barros, on the other hand, attributes the seeming acquiescence of the king

[1 It is to be noted that there is dispute as to the authenticity of this life of Columbus by his son. Many critics, such as Harrisse,[ff] have claimed that he did not write it. This scepticism is not, however, by any means universal.]

[1484 A.D.]

merely to the importunities of Columbus. He considered him, says the historian, a vain-glorious man, fond of displaying his abilities, and given to fantastic fancies, such as that respecting the island of Cipango. But in fact, this idea of Columbus being vain, was taken up by the Portuguese writers in after years; and as to the island of Cipango, it was far from being considered chimerical by the king, who, as shown by his mission in search of Prester John, was a ready believer in these travellers' tales concerning the East. The reasoning of Columbus must have produced an effect on the mind of the monarch, since it is certain that he referred the proposition to a learned *junto*, charged with all matters relating to maritime discovery.

This scientific body treated the project as extravagant and visionary. Still the king does not appear to have been satisfied. According to his historian Vasconcellos,[hh] he convoked his council, composed of prelates and persons of the greatest learning in the kingdom, and asked their advice, whether to adopt this new route of discovery, or to pursue that which they had already opened. The project of circumnavigating Africa was prosecuted with new ardour and triumphant success: the proposition of Columbus, however, was generally condemned by the council.

Seeing that King João still manifested an inclination for the enterprise, it was suggested to him by the bishop of Ceuta that Columbus might be kept in suspense while a vessel, secretly dispatched in the direction he should point out, might ascertain whether there were any foundation for his theory. By this means all its advantages might be secured, without committing the dignity of the crown by formal negotiations about what might prove a mere chimera. King João, in an evil hour, had the weakness to permit a stratagem so inconsistent with his usual justice and magnanimity. Columbus was required to furnish, for the consideration of the council, a detailed plan of his proposed voyage, with the charts and documents according to which he intended to shape his course. These being procured, a caravel was dispatched with the ostensible design of carrying provisions to the Cape Verd islands; but with private instructions to pursue the designated route. Departing from those islands, the caravel stood westward for several days, until the weather became stormy: when the pilots, seeing nothing but an immeasurable waste of wild tumbling waves still extending before them, lost all courage and put back, ridiculing the project of Columbus as extravagant and irrational.

This unworthy attempt to defraud him of his enterprise roused the indignation of Columbus, and he declined all offers of King João to renew the negotiation. The death of his wife, which had occurred sometime previously, had dissolved the domestic tie which bound him to Portugal; he determined, therefore, to abandon a country where he had been treated with so little faith, and to look elsewhere for patronage. Before his departure, he engaged his brother Bartholomew to carry proposals to the king of England, though he does not appear to have entertained great hope from that quarter — England by no means possessing at the time the spirit of nautical enterprise which has since distinguished her. The great reliance of Columbus was on his own personal exertions.

It was towards the end of 1484 that he left Lisbon, taking with him his son Diego. His departure had to be conducted with secrecy, lest, as some assert, it should be prevented by King João; but lest, as others surmise, it should be prevented by his creditors.[1] Like many other great projectors, while engaged

[1 This surmise is founded on a letter from King João to Columbus, written some years afterwards, inviting him to return to Portugal, and assuring him against arrest on account of any process, civil or criminal, that might be pending against him. See Navarrete.[ii]]

upon schemes of vast benefit to mankind, he had suffered his own affairs to go to ruin, and was reduced to struggle hard with poverty; nor is it one of the least interesting circumstances in his eventful life that he had, in a manner, to beg his way from court to court, to offer to princes the discovery of a world.

Columbus in Spain (1485–1492 A.D.)

The immediate movements of Columbus on leaving Portugal are involved in uncertainty. It is said that about this time he made a proposition of his enterprise, in person, as he had formerly done by letter, to the government of Genoa. The republic, however, was in a languishing decline, and embarrassed by a foreign war. Thus Genoa, disheartened by her reverses, shut her ears to the proposition of Columbus, which might have elevated her to tenfold splendour, and perpetuated within her grasp the golden wand of commerce. While at Genoa, Columbus is said to have made arrangements, out of his scanty means, for the comfort of his aged father. It is also affirmed that about this time he carried his proposal to Venice, where it was declined on account of the critical state of national affairs. This, however, is merely traditional, and unsupported by documentary evidence. The first firm and indisputable trace we have of Columbus after leaving Portugal, is in the south of Spain, in 1485, where we find him seeking his fortune among the Spanish nobles, several of whom had vast possessions, and exercised almost independent sovereignty in their domains.

Columbus had many interviews with the duke of Medina Sidonia, who was tempted, for a time, by the splendid prospects held out, but their very splendour threw a colouring of improbability over the enterprise, and he finally rejected it as the dream of an Italian visionary. The duke of Medina Celi was likewise favourable at the outset, but he suddenly changed his mind. Finding, however, that Columbus intended to make his next application to the king of France, and loth that an enterprise of such importance should be lost to Spain, the duke wrote to Queen Isabella, recommending it strongly to her attention. The queen made a favourable reply, and requested that Columbus might be sent to her. He accordingly set out for the Spanish court, then at Cordova, bearing a letter to the queen from the duke, soliciting that, in case the expedition should be carried into effect, he might have a share in it, and the fitting out of the armament from his port of St. Mary, as a recompense for having waived the enterprise in favour of the crown.

The time when Columbus thus sought his fortunes at the court of Spain coincided with one of the most brilliant periods of the Spanish monarchy. The union of the kingdoms of Aragon and Castile, by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella, had consolidated the Christian power in the peninsula, and put an end to those internal feuds, which had so long distracted the country, and insured the domination of the Moslems. The whole force of united Spain was now exerted in the chivalrous enterprise of the Moorish conquest. Ferdinand and Isabella, it has been remarked, lived together not like man and wife, whose estates are common, under the orders of the husband, but like two monarchs strictly allied. They had separate claims to sovereignty, in virtue of their respective kingdoms; they had separate councils, and were often distant from each other in different parts of their empire, each exercising the royal authority. Yet they were so happily united by common views, common interests, and a great deference for each other, that this double administration never prevented a unity of purpose and of action. All acts of sovereignty were

[1487 A.D.]

executed in both their names; all public writings were subscribed with both their signatures; their likenesses were stamped together on the public coin; and the royal seal displayed the united arms of Castile and Aragon.

When Columbus arrived at Cordova, he was given in charge to Alonzo de Quintanilla, comptroller of the treasury of Castile. This was an unpropitious moment to urge a suit like that of Columbus. In fact the sovereigns had not a moment of leisure throughout this eventful year.

While thus lingering in idle suspense in Cordova, he became attached to a lady of the city, Beatrix Enriquez by name, of a noble family, though in reduced circumstances. Their connection was not sanctioned by marriage; yet he cherished sentiments of respect and tenderness for her to his dying day. She was the mother of his second son, Fernando, born in the following year (1487), whom he always treated on terms of perfect equality with his legitimate son Diego, and who after his death became his historian.

In the winter, Columbus followed the court to Salamanca. Here his zealous friend, Alonzo de Quintanilla, exerted his influence to obtain for him the countenance of the celebrated Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza, archbishop of Toledo and grand cardinal of Spain. This was the most important personage about the court; and was facetiously called by Peter Martyr, the "third king of Spain." Through his representations Columbus at length obtained admission to the royal presence. We have but scanty particulars of this audience, nor can we ascertain whether Queen Isabella was present on the occasion; the contrary seems to be most probably the case.

Ferdinand was cool and wary, and would not trust his own judgment. He determined to take the opinion of the most learned men in the kingdom, and to be guided by their decision. Fernando de Talavera, prior of the monastery of Prado and confessor of the queen, one of the most erudite men of Spain, and high in the royal confidence, was commanded to assemble the most learned astronomers and cosmographers for the purpose of holding a conference with Columbus, and examining him as to the grounds on which he founded his proposition. After they had informed themselves fully on the subject, they were to consult together, and make a report to the sovereign of their collective opinion.

Columbus Before the Council of Salamanca

The interesting conference relative to the proposition of Columbus took place in Salamanca, the great seat of learning in Spain. It was held in the Dominican convent of St. Stephen, in which he was lodged and entertained with great hospitality during the course of the examination. Religion and science were at that time, and more especially in that country, closely associated. The treasures of learning were immured in monasteries, and the professors' chairs were exclusively filled from the cloister. The domination of the clergy extended over the state as well as the church, and posts of honour and influence at court, with the exception of hereditary nobles, were almost entirely confined to ecclesiastics. The era was distinguished for the revival of learning, but still more for the prevalence of religious zeal, and Spain surpassed all other countries of Christendom in the fervour of her devotion. The Inquisition had just been established in that kingdom, and every opinion that savoured of heresy exposed its owner to odium and persecution.

Such was the period when a council of clerical sages was convened in the collegiate convent of St. Stephen, to investigate the new theory of Columbus. It was composed of professors of astronomy, geography, mathematics, and

other branches of science, together with various dignitaries of the church, and learned friars. Before this erudite assembly, Columbus presented himself to propound and defend his conclusions. Columbus appeared in a most unfavourable light before a scholastic body: an obscure navigator, a member of no learned institution, destitute of all the trappings and circumstances which sometimes give oracular authority to dulness, and depending upon the mere force of natural genius. Some of the *junto* entertained the popular notion that he was an adventurer, or at best a visionary; and others had that morbid impatience of any innovation upon established doctrine, which is apt to grow upon dull and pedantic men in cloistered life. What a striking spectacle must the hall of the old convent have presented at this memorable conference! A simple mariner, standing forth in the midst of an imposing array of professors, friars, and dignitaries of the church; maintaining his theory with natural eloquence, and, as it were, pleading the cause of the New World.

Several of the objections proposed by this learned body have been handed down to us, and have provoked many a sneer at the expense of the University of Salamanca; but they are proofs, not so much of the peculiar deficiency of that institution, as of the imperfect state of science at the time, and the manner in which knowledge, though rapidly extending, was still impeded in its progress by monastic bigotry.

Thus, at the very threshold of the discussion, instead of geographical objections, Columbus was assailed with citations from the Bible and the Testament: the book of Genesis, the psalms of David, the prophets, the epistles, and the gospels. To these were added the expositions of various saints and reverend commentators: St. Chrysostom and St. Augustine, St. Jerome and St. Gregory, St. Basil and St. Ambrose, and Lactantius Firmianus, a redoubted champion of the faith. Doctrinal points were mixed up with philosophical discussions, and a mathematical demonstration was allowed no weight, if it appeared to clash with a text of Scripture, or a commentary of one of the fathers. Thus the possibility of antipodes, in the southern hemisphere, an opinion so generally maintained by the wisest of the ancients, as to be pronounced by Pliny *ii* the great contest between the learned and the ignorant, became a stumbling-block with some of the sages of Salamanca. Several of them stoutly contradicted this fundamental position of Columbus, supporting themselves by quotations from Lactantius and St. Augustine, who were considered in those days as almost evangelical authority. But, though these writers were men of consummate erudition, and two of the greatest luminaries of what has been called the golden age of ecclesiastical learning, yet their writings were calculated to perpetuate darkness in respect to the sciences.

The passage cited from Lactantius *kk* to confute Columbus, is in a strain of gross ridicule, unworthy of so grave a theologian. "Is there any one so foolish," he asks, "as to believe that there are antipodes with their feet opposite to ours; people who walk with their heels upward, and their heads hanging down? That there is a part of the world in which all things are topsy-turvy: where the trees grow with their branches downward, and where it rains, hails, and snows upward? The idea of the roundness of the earth," he adds, "was the cause of inventing this fable of the antipodes, with their heels in the air; for these philosophers having once erred, go on in their absurdities, defending one with another."

Objections of a graver nature were advanced on the authority of St. Augustine. He pronounces the doctrine of antipodes to be incompatible with the historical foundations of our faith; since to assert that there were inhabited lands on the opposite side of the globe would be to maintain that

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there were nations not descended from Adam, it being impossible for them to have passed the intervening ocean. This would be, therefore, to discredit the Bible, which expressly declares that all men are descended from one common parent. Such were the unlooked-for prejudices which Columbus had to encounter at the very outset of his conference. To his simplest proposition, the spherical form of the earth, were opposed figurative texts of Scripture. They observed that in *Psalm* 104, verse 3, the heavens are said to be extended like a hide, that is, according to commentators, the curtain or covering of a tent which, among the ancient pastoral nations, was formed of the hides of animals; and that St. Paul, in his *Epistle to the Hebrews*, compares the heavens to a tabernacle, or tent, extended over the earth, which they thence inferred must be flat.

Columbus, who was a devoutly religious man, found that he was in danger of being convicted not merely of error but of heterodoxy. Others more versed in science admitted the globular form of the earth, and the possibility of an opposite and habitable hemisphere; but they brought up the chimera of the ancients, and maintained that it would be impossible to arrive there, in consequence of the insupportable heat of the torrid zone. Even granting this could be passed, they observed that the circumference of the earth must be so great as to require at least three years to the voyage, and those who should undertake it must perish of hunger and thirst, from the impossibility of carrying provisions for so long a period. He was told, on the authority of Epicurus, that admitting the earth to be spherical, it was only inhabitable in the northern hemisphere, and in that section only was canopied by the heavens; that the opposite half was a chaos, a gulf, or a mere waste of water. Not the least absurd objection advanced was, that should a ship even succeed in reaching in this way, the extremity of India, she could never get back again; for the rotundity of the globe would present a kind of mountain, up which it would be impossible for her to sail with the most favourable wind. Such are specimens of the errors and prejudices, the mingled ignorance and erudition, and the pedantic bigotry, with which Columbus had to contend throughout the examination of his theory. Can we wonder at the difficulties and delays which he experienced at courts, when such vague and crude notions were entertained by the learned men of a university?

There were no doubt objections advanced more cogent in their nature, and more worthy of that distinguished university. It is but justice to add, also, that the replies of Columbus had great weight with many of his learned examiners. In answer to the Scriptural objections, he submitted that the inspired writers were not speaking technically as cosmographers, but figuratively, in language addressed to all comprehensions. The commentaries of the fathers he treated with deference as pious homilies, but not as philosophical propositions which it was necessary either to admit or refute. The objections drawn from ancient philosophers he met boldly and ably upon equal terms; for he was deeply studied on all points of cosmography. He showed that the most illustrious of those sages believed both hemispheres to be inhabitable, though they imagined that the torrid zone precluded communication; and he obviated conclusively that difficulty; for he had voyaged to St. George la Miña in Guinea, almost under the equinoctial line, and had found that region not merely traversable, but abounding in population, in fruits and pasturage.

When Columbus took his stand before this learned body, he had appeared the plain and simple navigator; somewhat daunted, perhaps, by the greatness of his task, and the august nature of his auditory. But he had a degree of religious feeling which gave him a confidence in the execution of what he con-

ceived his great errand, and he was of an ardent temperament that became heated in action by its own generous fires. Las Casas,[dd] and others of his contemporaries, have spoken of his commanding person, his elevated demeanour, his air of authority, his kindling eye, and the persuasive intonations of his voice. How must they have given majesty and force to his words, as, casting aside his maps and charts, and discarding for a time his practical and scientific lore, his visionary spirit took fire at the doctrinal objections of his opponents, and he met them upon their own ground, pouring forth those magnificent texts of Scripture, and those mysterious predictions of the prophets, which, in his enthusiastic moments, he considered as types and annunciations of the sublime discovery which he proposed! One great difficulty was to reconcile the plan of Columbus with the cosmography of Ptolemy, to which all scholars yielded implicit faith. How would the most enlightened of those sages have been astonished, had any one apprised them that the man, Copernicus, was then in existence, whose solar system should reverse the grand theory of Ptolemy, which stationed the earth in the centre of the universe.

Columbus the Victim of Spanish Procrastination

The Castilian court departed from Salamanca early in the spring of 1487 and repaired to Cordova, to prepare for the memorable campaign against Malaga. Fernando de Talavera, later Bishop of Avila, accompanied the queen as her confessor, and as one of her spiritual counsellors in the concerns of the war. The consultations of the board at Salamanca were interrupted by this event, before that learned body could come to a decision, and for a long time Columbus was kept in suspense, vainly awaiting the report that was to decide the fate of his application.

It has generally been supposed that the several years which he wasted in irksome solicitation, were spent in the drowsy and monotonous attendance of antechambers; but it appears on the contrary, that they were often passed amidst scenes of peril and adventure, and that, in following up his suit, he was led into some of the most striking situations of this wild, rugged, and mountainous war. Several times he was summoned to attend conferences in the vicinity of the sovereigns, when besieging cities in the very heart of the Moorish dominions; but the tempest of warlike affairs, which hurried the court from place to place and gave it all the bustle and confusion of a camp, prevented those conferences from taking place, and swept away all concerns that were not immediately connected with the war. Whenever the court had an interval of leisure and repose, there would again be manifested a disposition to consider his proposal, but the hurry and tempest would again return and the question be again swept away.

Wearied and discouraged by these delays, he began to think of applying elsewhere for patronage, and appears to have commenced negotiations with King João II for a return to Portugal. He wrote to that monarch on the subject, and received a letter in reply dated the 20th of March, 1488, inviting him to return to his court, and assuring him of protection from any suits of either a civil or criminal nature, that might be pending against him. He received, also, a letter from Henry VII of England, inviting him to that country, and holding out promises of encouragement. There must have been strong hopes, authorised about this time by the conduct of the Spanish sovereigns, to induce Columbus to neglect these invitations; and we find ground for such a supposition in a memorandum of a sum of money paid to him by the

[1490 A.D.]

treasurer Gonzalez, to enable him to comply with a summons to attend the Castilian court.

During this long course of solicitation he supported himself, in part, by making maps and charts, and was occasionally assisted by the purse of the worthy friar Diego de Deza. It is due to the sovereigns to say, also, that whenever he was summoned to follow the movements of the court, or to attend any appointed consultation, he was attached to the royal suite, and lodgings were provided for him and sums issued to defray his expenses. During all this time he was exposed to continual scoffs and indignities, being ridiculed by the light and ignorant as a mere dreamer, and stigmatised by the illiberal as an adventurer. The very children, it is said, pointed to their foreheads as he passed, being taught to regard him as a kind of madman. The summer of 1490 passed away, but still Columbus was kept in tantalising and tormenting suspense. The subsequent winter was not more propitious. He was wearied, if not incensed, at the repeated postponements he had experienced, by which several years had been consumed. He now pressed for a decisive reply with an earnestness that would not admit of evasion. Fernando de Talavera, therefore, was called upon by the sovereigns to hold a definitive conference with the scientific men to whom the project had been referred, and to make a report of their decision. The bishop tardily complied, and at length reported to their majesties, as the general opinion of the *junto*, that the proposed scheme was vain and impossible, and that it did not become such great princes to engage in an enterprise of the kind on such weak grounds as had been advanced.

Notwithstanding the unfavourable report, the sovereigns were unwilling to close the door upon a project which might be productive of such important advantages. Fernando de Talavera was commanded to inform Columbus, who was still at Cordova, that the great cares and expenses of the wars rendered it impossible for the sovereigns to engage in any new enterprise; but that when the war was concluded they would have both time and inclination to treat with him about what he proposed. This was but a starved reply to receive after so many days of weary attendance, anxious expectations, and deferred hope; Columbus was unwilling to receive it at second hand, and repaired to the court at Seville to learn his fate from the lips of the sovereigns. Their reply was virtually the same, declining to engage in the enterprise for the present, but holding out hopes of patronage when relieved from the cares and expenses of the war. Renouncing all further confidence, therefore, in vague promises, which had so often led to disappointment, and giving up all hopes of countenance from the throne, he turned his back upon Seville, indignant at the thoughts of having been beguiled out of so many precious years of waning existence.

Columbus Turns His Back on the Court

About half a league from the little sea-port of Palos de Moguer in Andalusia there stood, and continues to stand at the present day, an ancient convent of Franciscan friars, dedicated to Santa Maria de Rabida. One day a stranger on foot, in humble guise, but of a distinguished air, accompanied by a small boy, stopped at the gate of the convent, and asked of the porter a little bread and water for his child. While receiving this humble refreshment, the prior of the convent, Juan Perez de Marchena, happening to pass by, was struck with the appearance of the stranger, and observing from his air and accent that he was a foreigner, entered into conversation with him, and soon

learned the particulars of his story. That stranger was Columbus. He was on his way to the neighbouring town of Huelva, to seek his brother-in-law, who had married a sister of his deceased wife.

The prior was a man of extensive information. He was greatly interested by the conversation of Columbus, and struck with the grandeur of his views. When he found, however, that the voyager was on the point of abandoning Spain to seek patronage in the court of France, and that so important an enterprise was about to be lost forever to the country, the patriotism of the good friar took the alarm. Several conferences took place at the convent, at which several of the veteran mariners of Palos were present. Among these was Martin Alonzo Pinzon, the head of a family of wealthy and experienced navigators of the place, celebrated for their adventurous expeditions. Facts were related by some of these navigators in support of the theory of Columbus. In a word, his project was treated with a deference in the quiet cloisters of La Rabida and among the seafaring men of Palos which had been sought in vain among the sages and philosophers of the court. Martin Alonzo Pinzon, especially, was so convinced of its feasibility that he offered to engage in it with purse and person, and to bear the expenses of Columbus in a renewed application to the court.

Isabella had always been favourably disposed to the proposition of Columbus. She wrote in reply to a letter from Juan Perez, requesting that he would repair immediately to the court, leaving Christopher Columbus in confident hope until he should hear further from her. She was moved by the representations of Juan Perez. The queen requested that Columbus might be again sent to her, and, with the kind considerateness which characterised her, bethinking herself of his poverty, and his humble plight, ordered that twenty thousand maravedies [about £14 and equivalent to £43 to-day] in florins should be forwarded to him, to bear his travelling expenses, to provide him with a mule for his journey, and to furnish him with decent raiment, that he might make a respectable appearance at the court.

When Columbus arrived at the court, he experienced a favourable reception, and was given in hospitable charge to his steady friend Alonzo de Quintanilla, the accountant-general. The moment, however, was too eventful for his business to receive immediate attention. He arrived in time to witness the memorable surrender of Granada to the Spanish arms. He beheld Boabdil, the last of the Moorish kings, sally forth from the Alhambra, and yield up the keys of that favourite seat of Moorish power; while the king and queen, with all the chivalry, and rank, and magnificence of Spain, moved forward in proud and solemn procession, to receive this token of submission. It was one of the most brilliant triumphs in Spanish history. After nearly eight hundred years of painful struggle, the crescent was completely cast down, the cross exalted in its place, and the standard of Spain was seen floating on the highest tower of the Alhambra. The whole court and army were abandoned to jubilee.

The war with the Moors was at an end, Spain was delivered from its intruders, and its sovereigns might securely turn their views to foreign enterprise. They kept their word with Columbus. Persons of confidence were appointed to negotiate with him, among whom was Fernando de Talavera, who, by the recent conquest, had risen to be archbishop of Granada. At the very outset of their negotiation, however, unexpected difficulties arose. So fully imbued was Columbus with the grandeur of his enterprise that he would listen to none but princely conditions. His principal stipulation was, that he should be invested with the titles and privileges of admiral and viceroy over



ISABELLA OFFERING TO PLEDGE HER JEWELS TO AID COLUMBUS

(From the painting by A. Muñoz Degrain)

[1492 A.D.]

the countries he should discover, with one-tenth of all gains, either by trade or conquest. The courtiers who treated with him were indignant at such a demand. Their pride was shocked to see one, whom they had considered as a needy adventurer, aspiring to rank and dignities superior to their own. One observed with a sneer that it was a shrewd arrangement which he proposed, whereby he was secure, at all events, of the honour of a command, and had nothing to lose in case of failure. To this Columbus promptly replied by offering to furnish one-eighth of the cost, on condition of enjoying an eighth of the profits. To do this, he no doubt calculated on the proffered assistance of Martin Alonzo Pinzon, the wealthy navigator of Palos.

His terms, however, were pronounced inadmissible. Fernando de Talavera had always considered Columbus a dreaming speculator, or a needy applicant for bread; but to see this man, who had for years been an indigent and threadbare solicitor in his antechamber, assuming so lofty a tone, and claiming an office that approached to the awful dignity of the throne, excited the astonishment as well as the indignation of the prelate. More moderate conditions were offered to Columbus, and such as appeared highly honourable and advantageous. It was all in vain; he would not cede one point of his demands, and the negotiation was broken off.

It is impossible not to admire the great constancy of purpose and loftiness of spirit displayed by Columbus, ever since he had conceived the sublime idea of his discovery. More than eighteen years had elapsed since his correspondence with Paulo Toscanelli of Florence, wherein he had announced his design. The greatest part of that time had been consumed in applications at various courts. During that period what poverty, neglect, ridicule, contumely, and disappointment had he not suffered! Nothing, however, could shake his perseverance, nor make him descend to terms which he considered beneath the dignity of his enterprise. In all his negotiations he forgot his present obscurity, he forgot his present indigence; his ardent imagination realised the magnitude of his contemplated discoveries, and he felt himself negotiating about empire.

Though so large a portion of his life had worn away in fruitless solicitings; though there was no certainty that the same weary career was not to be entered upon at any other court; yet so indignant was he at the repeated disappointments he had experienced in Spain, that he determined to abandon it for ever, rather than compromise his demands. Taking leave of his friends, therefore, he mounted his mule, and sallied forth from Santa Fé in the beginning of February, 1492, on his way to Cordova, whence he intended to depart immediately for France.[2]

COLUMBUS' FIRST VOYAGE (1492 A.D.)

St. Angel and Quintanilla, by their earnest and powerful intercessions with Queen Isabella, induced her to despatch a messenger for Columbus' recall. The queen, moved by the eloquence of St. Angel, adopted the scheme with enthusiasm, and even offered to pledge her jewels to raise the necessary funds. It was an act every way worthy of her noble character. But the funds were raised without having recourse to Isabella's generosity; and arrangements were speedily entered into for fitting out the expedition.

On the 17th of April, 1492, were signed the articles of agreement by which Columbus received from the sovereigns the hereditary titles of admiral and viceroy, in all the seas, lands, and islands which he should discover. He was entitled also to reserve for himself one tenth of all pearls, precious stones, gold, silver, spices, and other articles and merchandises, in whatever manner found,

bought, bartered, or gained within his admiralty, the costs being first deducted; and he was permitted to contribute an eighth part of the expense of the expedition, and to receive an eighth part of the profits.

On the 12th of May, he proceeded to the port of Palos, to fit out the armament. Three vessels were prepared for the voyage. The largest, which was decked, was called the *Santa Maria*, and on board of this ship Columbus hoisted his flag. The second, called the *Pinta*, was commanded by Martin Alonzo Pinzon, accompanied by his brother, Francisco Martin, as pilot. The third, called the *Niña*, had lateen sails, and was commanded by the third of the brothers, Vicente Yanez Pinzon. There were three other pilots, an inspector-general of the armament, a chief *alguazil*, and a royal notary. The expedition was also provided with a physician and a surgeon, and was accompanied by various private adventurers, together with several servants, and ninety mariners — making, in all, one hundred and twenty persons.

On Friday, the 3rd of August, 1492, the expedition sailed. They directed their course to the Canary Islands, where they were delayed for some time in consequence of an injury done to the rudder of the *Pinta*. On the 6th of September, they left the Canaries; and that may be regarded as the first day of the most memorable voyage which has ever been undertaken. The winds were at first light, and little way was made; the second day, the fleet lost sight of land. The companions of Columbus, who were now advancing over the ocean, unable to conjecture the termination of their voyage, began to feel astonished at the boldness of the enterprise. Many of them shed tears and broke into loud lamentations, believing that they should never return. Columbus endeavoured to console them and inspire them with new courage.

On the 11th of September, when they were a hundred and fifty leagues from the island of Ferro, they found the mast of a ship, which seemed to have been brought there by the current. Columbus made daily observations on the meridian altitude of the sun, and he was the first to observe the variation of the magnetic needle, a phenomenon which occasioned considerable alarm among his people, and which he found himself under the necessity of explaining by a plausible theory of his own, in order to calm their apprehensions. On the 15th, three hundred leagues from the island of Ferro, during a dead calm, they saw a fire-ball strike the sea, about five leagues ahead of the fleet, one of the meteors of very common occurrence in the tropical regions.

Hitherto the wind had blown constantly from the east; the seamen, observing this fact, thought that it would be impossible for them ever to return to Spain. On the following day they saw some birds, which revived their hopes, as they were supposed to be of a species that never went more than twenty leagues from the land. The sea soon after seemed covered with marine plants, which had the appearance of having been recently detached from the rocks on which they had grown; and the men were convinced that land could not be far distant. On the 18th, Alonzo Pinzon, who sailed ahead told Columbus that he had seen a multitude of birds in the west, and that he thought he had discerned land towards the north. As his vessel was a fast sailer, he crowded canvas and kept in the advance.

Columbus had taken the precaution of keeping secret the true reckoning of the distance passed over, while he kept a false reckoning for the inspection of his companions, which made the distance considerably less; but, notwithstanding this deception, the people were now growing extremely uneasy at the length of the voyage. The admiral endeavoured in every way to soothe their rising fears, sometimes by arguments and expostulations, sometimes by awakening fresh hopes, and pointing out new signs of land. Light breezes

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from the southwest springing up on the 20th of September, had a cheering effect on the people, as they proved that the wind did not always prevail in the same direction. Three days later a whale was observed, heaving up his huge form at a distance, which Columbus pointed out as an indication of the proximity of land. The prevalence of calms, however, and the great quantities of sea-weed which they encountered, retarding the course of the ships, occasioned fresh alarm. Columbus reasoned, expostulated, and promised in vain. The men were too much under the influence of terror to listen to reason. The more Columbus argued the more boisterous became their murmurs, until there came a heavy swell of the sea unaccompanied by wind. This, fortunately, dispelled the terrors occasioned by the previous dead calm.

On the 25th of September, while Columbus, with his officers, was studying a map and endeavouring to make out from it their position, they were aroused by a shout from the *Pinta*, and looking up, beheld Martin Alonzo Pinzon, mounted on the stern of his vessel, who cried with a loud voice, "Land! land! Señor, I claim my reward!"[1] pointing at the same time to the southwest, where there was indeed an appearance of land, at about twenty-five leagues distance. Columbus threw himself upon his knees and returned thanks to God, and Martin Alonzo repeated the *Gloria in Excelsis*, in which he was loudly joined by the crews of the ships. They changed their course, and sailed all night in the same direction. At daylight all eyes were turned in that quarter; but the supposed land, which had caused so much joy, had disappeared, and they found that they had been deceived by the appearance of clouds on the horizon. The direct course to the west was again resumed.

The crews soon relapsed into their former despondency. Nevertheless, the multitude of birds which they saw continually flying about the ships, the pieces of wood which they picked up, and many other symptoms of land prevented them from giving themselves wholly up to despair. Columbus, in the midst of so much uneasiness and dejection, remained calm and self-possessed.

After the 1st of October, the birds having been observed to fly directly across their course, the sailors supposed them to have been passing from one island to another, and they wished to turn to the right or the left, to find the shores which they supposed to lie in those directions; but Columbus refused to abandon his theory, and held on his western course. His firmness excited among the men a spirit of revolt more formidable than ever; but on the 4th of October the indications of land increased, the birds flew so near the ships that a seaman killed one with a stone, and their hopes again revived. Eager to obtain the promised pension, the seamen were continually giving the cry of land, on the least appearance of the kind. To put a stop to these false alarms, which produced continual disappointments, Columbus declared that should any one give such notice, and land not be discovered within three days afterwards, he should thenceforth forfeit all claim to the reward.

On the morning of the 7th of October, at sunrise, several of the admiral's crew thought they beheld land in the west, but so indistinctly that no one ventured to proclaim it, lest he should be mistaken, and forfeit all chance of the reward: the *Niña*, however, being a good sailer, pressed forward to ascertain the fact. In a little while a flag was hoisted at her mast-head, and a gun discharged, being the preconcerted signals for land. New joy was awakened throughout the little squadron, and every eye was turned to the west. As they advanced, however, their cloud-built hopes faded away, and before evening the fancied land had again melted into air.

[1 A pension of 30 crowns had been promised by the sovereigns to the first man who should discover land.]

The crews now sank into a degree of dejection proportioned to their recent excitement; but new circumstances occurred to arouse them. Columbus, having observed great flights of small field-birds going towards the southwest, concluded they must be secure of some neighbouring land, where they would find food and a resting place. He knew the importance which the Portuguese voyagers attached to the flight of birds, by following which they had discovered most of their islands. He had now come seven hundred and fifty leagues, the distance at which he had computed to find the island of Cipango; as there was no appearance of it, he might have missed it through some mistake in the latitude. He determined, therefore, on the evening of the 7th of October, to alter his course to the west southwest, the direction in which the birds generally flew, and continue that direction for at least two days. After all, it was no great deviation from his main course, and would meet the wishes of the Pinzons, as well as be inspiriting to his followers generally.

For three days they stood in this direction, and the further they went the more frequent and encouraging were the signs of land. Flights of small birds of various colours, some of them such as sing in the fields, came flying about the ships, and then continued towards the southwest, and others were heard also flying by in the night. Tunny fish played about the smooth sea, and a heron, a pelican, and a duck were seen, all bound in the same direction. The herbage which floated by was fresh and green, as if recently from land, and the air, Columbus observes, was sweet and fragrant as April breezes in Seville.

All these, however, were regarded by the crews as so many delusions beguiling them on to destruction; and when, on the evening of the third day, they beheld the sun go down upon a shoreless horizon, they broke forth into turbulent clamour. They exclaimed against his obstinacy in tempting fate by continuing on into a boundless sea. They insisted upon turning home, and abandoning the voyage as hopeless. Columbus endeavoured to pacify them by gentle words and promises of large rewards; but finding that they only increased in clamour, he assumed a decided tone. He told them it was useless to murmur, the expedition had been sent by the sovereigns to seek the Indies, and, happen what might, he was determined to persevere, until, by the blessing of God, he should accomplish the enterprise.[1]

[1] It has been asserted by various historians, that Columbus, a day or two previous to coming in sight of the New World, capitulated with his mutinous crew, promising, if he did not discover land within three days, to abandon the voyage. There is no authority for such an assertion, either in the history of his son Fernando [ee] or that of the bishop Las Casas, [dd] each of whom had the admiral's papers before him. There is no mention of such a circumstance in the extracts made from the journal by Las Casas, which have recently been brought to light; nor is it asserted by either Peter Martyr [ll] or the curate of Los Palacios, Bernaldez, [mm] both contemporaries and acquaintances of Columbus, who could scarcely have failed to mention so striking a fact, if true. It rests merely upon the authority of Oviedo [nn] who is of inferior credit to either of the authors above cited, and was grossly misled as to many of the particulars of this voyage by a pilot of the name of Hernan Perez Matheo, who was hostile to Columbus. In the manuscript process of the memorable lawsuit between Don Diego, son of the admiral, and the fiscal of the crown, is the evidence of one Pedro de Bilbao, who testifies that he heard many times that some of the pilots and mariners wished to turn back, but that the admiral promised them presents, and entreated them to wait two or three days, before which time he should discover land. ("Pedro de Bilbao oyo muchas veces que algunos pilotos y marineros querian volverse sino fuerra por el Almirante que les prometio donos, les rogó esperasen dos ó tres dias í que antes del termino descubriera tierra.") This, if true, implies no capitulation to relinquish the enterprise. On the other hand, it was asserted by some of the witnesses in the above-mentioned suit that Columbus, after having proceeded some few hundred leagues without finding land, lost confidence and wished to turn back; but was persuaded and even piqued to continue by the Pinzons. This assertion carries falsehood on its very face. It is in total contradiction to that persevering constancy and undaunted resolution displayed by Columbus, not merely in the present voyage, but from first to last of his difficult and dangerous career. This testimony was given by some of the mutinous men, anxious to exaggerate the merits of the

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Columbus was now at open defiance with his crew, and his situation became desperate. Fortunately the manifestations of the vicinity of land were such on the following day as no longer to admit a doubt. Beside a quantity of fresh weeds, such as grow in rivers, they saw a green fish of a kind which keeps about rocks; then a branch of thorn with berries on it, and recently separated from the tree, floated by them, then they picked up a reed, a small board, and, above all, a staff artificially carved. All gloom and mutiny now gave way to sanguine expectation; and throughout the day each one was eagerly on the watch, in hopes of being the first to discover the long-sought-for land.

In the evening, when, according to invariable custom on board of the admiral's ship, the mariners had sung the *Salve regina*, or vesper hymn to the Virgin, he made an impressive address to his crew. He thought it probable they would make land that very night; he ordered, therefore, a vigilant look-out to be kept from the forecastle, promising to whosoever should make the discovery a doublet of velvet, in addition to the pension to be given by the sovereigns.

The breeze had been fresh all day, with more sea than usual, and they had made great progress. At sunset they had stood again to the west, and were ploughing the waves at a rapid rate, the *Pinta* keeping the lead from her superior sailing. The greatest animation prevailed throughout the ships; not an eye was closed that night. As the evening darkened, Columbus took his station on the top of the castle or cabin on the high poop of his vessel, ranging his eye along the dusky horizon, and maintaining an intense and unremitting watch. About ten o'clock he thought he beheld a light glimmering at a great distance. Fearing his eager hopes might deceive him, he called to Pedro Gutierrez, gentleman of the king's bed-chamber, and inquired whether he saw such a light; the latter replied in the affirmative. Doubtful whether it might not yet be some delusion of the fancy, Columbus called Rodrigo Sanchez of Segovia, and made the same inquiry. By the time the latter had ascended the round-house, the light had disappeared. They saw it once or twice afterwards in sudden and passing gleams, as if it were a torch in the bark of a fisherman, rising and sinking with the waves, or in the hand of some person on shore, borne up and down as he walked from house to house. So transient and uncertain were these gleams that few attached any importance to them; Columbus, however, considered them as certain signs of land, and, moreover, that the land was inhabited.

They continued their course until two in the morning, when a gun from the *Pinta* gave the joyful signal of land. It was first descried by a mariner named Rodrigo de Triana; but the reward was afterwards adjudged to the admiral, for having previously perceived the light. The land was now clearly seen about two leagues distant, whereupon they took in sail, and lay-to, waiting impatiently for the dawn.

The thoughts and feeling of Columbus in this little space of time must have been tumultuous and intense. At length, in spite of every difficulty and danger, he had accomplished his object. The great mystery of the ocean was revealed; his theory, which had been the scoff of sages, was triumphantly established; he had secured to himself a glory durable as the world itself.

It is difficult to conceive the feelings of such a man, at such a moment, or the conjectures which must have thronged upon his mind, as to the land

Pinzons, and to depreciate that of Columbus. Fortunately, the extracts from the journal of the latter, written from day to day with guileless simplicity, and all the air of truth, disprove these fables, and show that on the very day previous to his discovery he expressed a peremptory determination to persevere in defiance of all dangers and difficulties.

before him, covered with darkness. That it was fruitful, was evident from the vegetables which floated from its shores. He thought, too, that he perceived the fragrance of aromatic groves. The moving light he had beheld proved it the residence of man. But what were its inhabitants? Were they like those of the other parts of the globe, or were they some strange and monstrous race, such as the imagination was prone in those times to give to all remote and unknown regions? Had he come upon some wild island far in the Indian Sea, or was this the famed Cipango itself, the object of his golden fancies? A thousand speculations of the kind must have swarmed upon him, as, with his anxious crews, he waited for the night to pass away; wondering whether the morning light would reveal a savage wilderness, or dawn upon spicy groves, and glittering fanes, and gilded cities, and all the splendour of oriental civilisation.

It was on Friday morning, the 12th of October, that Columbus first beheld the New World. As the day dawned he saw before him a level island, several leagues in extent, and covered with trees like a continual orchard. Though apparently uncultivated, it was populous, for the inhabitants were seen issuing from all parts of the woods and running to the shore. They were perfectly naked, and, as they stood gazing at the ships, appeared by their attitudes and gestures to be lost in astonishment. Columbus made signal for the ships to cast anchor, and the boats to be manned and armed. He entered his own boat, richly attired in scarlet, and holding the royal standard; whilst Martin Alonzo Pinzon, and Vincent Yañez his brother, put off in company in their boats, each with a banner of the enterprise emblazoned with a green cross, having on either side the letters F and Y, the initials of the Castilian monarchs Ferdinand and Isabella, surmounted by crowns.

As he approached the shore, Columbus, who was disposed for all kinds of agreeable impressions, was delighted with the purity and suavity of the atmosphere, the crystal transparency of the sea, and the extraordinary beauty of the vegetation. He beheld, also, fruits of an unknown kind upon the trees which overhung the shores. On landing he threw himself on his knees, kissed the earth, and returned thanks to God with tears of joy. His example was followed by the rest, whose hearts indeed overflowed with the same feelings of gratitude. Columbus then rising drew his sword, displayed the royal standard and assembling round him the two captains, with Rodrigo de Escobedo, notary of the armament, Rodrigo Sanchez, and the rest who had landed, he took solemn possession in the name of the Castilian sovereigns, giving the island the name of San Salvador. Having complied with the requisite forms and ceremonies, he called upon all present to take the oath of obedience to him, as admiral and viceroy, representing the persons of the sovereigns.[1]

The feelings of the crew now burst forth in the most extravagant transports. They had recently considered themselves devoted men, hurrying forward to destruction, they now looked upon themselves as favourites of fortune, and gave themselves up to the most unbounded joy. They thronged around the admiral with overflowing zeal, some embracing him, others kissing his hands. Those who had been most mutinous and turbulent during the voyage, were now most devoted and enthusiastic. Some begged favours of him, as if he had already wealth and honours in his gift. Many abject spirits,

[1] Claudio Clemente[00] has conserved a form of prayer, said to have been used by Columbus on this occasion, and which, by order of the Castilian sovereigns, was afterwards used by Balboa, Cortez, and Pizarro in their discoveries: "*Domine Deus æterne et omnipotens, sacro tuo verbo cælum, et terrum, et marc creastr; benedicatur et glorificetur nomen tuum, laudetur tua majestas, quæ dignita est per humilem servum tuum, ut ejus sacrum nomen agnoscatur, et prædicetur in hac altera mundi parte.*"

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who had outraged him by their insolence, now crouched at his feet, begging pardon for all the trouble they had caused him, and promising the blindest obedience for the future.

The natives of the island, when, at the dawn of day, they had beheld the ships hovering on their coast, had supposed them monsters which had issued from the deep during the night. They had crowded to the beach, and watched their movements with awful anxiety. Their veering about, apparently without effort, and the shifting and furling of their sails, resembling huge wings, filled them with astonishment. When they beheld their boats approach the shore, and a number of strange beings clad in glittering steel, or raiment of various colours, landing upon the beach, they fled in affright to the woods. Finding, however, that there was no attempt to pursue nor molest them, they gradually recovered from their terror, and approached the Spaniards with great awe; frequently prostrating themselves on the earth, and making signs of adoration. During the ceremonies of taking possession, they remained gazing in timid admiration of the complexion, the beards, the shining armour, and splendid dress of the Spaniards. The admiral particularly attracted their attention, from his commanding height, his air of authority, his dress of scarlet, and the deference which was paid him by his companions; all which pointed him out to be the commander. When they had still further recovered from their fears, they approached the Spaniards, touched their beards, and examined their hands and faces, admiring their whiteness. Columbus was pleased with their gentleness and confiding simplicity, and suffered their scrutiny with perfect acquiescence, winning them by his benignity. They now supposed that the ships had sailed out of the crystal firmament which bounded their horizon, or had descended from above on their ample wings, and that these marvellous beings were inhabitants of the skies.

The natives of the island were no less objects of curiosity to the Spaniards, differing, as they did, from any race of men they had ever seen. Their appearance gave no promise of either wealth or civilization, for they were entirely naked, and painted with a variety of colours. Their features, though obscured and disfigured by paint, were agreeable; they had lofty foreheads and remarkably fine eyes. They were of moderate stature and well-shaped; most of them appeared to be under thirty years of age: there was but one female with them, quite young, naked like her companions, and beautifully formed.

As Columbus supposed himself to have landed on an island at the extremity of India, he called the natives by the general appellation of Indians, which was universally adopted before the true nature of his discovery was known, and has since been extended to all the aboriginals of the New World.

The islanders were friendly and gentle. Their only arms were lances, hardened at the end by fire, or pointed with a flint, or the teeth or bone of a fish. There was no iron to be seen, nor did they appear acquainted with its properties; for when a drawn sword was presented to them, they unguardedly took it by the edge. Columbus distributed among them coloured caps, glass beads, hawks' bells, and other trifles, such as the Portuguese were accustomed to trade with among the nations of the gold coast of Africa. They received them eagerly, hung the beads round their necks, and were wonderfully pleased with their finery, and with the sound of the bells. The Spaniards remained all day on shore refreshing themselves after their anxious voyage amidst the beautiful groves of the island; and returned on board late in the evening, delighted with all they had seen.

On the following morning, at break of day, the shore was thronged with the natives; some swam off to the ships, others came in light barks which they

called canoes, formed of a single tree, hollowed, and capable of holding from one man to the number of forty or fifty. These they managed dexterously with paddles, and, if overturned, swam about in the water with perfect unconcern, as if in their natural element, righting their canoes with great facility, and baling them with calabashes.

The avarice of the discoverers was quickly excited by the sight of small ornaments of gold, worn by some of the natives in their noses. These the latter gladly exchanged for glass beads and hawks' bells; and both parties exulted in the bargain, no doubt admiring each other's simplicity. As gold, however, was an object of royal monopoly in all enterprises of discovery, Columbus forbade any traffic in it without his express sanction; and he put the same prohibition on the traffic for cotton, reserving to the crown all trade for it, wherever it should be found in any quantity.

He inquired of the natives where this gold was procured. They answered him by signs, pointing to the south, where, he understood them, dwelt a king of such wealth that he was served in vessels of wrought gold. He understood, also, that there was land to the south, the southwest, and the northwest; and that the people from the last-mentioned quarter frequently proceeded to the southwest in quest of gold and precious stones, making in their way descent upon the islands, and carrying off the inhabitants. Several of the natives showed him scars of wounds received in battles with these invaders. It is evident that a great part of this fancied intelligence was self-delusion on the part of Columbus; for he was under a spell of the imagination, which gave its own shapes and colours to every object. He was persuaded that he had arrived among the islands described by Marco Polo, as lying opposite Cathay, in the Chinese sea, and he construed everything to accord with the account given of those opulent regions. Thus the enemies which the natives spoke of as coming from the northwest he concluded to be the people of the mainland of Asia, the subjects of the great khan of Tatary, who were represented by the Venetian traveller as accustomed to make war upon the islands, and to enslave their inhabitants. The country to the south, abounding in gold, could be no other than the famous island of Cipango; and the king who was served out of vessels of gold must be the monarch whose magnificent city and gorgeous palace, covered with plates of gold, had been extolled in such splendid terms by Marco Polo.

The island where Columbus had thus, for the first time, set his foot upon the New World, was called by the natives Guanahanè.[1] It still retains the name of San Salvador, which he gave to it, though called by the English Cat Island. The light which he had seen the evening previous to his making land, may have been on Watling's Island, which lies a few leagues to the east. San Salvador is one of the great cluster of the Lucayos, or Bahama Islands, which stretch southeast and northwest, from the coast of Florida to Hispaniola, covering the northern coast of Cuba.

On the morning of the 14th of October the admiral set off at daybreak with the boats of the ships to reconnoitre the island, directing his course to the northeast. The coast was surrounded by a reef or rocks, within which there was depth of water and sufficient harbour to receive all the ships in Christendom. The entrance was very narrow; within there were several sand-banks, but the water was as still as in a pool. Having taken in a supply of wood and

[1 Later readings make this Guanahani. As to its exact identity, there has been some dispute. Rudolf Cronau,[pp] who made a special study of the ground asserts that Columbus landed on Watling's Island, and on its west coast, not its eastern. With this Adams[qq] agrees.]

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water, they left the island the same evening, the admiral being impatient to arrive at the wealthy country to the south, which he flattered himself, would prove the famous island of Cipango.[z]

COLUMBUS' OWN ACCOUNT OF HIS DISCOVERY

A letter, addressed to the noble Lord Raphael Sanchez, treasurer of their most invincible majesties, Ferdinand and Isabella, king and queen of Spain, by which Christopher Columbus to whom our age is greatly indebted, treating of the islands of India recently discovered beyond the Ganges, to explore which he had been sent eight months before under the auspices and at the expense of their said majesties:

Knowing that it will afford you pleasure to learn that I have brought my undertaking to a successful termination, I have decided upon writing you this letter to acquaint you of all the events which have occurred in my voyage, and the discoveries which have resulted from it. Thirty-three days after my departure from Cadiz I reached the Indian sea, where I discovered many islands without resistance in the name of our most illustrious monarch, by public proclamation and with unfurled banners. To the first of these islands, which is called by the Indians Guanahani, I gave the name of the blessed Saviour (San Salvador), relying upon whose protection I had reached this as well as the other islands; to each of these I also gave the name, ordering that one should be called Santa Maria de la Concepcion, another Fernandina, the third Isabella, the fourth Juana, and so with all the rest respectively.

As soon as we arrived at that which as I have said was named Juana, I proceeded along its coast a short distance westward, and found it to be so large and apparently without termination, that I could not suppose it to be an island, but the continental province of Cathay. Seeing, however, no towns or populous places on the sea coast, but only a few detached houses and cottages, with whose inhabitants I was unable to communicate, because they fled as soon as they saw us, I went further on, thinking that in my progress I should certainly find some city or village. At length, after proceeding a great way and finding that nothing new presented itself, and that the line of coast was leading us northwards (which I wished to avoid, because it was winter, and it was my intention to move southwards; and because, moreover, the winds were contrary), I resolved not to attempt any further progress, but rather to turn back and retrace my course to a certain bay that I had observed, and from which I afterwards despatched two of our men to ascertain whether there were a king or any cities in that province. These men reconnoitred the country for three days, and found a most numerous population, and great numbers of houses, though small and built without any regard to order, and with which information they returned to us.

In the meantime I had learned from some Indians whom I had seized that that country was certainly an island; and therefore I sailed towards the east, coasting to the distance of three hundred and twenty-two miles, and brought us to the extremity of it; from this point I saw lying eastwards another island, fifty-four miles distant from Juana, to which I have gave the name of Hispaniola: I went thither, and steered my course eastward as I had done at Juana, even to the distance of five hundred and sixty-four miles along the north coast. This said island of Juana is exceedingly fertile, as indeed are all others; it is surrounded with many bays, spacious, very secure, and surpassing any that I have ever seen; numerous large and healthful rivers intersect it, and it also contains many very lofty mountains.

All these islands are very beautiful, and distinguished by a diversity of

scenery, they are filled with a great variety of trees of immense height, which I believe to retain their foliage in all seasons; for when I saw them they were as verdant and luxuriant as they usually are in Spain in the month of May —some of them were blossoming, some bearing fruit, and all flourishing in the greatest perfection, according to their respective stages of growth, and the nature and quality of each: yet the islands are not so thickly wooded as to be impassable. The nightingale and various birds were singing in countless numbers, and that in November, the month in which I arrived there. There are besides in the same island of Juana seven or eight kinds of palm trees, which like all the other trees, herbs, and fruits, considerably surpass ours in height and beauty. The pines also are very handsome, and there are very extensive fields and meadows, a variety of birds, different kinds of honey, and many sorts of metals, but no iron. In that island also I have before said we named Hispaniola, there are mountains of very great size and beauty, vast plains, groves, and very fruitful fields, admirably adapted for tillage, pasture, and habitation. The convenience and excellence of the harbours in this island, and the abundance of the rivers, so indispensable to the health of man, surpass anything that would be believed by one who had not seen it. The trees, herbage, and fruits of Hispaniola are very different from those of Juana, and moreover it abounds in various kinds of spices, gold, and other metals.

The inhabitants of both sexes in this island, and in all the others which I have seen, or of which I have received information, go always naked as they were born, with the exception of some women, who use the covering of a leaf, or small bough, or an apron of cotton which they prepare for that purpose. None of them, as I have already said, are possessed of any iron, neither have they weapons, being unacquainted with and indeed incompetent to use them, not from any deformity of body (for they are well formed), but because they are timid and full of fear. They carry, however, in lieu of arms, canes dried in the sun, on the ends of which they fix heads of dried wood sharpened to a point, and even these they dare not use habitually; for it has often occurred when I have sent two or three of my men to any of the villages to speak with the natives, that they have come in a disorderly troop, and have fled in such haste at the approach of our men that the fathers forsook their children and the children their fathers.

This timidity did not arise from any loss or injury that they had received from us, for, on the contrary, I gave to all I approached whatever articles I had about me, such as cloth and many other things, taking nothing of theirs in return; but they are naturally timid and fearful. As soon, however, as they see that they are safe, and have laid aside all fear, they are very simple and honest, and exceedingly liberal with all they have; none of them refusing anything he may possess when he is asked for it, but on the contrary, inviting us to ask them. They exhibit great love towards all others in preference to themselves; they also give objects of great value for trifles, and content themselves with very little or nothing in return. I, however, forbade that these trifles and articles of no value (such as pieces of dishes, plates, and glass, keys and leather straps) should be given them, although if they could obtain them they imagined themselves to be possessed of the most beautiful trinkets in the world. It even happened that a sailor received for a leather strap as much gold as was worth three golden nobles, and for things of more trifling value offered by our men, especially newly coined blancas, or any gold coins, the Indians would give whatever the seller required, as, for instance, an ounce and a half or two ounces of gold, or thirty or forty pounds of cotton, with which commodity they were already acquainted.

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Thus they bartered, like idiots, cotton and gold for fragments of bows, glasses, bottles, and jars: which I forbade as being unjust, and myself gave them many beautiful and acceptable articles which I had brought with me, taking nothing from them in return; I did this in order that I might the more easily conciliate them, that they might be led to become Christians, and be inclined to entertain a regard for the king and queen, our princes, and all Spaniards, and that I might induce them to take an interest in seeking out, and collecting and delivering to us such things as they possessed in abundance, but which we greatly needed.

They practise no kind of idolatry, but have a firm belief that all strength and power, and indeed all good things, are in heaven, and that I had descended from thence with these ships and sailors, and under this impression was I received after they had thrown aside their fears. Nor are they slow or stupid, but of very clear understanding; and those men who have crossed to the neighbouring islands give an admirable description of everything they observed; but they never saw any people clothed, nor any ships like ours.

On my arrival at that sea, I had taken some Indians by force from the first island that I came to, in order that they might learn our language, and communicate to us what they knew respecting the country, which plan succeeded excellently, and was a great advantage to us, for in a short time, either by gestures and signs or by words, we were enabled to understand each other. These men are still travelling with me, and although they have been with us now a long time, they continue to entertain the idea that I have descended from heaven; and on our arrival at any new place they published this, crying out immediately with a loud voice to the other Indians, "Come, come and look upon beings of a celestial race"; upon which both women and men, children and adults, young men and old, when they got rid of the fear they at first entertained, would come out in throngs, crowding the roads to see us, some bringing food, others drink, with astonishing affection and kindness.

Each of these islands has a great number of canoes, built of solid wood, narrow and not unlike our double-banked boats in length and shape, but swifter in their motion: they steer them only by the oar. These canoes are of various sizes, but the greater number are constructed with eighteen banks of oars, and with these they cross to the other islands, which are of countless number, to carry on traffic with the people. I saw some of these canoes that held as many as seventy-eight rowers. In all these islands there is no difference of physiognomy, of manners, or of language, but they all clearly understand each other, a circumstance very propitious for the realisation of what I conceive to be the principal wish of our most serene king, namely, the conversion of these people to the holy faith of Christ, to which, indeed, as far as I can judge, they are very favourable and well-disposed.

I said before that I went three hundred and twenty-two miles in a direct line from west to east, along the coast of the island of Juana, judging by which voyage, and the length of the passage, I can assert that it is larger than England and Scotland united; for independent of the said three hundred and twenty-two miles, there are in the western part of the island, two provinces which I did not visit; one of these is called by the Indians Avan, and its inhabitants are born with tails. These provinces extend to one hundred and fifty-three miles in length, as I have learned from the Indians whom I have brought with me, and who are well acquainted with the country. But the extent of Hispaniola is greater than all Spain from Catalonia to Fuenterrabia, which is easily proved, because one of its four sides which I myself coasted in a direct line, from west to east, measures five hundred and

forty miles. This island is to be regarded with especial interest, and not to be slighted; for although, as I have said, I took possession of these islands in the name of our invincible king, and the government of them is unreservedly committed to his majesty, yet there was one large town in Hispaniola of which especially I took possession, situated in a remarkably favourable spot, and in every way convenient for the purposes of gain and commerce.

To this town I gave the name of Navidad de Señor, and ordered a fortress to be built there, which must by this time be completed, in which I left as many men as I thought necessary, with all sorts of arms, and enough provisions for more than a year. I also left them one caravel, and skilful workmen both in shipbuilding and other arts, and engaged the favour and friendship of the king of the island in their behalf, to a degree that would not be believed, for these people are so amiable and friendly that even the king took a pride in calling me his brother. But supposing their feelings should become changed, and they should wish to injure those who have remained in the fortress, they could not do so, for they have no arms, they go naked, and are moreover too cowardly; so that those who hold the said fortress can easily keep the whole island in check, without any pressing danger to themselves, provided they do not transgress the directions and regulations which I have given them.

As far as I have learned, every man throughout these islands is united to but one wife, with the exception of the kings and princes, who are allowed to have twenty: the women seem to work more than the men. I could not clearly understand whether the people possess any private property, for I observed that one man had the charge of distributing various things to the rest, but especially meat and provisions and the like. I did not find, as some of us had expected, any cannibals amongst them, but on the contrary, men of great deference and kindness. Neither are they black, like the Ethiopians, their hair is smooth and straight: for they do not dwell where the rays of the sun strike most vividly — and the sun has intense power there, the distance from the equinoctial line being, it appears, but six-and-twenty degrees. On the tops of the mountains the cold is very great, but the effect of this upon the Indians is lessened by their being accustomed to the climate and by their frequently indulging in the use of very hot meats and drinks.

Thus, as I have already said, I saw no cannibals [monsters], nor did I hear of any, except in a certain island called Charis, which is the second from Hispaniola on the side towards India, where dwell a people who are considered by the neighbouring islanders as most ferocious: and these feed upon human flesh. The same people have many kinds of canoes, in which they cross to all the surrounding islands and rob and plunder wherever they can; they are not different from the other islands, except that they wear their hair long, like women, and make use of the bows and javelins of cane, with sharpened spear-points fixed on the thickest end, which I have before described, and therefore they are looked upon as ferocious, and regarded by the other Indians with unbounded fear; but I think no more of them than of the rest. These are the men who form unions with certain women, who dwell alone in the island Matenin, which lies next to Hispaniola on the side towards India; these latter employ themselves in no labour suitable to their own sex, for they use bows and javelins, as I have already described their paramours as doing, and for defensive armour have plates of brass, of which metal they possess great abundance. They assure me that there is another island larger than Hispaniola, whose inhabitants have no hair, and which abounds in gold, more than any of the rest.

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I bring with me individuals of this island and of the others that I have seen, who are proofs of the facts which I state. Finally, to compress into few words the entire summary of my voyage and speedy return, and of the advantages derivable therefrom, I promise that with a little assistance afforded me by our most invincible sovereigns, I will procure them as much gold as they need, as great a quantity of spices, of cotton, and mastic (which is only found in Chios), and as many men for the service of the navy as their majesties may require. I promise also rhubarb and other sorts of drugs, which I am persuaded the men whom I have left in the aforesaid fortress have found already and will continue to find; for I myself have tarried nowhere longer than I was compelled to do by the winds except in the city of Navidad, while I provided for the building of the fortress and took the necessary precautions for the perfect security of the men I left there.

Although all I have related may appear to be wonderful and unheard of, yet the results of my voyage would have been more astonishing if I had had at my disposal such ships as I required. But these great and marvellous results are not to be attributed to any merit of mine, but to the holy Christian faith and to the piety and religion of our sovereigns; for that which the unaided intellect of man could not compass, the spirit of God had granted to human exertions, for God is wont to hear the prayers of his servants who love his precepts even to the performance of apparent impossibilities. Thus it has happened to me in the present instance, who have accomplished a task to which the powers of mortal men have never hitherto attained; for if there have been those who have anywhere written or spoken of these islands, they have done so with doubts and conjectures, and no one has ever asserted that he has seen them, on which account their writings have been looked upon as little else than fables.

Therefore, let the king and queen, our princes, and their happy kingdoms, and all the other provinces of Christendom, render thanks to our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who has granted us so great a victory and such prosperity. Let processions be made and sacred feasts be held, and the temples be adorned with festive boughs. Let Christ rejoice on earth, as he rejoices in heaven, in the prospect of the salvation of the souls of so many nations hitherto lost. Let us all rejoice, as well on account of the exaltation of our faith as on account of the increase of our temporal prosperity, of which not only Spain but all Christendom will be partakers.

Such are the events which I have briefly described. Farewell.

Lisbon, the 14th of March. Christopher Columbus,
Admiral of the Fleet of the Ocean.[77]

THE RETURN OF COLUMBUS (1493 A.D.)

In pursuit of Cathay and Cipango, Columbus prosecuted his researches until he discovered Cuba. The interpreters whom he had brought from San Salvador learned here that some gold was found in Cuba, but that it was much more abundant in another country farther to the east. The prospect of obtaining gold inflamed the cupidity of the Spaniards, and Alonzo Pinzon, the commander of the *Pinta*, which was the best sailer in the fleet, wishing to arrive first at the land where the precious metal abounded, crowded all sail, and was soon out of sight.

On the 5th of December Columbus, with the remaining ships, sailed from the eastern point of Cuba, and soon arrived at the rich country of which he had received such a glowing description. It was called by the natives Haiti:

Columbus [as we have seen from his letter], gave it the name of Hispaniola. They anchored first at Port St. Nicholas, and shortly after at a little distance from Cape François. Guanacanagari, the prince of the country, or cacique, as he was called by his people, received Columbus with much kindness, and in return was treated by him with great distinction. They contracted a friendship, which continued ever afterwards undiminished. He was loaded with ornaments of gold, which he informed the Spaniards came from a country farther to the east, called Cibao. Columbus, deceived by the resemblance of the names, believed at first that it was Cipango; but he afterwards learned that Cibao was the name of a mountain in the centre of the island.

The fleet now proceeded to the east, for the purpose of approaching the gold mines of Cibao. On the night of the 24th of December Columbus' vessel, the *Santa Maria*, struck upon a reef, and he was compelled to abandon her, and take refuge with his crew on board the *Niña*. The cacique and his people assisted the Spaniards in saving their effects, and consented to their erecting a fort with the timber of the wreck. It was named La Navidad, and garrisoned with thirty-eight men, the first colony in Spanish America. The admiral left provisions in the fort [as we have seen from his letter], articles to barter with the natives, and whatever was necessary for its defence. He then took leave of the friendly cacique, with the promise to return soon.

On the 4th of January, 1493, Columbus set sail, proceeding a little to the east, in order to complete the examination of the north coast of the island, and on his way met the *Pinta*, near Monte Christo. He affected to be satisfied with the excuses made by Alonzo Pinzon to explain his parting company.

At length, on the 16th, the two ships directed their course for Spain. The weather was favourable at the commencement of the voyage; but heavy gales came on when the ships were near the Azores, and the *Pinta* was a second time lost sight of. The admiral's vessel was in such imminent danger that he despaired of ever reaching land. He was fearful that the knowledge of his discovery would perish with him; and to prevent this he wrote a brief account of his voyage on two leaves of parchment, and put each of these leaves into a tight cask. One of these casks was thrown overboard immediately; the other was allowed to remain on deck to await the foundering of the vessel. But the storm subsided. They arrived at the Azores on the 15th of February.[y]

February 24th Columbus resumed his course, but was again assailed by such stress of weather that he feared the supreme irony of perishing in the moment of his return, or, as he said, of "being repulsed from the very door of the house." On the 4th of March he reached the Portuguese coast where his ship was forced to take shelter in the Tagus. Here he was detained. He sent a courier by land to the queen of Spain and a message to the king of Portugal, by whom he was invited to the court at Valparaiso. So great was the jealousy of the Portuguese at the discovery which placed their previously unrivalled achievements in the second rank, that, it is said, the monarch was advised to have Columbus assassinated and to send a fleet to occupy his discoveries. The king disdained such baseness, however, and Columbus was allowed to sail on the 13th of March, arriving at Palos at noon of the 15th, after an absence of about seven months and a half.[a]

IRVING'S PICTURE OF COLUMBUS' TRIUMPH

The triumphant return of Columbus was a prodigious event in the history of the little port of Palos, where everybody was more or less interested in the

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fate of his expedition. The most important and wealthy sea captains of the place had engaged in it, and scarcely a family but had some relative or friend among the navigators. The departure of the ships upon what appeared a chimerical and desperate cruise had spread gloom and dismay over the place, and the storms which had raged throughout the winter had heightened the public despondency. Many lamented their friends as lost, while imagination lent mysterious horrors to their fate, picturing them as driven about over wild and desert wastes of water without a shore, or as perishing amidst rocks, and quicksands, and whirlpools, or a prey to those monsters of the deep with which credulity peopled every distant and unfrequented sea. There was something more awful in such a mysterious fate than in death itself, under any defined and ordinary form.

Great was the agitation of the inhabitants, therefore, when they beheld one of the ships standing up the river; but when they learned that she returned in triumph from the discovery of a world, the whole community broke forth into transports of joy. The bells were rung, the shops shut, all business was suspended; for a time there was nothing but hurry and tumult. When Columbus landed the multitude thronged to see and welcome him, and a grand procession was formed to the principal church, to return thanks to God for so signal a discovery made by the people of that place — forgetting, in their exultation, the thousand difficulties they had thrown in the way of the enterprise. Wherever Columbus passed he was hailed with shouts and acclamations. What a contrast to his departure a few months before, followed by murmurs and execrations; or, rather, what a contrast to his first arrival at Palos, a poor pedestrian, craving bread and water for his child at the gate of a convent!

Understanding that the court was at Barcelona, he felt disposed to proceed thither immediately in his caravel; reflecting, however, on the dangers and disasters he had already experienced on the seas, he resolved to proceed by land. He despatched a letter to the king and queen, informing them of his arrival, and soon after departed for Seville to await their orders, taking with him six of the natives whom he had brought from the New World. One had died at sea, and three were left ill at Palos.

It is a singular coincidence, which appears to be well authenticated, that on the very evening of the arrival of Columbus at Palos, and while the peals of triumph were still ringing from its towers, the *Pinta*, commanded by Martin Alonzo Pinzon, likewise entered the river. After her separation from the admiral in the storm she had been driven before the gale into the bay of Biscay, and had made the port of Bayonne. Doubting whether Columbus had survived the tempest, Pinzon had immediately written to the sovereigns, giving information of the discovery he had made, and had requested permission to come to court and communicate the particulars in person. As soon as the weather permitted, he had again set sail, anticipating a triumphant reception in his native port of Palos. When, on entering the harbour, he beheld the vessel of the admiral riding at anchor, and learned the enthusiasm with which he had been received, the heart of Pinzon died within him. It is said that he feared to meet Columbus in this hour of his triumph, lest he should put him under arrest for his desertion on the coast of Cuba; but he was a man of too much resolution to indulge in such a fear. It is more probable that a consciousness of his misconduct made him unwilling to appear before the public in the midst of their enthusiasm for Columbus, and perhaps he sickened at the honours heaped upon a man whose superiority he had been so unwilling to acknowledge. Getting into his boat, therefore, he landed

privately, and kept out of sight until he heard of the admiral's departure. He then returned to his home, broken in health and deeply dejected, considering all the honours and eulogiums heaped upon Columbus as so many reproaches on himself. The reply of the sovereigns to his letter at length arrived. It was of a reproachful tenor, and forbade his appearance at court. This letter completed his humiliation; the anguish of his feelings gave virulence to his bodily malady, and in a few days he died, a victim to deep chagrin.

Let no one, however, indulge in harsh censures over the grave of Pinzon! His merits and services are entitled to the highest praise; his errors should be regarded with indulgence. He was one of the foremost in Spain to appreciate the project of Columbus, animating him by his concurrence, and aiding him with his purse when poor and unknown at Palos. He afterwards enabled him to procure and fit out ships when even the mandates of the sovereigns were ineffectual, and finally embarked in the expedition with his brothers and his friends, staking life, property, everything, upon the event. He thus entitled himself to participate largely in the glory of this immortal enterprise; but unfortunately, forgetting for a moment the grandeur of the cause, and the implicit obedience due to his commander, he yielded to the incitements of self-interest, and committed that act of insubordination which has cast a shade upon his name. His story shows how one lapse from duty may counterbalance the merits of a thousand services; how one moment of weakness may mar the beauty of a whole life of virtue; and how important it is for a man, under all circumstances, to be true, not merely to others, but to himself.

After a lapse of years the descendants of the Pinzons made strenuous representations to the crown of the merits and services of their family, endeavouring to prove, among other things, that but for the aid and encouragement of Martin Alonzo and his brothers, Columbus would never have made his discovery. Some of the testimony rendered on this and another occasion was rather extravagant and absurd. The emperor Charles V, however, taking into consideration the real services of the brothers in the first voyage, and the subsequent expeditions and discoveries of that able and intrepid navigator Vincente Yanez Pinzon, granted to the family the well-merited rank and privileges of *hidalguia*, a degree of nobility which constituted them noble hidalgos, with the right of prefixing the title Don to their names. A coat-of-arms was also given them, emblematical of their services as discoverers. These privileges and arms are carefully preserved by the family at the present day.

The letter of Columbus to the Spanish monarchs had produced the greatest sensation at court. The event he announced was considered the most extraordinary of their prosperous reign, and following so close upon the conquest of Granada, was pronounced a signal mark of divine favour for that triumph achieved in the cause of the true faith. The sovereigns themselves were for a time dazzled by this sudden and easy acquisition of a new empire, of indefinite extent, and apparently boundless wealth; and their first idea was to secure it beyond the reach of dispute. Shortly after his arrival in Seville, Columbus received a letter from them expressing their great delight, and requesting him to repair immediately to court, to concert plans for a second and more extensive expedition. This letter was addressed to him by the title "Don Christopher Columbus, our admiral of the Ocean sea, and viceroy and governor of the islands discovered in the Indies"; at the same time he was promised still further rewards. Columbus lost no time in complying with

the commands of the sovereigns. He sent a memorandum of the ships, men, and munitions requisite, and having made such dispositions at Seville as circumstances permitted, set out for Barcelona, taking with him the six Indians and the various curiosities and productions brought from the New World.

The fame of his discovery had resounded throughout the nation, and as his route lay through several of the finest and most populous provinces of Spain, his journey appeared like the progress of a sovereign. Wherever he passed, the country poured forth its inhabitants, who lined the road and thronged the villages. The streets, windows, and balconies of the towns were filled with eager spectators, who rent the air with acclamations. His journey was continually impeded by the multitude pressing to gain a sight of him and of the Indians, who were regarded with as much astonishment as if they had been natives of another planet. It was impossible to satisfy the craving curiosity which assailed him and his attendants at every stage with innumerable questions; popular rumour, as usual, had exaggerated the truth, and had filled the newly found country with all kinds of wonders.

About the middle of April Columbus arrived at Barcelona, where every preparation had been made to give him a solemn and magnificent reception. The beauty and serenity of the weather in that genial season and favoured climate contributed to give splendour to this memorable ceremony. As he drew near the place, many of the youthful courtiers and hidalgos, together with a vast concourse of the populace, came forth to meet and welcome him. His entrance into this noble city has been compared to one of those triumphs which the Romans were accustomed to decree to conquerors. First were paraded the Indians, painted according to their savage fashion, and decorated with their national ornaments of gold. After these were borne various kinds of live parrots, together with stuffed birds and animals of unknown species, and rare plants supposed to be of precious qualities; while great care was taken to make a conspicuous display of Indian coronets, bracelets, and other decorations of gold, which might give an idea of the wealth of the newly discovered regions. After this followed Columbus on horseback, surrounded by a brilliant cavalcade of Spanish chivalry. The streets were almost impassable from the countless multitude; the windows and balconies were crowded with the fair; the very roofs were covered with spectators. It seemed as if the public eye could not be sated with gazing on these trophies of an unknown world, or on the remarkable man by whom it had been discovered. There was a sublimity in this event that mingled a solemn feeling with the public joy. It was looked upon as a vast and signal dispensation of Providence in reward for the piety of the monarchs; and the majestic and venerable appearance of the discoverer, so different from the youth and buoyancy generally expected from roving enterprise, seemed in harmony with the grandeur and dignity of his achievement.

To receive him with suitable pomp and distinction, the sovereigns had ordered their throne to be placed in public under a rich canopy of brocade of gold, in a vast and splendid saloon. Here the king and queen awaited his arrival, seated in state, with the prince Juan beside them, and attended by the dignitaries of their court, and the principal nobility of Castile, Valentia, Catalonia, and Arragon, all impatient to behold the man who had conferred so incalculable a benefit upon the nation. At length Columbus entered the hall, surrounded by a brilliant crowd of cavaliers, among whom, says Las Casas,[dd] he was conspicuous for his stately and commanding person, which with his countenance, rendered venerable by his gray hairs, gave him the august

appearance of a senator of Rome. As Columbus approached, the sovereigns rose, as if receiving a person of the highest rank. Bending his knees, he offered to kiss their hands; but there was some hesitation on their part to permit this act of homage. Raising him in the most gracious manner, they ordered him to seat himself in their presence, a rare honour in this proud and punctilious court.

At their request he now gave an account of the most striking events of his voyage, and a description of the islands discovered. He displayed specimens of unknown birds, and other animals; of rare plants of medicinal and aromatic virtues; of native gold in dust, in crude masses, or laboured into barbaric ornaments; and, above all, the natives of these countries, who were objects of intense and inexhaustible interest. All these he pronounced mere harbingers of greater discoveries yet to be made, which would add realms of incalculable wealth to the dominions of their majesties, and whole nations of proselytes to the true faith.

When he had finished, the sovereigns sank on their knees, and raising their clasped hands to heaven, their eyes filled with tears of joy and gratitude, poured forth thanks and praises to God for so great a providence: all present followed their example; a deep and solemn enthusiasm pervaded that splendid assembly, and prevented all common acclamations of triumph. The anthem *Te Deum Laudamus*, chanted by the choir of the royal chapel, with the accompaniment of instruments, rose in full body of sacred harmony, bearing up, as it were, the feelings and thoughts of the auditors to heaven, "so that," says the venerable Las Casas,[dd] "it seemed as if in that hour they communicated with celestial delights." Such was the solemn and pious manner in which the brilliant court of Spain celebrated this sublime event; offering up a grateful tribute of melody and praise, and giving glory to God for the discovery of another world. When Columbus retired from the royal presence he was attended to his residence by all the court, and followed by the shouting populace. For many days he was the object of universal curiosity, and wherever he appeared was surrounded by an admiring multitude.

While his mind was teeming with glorious anticipations, his pious scheme for the deliverance of the Holy Sepulchre was not forgotten. It has been shown that he suggested it to the Spanish sovereigns at the time of first making his propositions, holding it forth as the great object to be effected by the profits of his discoveries. Flushed with the idea of the vast wealth now to accrue to himself, he made a vow to furnish within seven years an army, consisting of four thousand horse and fifty thousand foot, for the rescue of the Holy Sepulchre, and a similar force within the five following years. This vow was recorded in one of his letters to the sovereigns, to which he refers, but which is no longer extant; nor is it certain whether it was made at the end of his first voyage or at a subsequent date, when the magnitude and wealthy result of his discoveries became more fully manifest. He often alludes to it vaguely in his writings, and he refers to it expressly in a letter to Pope Alexander VI, written in 1502, in which he accounts also for its non-fulfilment. It is essential to a full comprehension of the character and motives of Columbus that this visionary project should be borne in recollection. It will be found to have entwined itself in his mind with his enterprise of discovery, and that a holy crusade was to be the consummation of those divine purposes, for which he considered himself selected by heaven as an agent. It shows how much his mind was elevated above selfish and mercenary views — how it was filled with those devout and heroic schemes which in the time of the crusades had inflamed the thoughts



COLUMBUS RECEIVED BY FERDINAND AND ISABELLA ON HIS RETURN FROM HIS FIRST VOYAGE TO AMERICA

[1493 A.D.]

and directed the enterprises of the bravest warriors and most illustrious princes.

The joy occasioned by the great discovery of Columbus was not confined to Spain; the tidings were spread far and wide by the communications of ambassadors, the correspondence of the learned, the negotiations of merchants, and the reports of travellers, and the whole civilised world was filled with wonder and delight. How gratifying would it have been, had the press at that time, as at present, poured forth its daily tide of speculation on every passing occurrence! With what eagerness should we seek to know the first ideas and emotions of the public on an event so unlooked for and sublime! Even the first announcements of it by contemporary writers, though brief and incidental, derive interest from being written at the time; and from showing the casual way in which such great tidings were conveyed about the world. Allegretto Allegretti,[ss] in his annals of Sienna for 1493, mentions it as just made known there by the letters of their merchants who were in Spain, and by the mouths of various travellers. The news was brought to Genoa by the return of her ambassadors, Francisco Marchesi and Giovanni Antonio Grimaldi, and was recorded among the triumphant events of the year: for the republic, though she may have slighted the opportunity of making herself mistress of the discovery, has ever since been tenacious of the glory of having given birth to the discoverer. The tidings were soon carried to England, which as yet was but a maritime power of inferior importance. They caused, however, much wonder in London, and great talk and admiration in the court of Henry VII, where the discovery was pronounced "a thing more divine than human." We have this [as quoted from memory by Ramusio[tt]] on the authority of Sebastian Cabot himself, the future discoverer of the northern continent of America, who was in London at the time, and was inspired by the event with a generous spirit of emulation.

Every member of civilised society, in fact, rejoiced in the occurrence, as one in which he was more or less interested. To some it opened a new and unbounded field of inquiry; to others of enterprise; and everyone awaited with intense eagerness the further development of this unknown world, still covered with mystery, the partial glimpses of which were so full of wonder. We have a brief testimony of the emotions of the learned in a letter, written at the time, by Peter Martyr[uu] to his friend Pomponius Lætus. "You tell me, my amiable Pomponius," he writes, "that you leaped for joy, and that your delight was mingled with tears, when you read my epistle, certifying to you the hitherto hidden world of the antipodes. You have felt and acted as became a man eminent for learning, for I can conceive no aliment more delicious than such tidings to a cultivated and ingenuous mind. I feel a wonderful exultation of spirits when I converse with intelligent men who have returned from these regions. It is like an accession of wealth to a miser. Our minds, soiled and debased by the common concerns of life and the vices of society, become elevated and ameliorated by contemplating such glorious events."

Notwithstanding this universal enthusiasm, however, no one was aware of the real importance of the discovery. No one had an idea that this was a totally distinct portion of the globe, separated by oceans from the ancient world. The opinion of Columbus was universally adopted, that Cuba was the end of the Asiatic continent, and that the adjacent islands were in the Indian seas. This agreed with the opinions of the ancients, about the moderate distance from Spain to the extremity of India, sailing westwardly. The parrots were also thought to resemble those described by Pliny, as abounding

in the remote parts of Asia. The lands, therefore, which Columbus had visited were called the West Indies; and as he seemed to have entered upon a vast region of unexplored countries, existing in a state of nature, the whole received the comprehensive appellation of the New World.

During the whole of his sojourn at Barcelona, the sovereigns took every occasion to bestow on Columbus personal marks of their high consideration. He was admitted at all times to the royal presence, and the queen delighted to converse with him on the subject of his enterprises. The king, too, appeared occasionally on horseback, with Prince Juan on one side, and Columbus on the other. To perpetuate in his family the glory of his achievement, a coat-of-arms was assigned him, in which the royal arms, the castle and lion, were quartered with his proper bearings, which were a group of islands surrounded by waves. To these arms was afterwards annexed the motto:

A Castilla y á Leon,
Nuevo mundo dio Colon.

(To Castile and Leon
Columbus gave a new world.)

The pension which had been decreed by the sovereigns to him who in the first voyage should discover land, was adjudged to Columbus, for having first seen the light on the shore. It is said that the seaman who first descried the land was so incensed at being disappointed of what he conceived his merited reward, that he renounced his country and his faith, and going into Africa, turned Mussulman; an anecdote which rests merely on the authority of Oviedo,[nn] who is extremely incorrect in his narration of this voyage, and inserts many falsehoods told him by the enemies of the admiral.

It may, at first sight, appear but little accordant with the acknowledged magnanimity of Columbus, to have borne away the prize from this poor sailor, but this was a subject in which his whole ambition was involved, and he was doubtless proud of the honour of being personally the discoverer of the land as well as projector of the enterprise.

Thus honored by the sovereigns, courted by the great, idolised by the people, Columbus, for a time, drank the honeyed draught of popularity, before enmity and detraction had time to drug it with bitterness. His discovery burst with such splendour upon the world as to dazzle envy itself, and to call forth the general acclamations of mankind. Well would it be for the honour of human nature, could history, like romance, close with the consummation of the hero's wishes; we should then leave Columbus in the full fruition of great and well-merited prosperity. But his history is destined to furnish another proof, if proof be wanting, of the inconstancy of public favour, even when won by distinguished services. No greatness was ever acquired by more incontestable, unalloyed, and exalted benefits rendered to mankind, yet none ever drew on its possessor more unremitting jealousy and defamation, or involved him in more unmerited distress and difficulty.[z]

FURTHER VOYAGES AND DEATH OF COLUMBUS (1493–1506 A.D.)

Loaded with caresses, commendations, and honours, soon after Columbus re-embarked from Cadiz, September 25th, 1493, with seventeen sail, to make new discoveries and to establish colonies. He arrived at Hispaniola November 3rd, with twelve hundred men, soldiers, artificers, and missionaries, with provisions for their subsistence, with the seeds of all the plants

that were thought likely to thrive in this hot and damp climate, and with the domestic animals of the old hemisphere, of which there was not one in the new. Columbus found nothing but ruins and carcasses upon the spot where he had left fortifications and Spaniards. These plunderers had occasioned their own destruction by their haughty, licentious, and tyrannical behaviour. Columbus had the address to persuade his men, who were eager to glut their vengeance upon the natives, that it was good policy to postpone their revenge to another time. A fort, honoured with the name of Isabella, was now constructed on the borders of the ocean; and that of St. Thomas was erected on the mountains of Cibao, where the islanders gathered from the torrents the greatest part of the gold they used for their ornaments, and where the conquerors intended to open mines.

While these works were going on, the provisions that had been brought from Europe had been either consumed or were spoilt. The colony had received nothing to supply the deficiency; and soldiers, or sailors, neither possessed the leisure, knowledge, nor inclination to produce fresh articles of subsistence. It became necessary to have recourse to the natives of the country, who, cultivating but little, were unable to maintain strangers, even though they were the most moderate persons of the old hemisphere, for they yet consumed, each of them, as much as would have been sufficient for several Indians. These unfortunate people gave up all they had, and still more was required. Such continued exactions produced an alteration in their character, which was naturally timid; and all the caciques, except Guanacanagari, who had first received the Spaniards in his dominions, resolved to unite their forces, in order to break a yoke which was becoming every day more intolerable.

Columbus desisted from pursuing his discoveries, in order to prepare against this unexpected danger. Although two-thirds of his followers had been hurried to the grave by hardships, by the climate, and by debauchery; although sickness prevented many of those who had escaped these terrible scourges from joining him; and although he could not muster more than two hundred infantry and twenty horse to face the enemy, yet this extraordinary man was not afraid of attacking an army, assembled in the plains of Vega Real.

The unhappy islanders were, in fact, conquered before the action began. They considered the Spaniards as beings of a superior order; their admiration, respect, and fear were increased by the European armour; and the sight of the cavalry, in particular, astonished them beyond measure. Many of them were simple enough to believe that the man and the horse were but one animal, or a kind of deity. Had their courage even been proof against these impressions of terror, they could have made but a faint resistance. The cannonading, the pikes, and a discipline to which they were strangers must have easily dispersed them. They fled on all sides. To punish them for their rebellion, as it was called, every Indian above fourteen years of age was subjected to a tribute in gold or in cotton, according to the district in which he lived.

This regulation, which required assiduous labour, appeared the greatest of evils to a people who were not used to constant employment. The desire of getting rid of their oppressors, therefore, became their ruling passion. As they entertained no further hope of being able to expel them by force, the idea occurred to them, in 1496, of reducing them by famine. In this view they sowed no more maize, they pulled up the cassava roots that were already planted, and fled for refuge to the mountains.

Desperate resolutions are seldom attended with success; accordingly, that which the Indians had taken proved fatal to them. The products of rude and uncultivated nature were not sufficient for their support, as they had inconsiderately expected they would be; and their asylum, however difficult of access, was not a security from the pursuit of their incensed tyrants, who, during this total privation of local resources, accidentally received some provisions from the mother country. The rage of the Spaniards was excited to such a degree that they trained up dogs to hunt and devour these unhappy men; and it has even been said that some of the Castilians had made a vow to massacre twelve Indians every day in honour of the twelve apostles. Before this event the island was reckoned to contain a million of inhabitants. A third part of this considerable population perished in these campaigns, by fatigue, hunger, and the sword.

Scarcely had the remnant of these unfortunate people, who had escaped so many disasters, returned to their habitations, where calamities of another kind were preparing for them, when divisions arose among their persecutors. The removal of the capital of the colony from the north to the south, from Isabella to Santo Domingo, might possibly furnish a pretence for some complaints; but the dissensions had their chief origin in indulged passions, raised to an uncommon degree of fermentation beneath a burning sky, and not sufficiently restrained by an authority imperfectly established. When the business was to dethrone a cacique, to plunder a district, or extermine a village, the commands of the brother of Columbus, or of his representative, were readily obeyed. After sharing the booty, insubordination followed; and mutual jealousies and animosities became their sole occupation. The Spaniards at length took up arms against each other, and war was openly declared.

During the course of these divisions, Columbus was in Spain, whither he had returned in June, 1496, in order to answer the accusations that were incessantly renewed against him. The recital of the great actions he had performed and the exposition of the useful plans he meant to carry into execution easily regained him the confidence of Isabella. Ferdinand himself began to be a little reconciled to the idea of distant voyages. The plan of a regular form of government was traced, which was first to be tried at San Domingo, and afterwards adopted, with such alterations as experience might show to be necessary, in the several settlements, which in process of time might be founded in the other hemisphere. Men skilled in the working of mines were carefully selected, and the government agreed to pay and maintain them for several years.

On the 30th of May, 1498, Columbus sailed on his third voyage, with six ships. He touched at the Canaries, and despatched from thence three of his squadron direct to Hispaniola. With the other three he steered toward the Cape Verd islands. Taking his departure from this point he held a southwesterly course till he came within five degrees of the equator, where the heat of the air burst the wine-pipes and water-casks, and caused the crews to fear that the ships would be burned. After eight days of calm weather and intolerable heat, the air became a little cooler, and on the 31st of July they discovered land, which proved to be the island of Trinidad, at the mouth of the Orinoco. Proceeding along the shore, he obtained a sight of some of the natives, who proved very hostile, and discharged showers of arrows at the ships. They had shields, the first defensive armour the Spaniards had seen in the New World. Columbus sailed through the gulf lying between Trinidad and the mouth of the Orinoco, struck with amazement at the moun-

tainous billows which that great stream rolls into the ocean. On the coast of Paria they saw more of the natives, and held friendly intercourse with them. They offered the Spaniards provisions and a sort of wine. Considerable gold was discovered, and the natives directed them to a pearl fishery. From this coast they steered to Hispaniola. This was the voyage in which the Spaniards first saw the main land of America. The continent of North America had been discovered in June of the preceding year by John Cabot.

The third visit of Columbus succeeded no better than the preceding in securing good order and prosperity in the colony. The form of government projected in Spain had not the desired effect — that of establishing a peaceable community. The people thought differently from their sovereigns. Time, which brings on reflection when the first transports of enthusiasm are passed, had abated the desire, originally so ardent, of going to the New World. Its gold was no longer an object of irresistible temptation. On the contrary, the livid complexions of the Spaniards who returned home; the accounts of the insalubrity of the climate; of the numbers who had lost their lives, and the hardships they had undergone from the scarcity of provisions; an unwillingness to be under the command of a foreigner, the severity of whose discipline was generally censured; and perhaps the jealousy that was entertained of his growing reputation; all these reasons contributed to produce an insuperable prejudice against Santo Domingo in the subjects of the crown of Castile, the only Spaniards who, till the year 1593, were allowed to embark for that island.

The malefactors who accompanied Columbus, in conjunction with the Plunderers that infested Santo Domingo, formed one of the most unnatural kinds of society that had ever appeared upon the globe. Their mutual coalition enabled them to set all authority at defiance; and the impossibility of subduing them, made it necessary to resort to negotiation. Many attempts were made in vain. At length, in 1499, it was proposed that, to the lands which every Spaniard received, a certain number of islanders should be annexed, whose time and labour should be devoted to masters destitute alike of humanity and prudence. This act of weakness on the part of the government restored apparent tranquillity to the colony, but without gaining for Columbus the affection of those who profited by it. The complaints made against him grew more loud and violent, and ere long proved effectual.

This extraordinary man purchased upon very hard terms the fame which his genius and industry had procured him. His life exhibited a perpetual series of brilliant successes and deep misfortunes. He was continually exposed to the cabals, calumnies, and ingratitude of individuals; and obliged at the same time to submit to the caprices of a haughty and turbulent court, which by turns rewarded or punished — now mortified him by the most humiliating disgrace, and now restored him to its confidence.

The prejudice entertained by the Spanish ministry against the author of the greatest discovery the world had yet seen, grew to such a pitch, that an arbitrator was sent to the colonies to decide between Columbus and his soldiers. Bobadilla, the most ambitious, self-interested, unjust, and violent man that had yet visited the New World, arrived at Santo Domingo in 1500; he deprived the admiral of his property, his honours and his command, and sent him to Spain in irons. Surprise and indignation were everywhere excited by this act of atrocious ingratitude; and Ferdinand and Isabella, overwhelmed with shame by the expression of the public feelings, ordered the fetters of Columbus to be immediately taken off. They also recalled, with real or feigned resentment, the wretch Bobadilla, who had so infamously abused his

authority. But to their disgrace it must be added that this was all the reparation made to Columbus for so atrocious an insult.

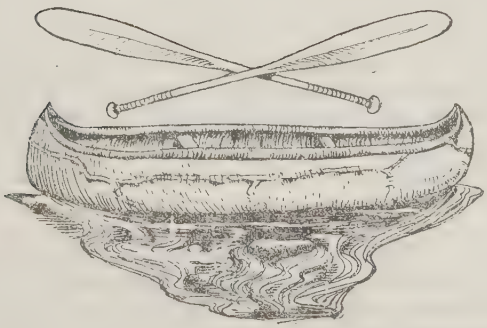
To crown the ingratitude of the Spanish court, they constantly resisted the petitions and applications of Columbus to be reinstated in his office. The reason alleged for this unkingly breach of faith was the great value and importance of the discoveries of Columbus, which would render the reward too magnificent! After a fruitless attendance at court for two years, he gave up his solicitations, and requested merely to be sent upon a fourth voyage. Ferdinand and Isabella, eager to get rid of a man whose presence was a reproach to them, granted his request with alacrity. Four small vessels were provided for him; and the discoverer of the western world, broken down by age, fatigues and mortification, set sail once more from Cadiz on May 9, 1502. His design was to proceed west, beyond the newly discovered continent, and to circumnavigate the globe. On reaching Hispaniola he found a fleet of eighteen ships ready to depart for Spain. Columbus was refused admission into the harbour of Santo Domingo, although his vessel was unseaworthy. His knowledge of these regions enabled him to perceive signs of an approaching hurricane. Although the governor, Ovando, had refused him a shelter in the harbour, Columbus warned him of the approaching danger; but his warning was disregarded; the fleet put to sea: and the ensuing night they were assailed by a furious hurricane, and the whole fleet, except three ships, went to the bottom. In this wreck perished the malignant Bobadilla, together with the greater part of the men who had been most active in persecuting Columbus and oppressing the Indians. The treasure lost in the ships surpassed the value of two hundred thousand dollars.

Columbus, by his prudent precautions, escaped the danger, and departed for the continent. He proceeded along the coast from the eastern point of Honduras to the isthmus of Darien, searching in vain for a passage to the South Sea. Attracted by the appearance of gold, he attempted to form a settlement at the river Belem, in Veragua; but the natives, a more hardy and warlike race than the islanders, killed many of the settlers and drove the remnant away. This unexpected repulse was followed by a long train of disasters. Storms, hurricanes, terrible thunder and lightning, and all the calamities that can befall the explorers of an unknown sea, kept Columbus in a continual state of anxiety and suffering. At last he was shipwrecked on the coast of Jamaica. No settlement had been made here, and Columbus despatched a few of his men in Indian canoes to Hispaniola for relief. The insolent Ovando, from a mean jealousy of the great discoverer, delayed to grant him any assistance. Columbus remained in Jamaica, perpetually harassed by the mutinous conduct of his men. The natives, tired of the long stay of the Spaniards in their island, intercepted their supplies of provisions. Columbus, however, intimidated them by an artifice. An eclipse was at hand: he assembled the chief Indians, and informed them that the Great Spirit was angry at their behaviour toward their visitors, and on that night the moon would be turned blood-red. They listened with incredulity, but when the moon began to change her hue they were all struck with terror. They loaded themselves with provisions, and brought them to Columbus, entreating him to intercede with the Deity in their behalf. From that time their superstitious apprehensions kept them in implicit obedience to the Spaniards.

After about a year's detention on the island, three vessels came to their relief, and the crews passed over to Hispaniola, where the once arrogant Ovando received his distinguished visitor with fawning sycophancy, and

affected to treat him with every mark of honour and esteem. His complaisance, however, went no further than outward show. Columbus, finding no means of prosecuting his enterprise in this part of the world, returned to Spain, September 12th, 1504, where his miseries were crowned by the intelligence of the death of Isabella, whose favour and protection he had always considered his last resource. This was a blow from which he never recovered. Overwhelmed with calamities, disgusted with the ingratitude of those whom he had faithfully and successfully served, declining in age, and broken in health, he lingered a few years longer in poverty and neglect, making from time to time a fruitless appeal to the honour and justice of those who had given him "chains for a crown, a prison for a world"; and finally closed his life at Valladolid, May 20th, 1506, in the 59th year of his age.

Such was the end of this remarkable man, who, to the astonishment of Europe, added a fourth part to the earth, or rather half a world to this globe, which had been so long desolate and so little known. It might reasonably be expected that public gratitude would have given the name of this intrepid seaman to the new hemisphere, the first discovery of which was owing to his enterprising genius. This was the smallest homage of respect that could be paid to his memory; but either through envy, inattention, or the caprice of fortune even in the distribution of fame, this honour was reserved for a Florentine adventurer, who did nothing more than follow the footsteps of a man whose name ought to stand foremost in the list of great characters.[cc]





CHAPTER II

THE ARMY OF EXPLORERS

Sometimes in Wagner's musical dramas the introduction of a few notes from some leading melody foretells the inevitable catastrophe toward which the action is moving, as when in Lohengrin's bridal chamber the well-known sound of the distant Grail motive steals suddenly upon the ear, and the heart of the rapt listener is smitten with a sense of impending doom. So in the drama of maritime discovery, as glimpses of new worlds were beginning to reward the enterprising crowns of Spain and Portugal, for a moment there came from the North a few brief notes fraught with ominous portent. The power for whom destiny had reserved the world empire of which these Southern nations — so noble in aim, so mistaken in policy — were dreaming stretched forth her hand in quiet disregard of papal bulls, and laid it upon the western shore of the ocean. It was only for a moment, and long years were to pass before the consequences were developed. But in truth the first fateful note that heralded the coming English supremacy was sounded when John Cabot's tiny craft sailed out from the Bristol channel on a bright May morning of 1497. — John Fiske.[b]

It is a curious fact that most of the discoveries made concerning America were made indirectly and unintentionally. Even the Norse and other traditions say that their heroes were blown to America by storm; Columbus sought India and stumbled across the West Indies; John Cabot happened upon North America and thought he had found the realm of the great khan of Tatary; Sebastian Cabot sought the Northwest Passage to Cathay and India; the Portuguese Cortereal came for slaves; the French flocked to the cod-fisheries of Newfoundland as early as 1525, little caring where they were.

Verrazano (whose very existence has been questioned), Cartier, and a few others indeed went exploring for the sake of acquiring information and territory, but these were the exceptions.

The veteran Ponce de Leon sought the Fountain of Youth and found a mortal wound in Florida. Pineda in seeking a strait found the Mississippi. Gomez was another Northwest Passager. Coronado made his wonderful Anab-

asis in search of the seven golden cities of Cibola and found the mud huts of New Mexico, the plains of Kansas, and the gorge of the Colorado. Soto was hunting a Peru in North America and found instead of gold only nakedness, fever, and a secret burial in the great river which he was not even the first to reach. Frobisher sought the Northwest Passage and went on a fool's errand to Labrador for gold. Drake circumnavigated the world on a piratical cruise for Spanish galleons. Hudson explored the river and the bay that perpetuate in their names his vain hope of probing his way through the continent that lay like a bar across the path to India. The passage through this continent is yet to be made and artificially, and it can only lead as we know now into an ocean far wider than the Atlantic.

It is interesting to note the division of the labour of discovery among the maritime nations of Europe. The Norse made the first approaches but did not improve their opportunity; as someone has said, "their visit was as profitable as the visit of a flock of sea-gulls." The Portuguese began the great passion for discovery, and Columbus, as we have seen, spent his first ten years of pleading at their court before he turned to Spain. When he returned with his prize, Pope Alexander VI, the Borgia, in his famous bull of May 3rd and 4th, 1493, drew a magnificent line down through the Atlantic ocean and gave Portugal all the un-Christian world east of it; Spain all that lay to the west.

This demarcation restrained the enthusiasm of the English, then a Catholic nation, temporarily, but not long. Rapidly — for a time when there were no newspapers and telegraph systems to spread news — all the seafaring peoples of the Atlantic coast felt the impetus for exploration, and turned their prows and their hopes westward. The Spanish took the lead in enthusiasm and in numbers, till, as Galvano[e] said in Hakluyt's version, "there grew such a common desire of travaile among the Spanyards, that they were ready to leape into the sea to swim, if it had been possible, into those new-found parts." Once the first voyage had been made imitation was so easy that, as Columbus wrote, "Now there is not a man, down to the very tailors, who does not beg permission to be a discoverer."

But Italy had furnished the inspiration, through Marco Polo and Toscanelli, as well as the men, for many of the best discoveries, though she did not get the credit. In Genoa were born Colombo (known to the Spanish as Colon) and Giovanni or Zuan Cabot (known to his English employers as John Cabot) though he was a naturalised citizen of Venice, whence came also Polo and Cadamosto. In Florence was born the unjustly maligned Amerigo Vespucci (whose name though given only to the part of the continent which he explored soon spread to the whole new world). Florence also lent to France the true discoverer of the Hudson river, Verrazano.

To Spain belong by birth and service the brilliantly fearless and bloodily ruthless cohort of the brothers Pinzon, Ojeda, Solis, Cortes, Pizarro, Ponce de Leon, Grijalva, Cordova, Pineda, Valdivia, Coronado, Lepe, Alamagro, Alvarado, La Cosa, Ayllon, Gil Gonzalez Gasca, Perrelo, and others.

Portugal gave the world not only its splendid explorers of the East, but also Cortereal; Magelâhes (known to us as Magellan), who sailed under the Spanish flag in the most wonderful of all ocean voyages; Cabral, who gave Brazil to Portugal; Gomez, de Cintra, Jacques, and Coelho.

From France came Jean Cousin of Dieppe, who is claimed as a preceder of Columbus, the plucky Breton and Normandy fishermen who swarmed over to Newfoundland immediately after its discovery was rumoured: Fray Marcos of Nice, Léry, Cartier, Roberval, Champlain, Villegagnon, Ribaut, Laudon-

nière, La Salle, Marquette, Joliet, Gourgues, Hennepin, Frontenac, La Vérendrez.

In return for borrowing Cabot from Italy, England lent Hudson to the Dutch when he rediscovered the river, but bought him back for the fatal bay voyage. She furnished also Frobisher, Drake, Hawkins, Gilbert, Raleigh, John Smith, Gosnold, Pring, Weymouth, John Davis, Willoughby, and William Baffin.

Holland furnished Barentz and Van Horn, while Juan de la Fuca was a Greek. As a final settlement of the theory that America was part of Asia, the Russian Guosdjeff and the Danish Bering proved in the eighteenth century that Asia and America were not anywhere joined by land.

The rewards of the discoverers make a sad catalogue. Among those who died in obscurity and disgrace were Columbus, Gonzalez, and Cortes. The death penalty was meted out to Pinzon, Grijalva, Balboa, and Pizarro. Among those who perished in battle or died from the hardships of their career were Cordova, De Soto, Magellan, Valdura, Narvaez, Ayllon, Solis, Ribaut, Roberval, Gilbert, and Hudson. When Bering perished in 1741 he was — with the exception of those names on the still unfinished death-roll of Arctic exploration — the last martyr to the costly cause of the discovery of America. But never have lives and gold been lavished with more profit to posterity, and never have cruelty, avarice, theft, and oppression borne so liberally the fruit of happiness, riches, and liberty. We may now take up in some detail the voyages of discovery and exploration that became the most notable industry of the age.[a]

THE VOYAGES OF THE CABOTS

In the new career of western adventure, the American continent was first discovered under the auspices of the English. In the history of maritime enterprise in the New World, the achievements of John and Sebastian Cabot are, in boldness, success, and results, second only to those of Columbus. The wars of the houses of York and Lancaster had ceased; tranquillity and thrifty industry had been restored by the prudent severity of Henry VII; the spirit of commercial activity began to be successfully fostered; and the marts of England were thronged with Lombard adventurers. The fisheries of the north had long tempted the merchants of Bristol to an intercourse with Iceland; and the nautical skill necessary to buffet the storms of the Atlantic had been acquired in this branch of northern commerce. Nor is it impossible that some uncertain traditions respecting the remote discoveries which Icelanders had made in Greenland towards the northwest, "where the lands did nearest meet," as Bacon[d] says, should have excited "firm and pregnant conjectures." The magnificent achievement of Columbus, revealing the wonderful truth, of which the germs may have existed in the imagination of every thoughtful mariner, won the admiration which was due to an enterprise that seemed more divine than human, and kindled in the breasts of the emulous a vehement desire to gain as signal renown in the same career of daring; while the politic king of England desired to share in the large returns which were promised by maritime adventure.

It was, therefore, not difficult for John Cabot, a Venetian merchant, residing at Bristol, to engage Henry VII in plans for discovery. He obtained from that monarch a patent (March 5th, 1496), empowering himself and his three sons, or any of them, their heirs, or their deputies, to sail into the eastern, western, or northern sea, with a fleet of five ships, at their own proper expense

[1497–1498 A.D.]

and charges; to search for islands, countries, provinces, or regions, hitherto unseen by Christian people; to affix the banners of England on any city, island, or continent, that they might find; and, as vassals of the English crown, to possess and occupy the territories that might be discovered. It was further stipulated, in what Chalmers[e] has called "the most ancient American state paper of England," that the patentees should be strictly bound in their voyages to land at the port of Bristol, and to pay to the king one fifth part of the emoluments of the navigation; while the exclusive right of frequenting all the countries that might be found was reserved, unconditionally and without limit of time, to the family of the Cabots and their assigns. Under this patent, containing the worst features of colonial monopoly and commercial restriction, John Cabot and [perhaps] his celebrated son Sebastian embarked for the west [May, 1497]. Of what tempests they encountered, what mutinies they calmed, no record has been preserved. The discovery of the American continent (June 24, 1497), probably in the latitude of fifty-six degrees, far, therefore, to the north of the straits of Belle Isle, among the polar bears, the rude savages, and the dismal cliffs of Labrador, was the fruit of the voyage.

It has been attempted to deprive the father of the glory of having led the expedition. The surest documentary evidence confirms his claims.[1] The navigators hastened homewards to announce their success. Thus the discovery of the continent was an exploit of private mercantile adventure; and the possession of the new-found "land and isles" was a right vested by an exclusive patent in the family of a Bristol merchant. Yet the Cabots derived little benefit from the expedition which their genius had suggested, and of which they alone had defrayed the expense. Posterity hardly remembered that they had reached the American continent nearly fourteen months before Columbus, on his third voyage, came in sight of the mainland, and almost two years before Amerigo Vespucci sailed west of the Canaries. But England acquired through their energy such a right to North America as this indisputable priority could confer. Henry VII and his successors recognised the claims of Spain and Portugal, only so far as they actually occupied the territories to which they laid pretension; and, at a later day, the English parliament and the English courts derided a title founded, not upon occupancy, but upon a grant from the Roman pontiff.

Confidence and zeal awakened; and Henry grew circumspect in the concession of rights which now seemed to become of immense value. A new patent was issued (February 3rd, 1498) to John Cabot, less ample in the privileges which it conferred. A voyage was again undertaken; purposes of traffic were connected with it; and the frugal king was himself a partner in the expenditure. The object of this new expedition was, in part, to explore "what manner of landes those Indies were to inhabit"; and perhaps, also, a hope was entertained of reaching the rich empire of Cathay. Embarking in

[1 We tell the story of the Cabots as it is generally accepted. It is impossible to enter here into the controversies on every point, and we can only caution the reader to remember that we have not even an allusion, in the narrative form, to the voyages of the Cabots till twenty years after they are said to have occurred, and that much of what information we have is based on the reported conversations of Sebastian Cabot of a far later date. How uncertain these are may be seen from the fact that Eden[f] says: "Sebastian Cabot tolde me that he was borne in Bryston," while there is much stronger proof, and his own statement to Contarini, to prove that he was born in Venice about 1473. The first printed account of the Cabots' discovery was in the *Decades* of Peter Martyr,[g] who was Sebastian's friend, and whose account does not even mention John Cabot. On the other hand there are evidences that lead certain scholars to doubt that Sebastian was present on the first voyage at all. His name is not mentioned in the contemporary documents lately discovered, and there seems to be in the reports of his conversations a hopeless confusion of the first and second voyages.]

May, Sebastian Cabot,[1] with a company of three hundred men, sailed for Labrador, by way of Iceland; and reached the continent in the latitude of fifty-eight degrees. The severity of the cold, the strangeness of the unknown land, and his declared purpose of exploring the country, induced him to turn to the south; and, having proceeded along the shores of the United States to the southern boundary of Maryland, or perhaps to the latitude of Albemarle Sound, want of provisions induced him to return to England.

Curiosity desires to trace the further career of the great seaman, who, with his father, gave a continent to England. The maps which he sketched of his discoveries, and the accounts which he wrote of his adventures, have perished, and the history of the next years of his life is involved in obscurity. Yet it does not admit of a reasonable doubt, that, perhaps in 1517, after he had been in the employment of Ferdinand of Spain, and before he received the appointment of pilot-major from Charles V, he sailed once more from England to discover the Northwest Passage. The testimony respecting this expedition is confused and difficult of explanation; the circumstances which attended it, are variously related, and are assigned to other and earlier voyages. Sebastian Cabot passed through the straits and entered the bay, which, after the lapse of nearly a century, took their name from Hudson. He himself wrote a "discourse of navigation," in which the entrance of the strait was laid down with great precision "on a card, drawn by his own hand." He boldly prosecuted his design, making his way through regions, into which it was, long afterwards, esteemed an act of the most intrepid maritime adventure to penetrate, till, on June 11th, 1517, as we are informed from a letter written by the navigator himself, he had attained the altitude of sixty-seven and a half degrees, ever in the hope of finding a passage into the Indian Ocean. The sea was still open; but the cowardice of a naval officer [Sir Thomas Pert or Spert], and the mutiny of the mariners, compelled him to return, though his own confidence in the possibility of effecting the passage remained unimpaired.



(1474–1557)

The career of Sebastian Cabot was in the issue as honourable as it had in the opening been glorious. For sixty years, during a period when maritime adventure engaged the most intense public curiosity, he was reverenced for his achievements and his skill. He sailed to South America in 1526 under the auspices of Charles V, though not with entire success.[2] On his return to England in 1548 he advanced the commerce of England by opposing a mercantile monopoly, and was pensioned and rewarded for his merits as the Great Sea-

[1 Hakluyt[h] quotes Fabian to the effect that John Cabot went also on this second voyage. It seems improbable, indeed, that he was not in command. All evidence of him was lacking, however, till as late as 1897, when the Customs Roll of Bristol for 1496–1499 was discovered in Westminster Abbey and published; it tends to prove that John Cabot returned from his second voyage before September 29, 1498, and was alive at that date.]

[2 While in Spain he was ordered into banishment for this failure, though it is not known if the sentence was executed.]

man in 1549. It was also he who framed the instructions for the expedition which discovered the passage to Archangel in 1553. He lived to an extreme old age, and so loved his profession to the last, that in the hour of death his wandering thoughts were upon the ocean. There is deep cause for regret, that time has spared so few memorials of his career. Himself incapable of jealousy, he did not escape detraction. He gave England a continent, and no one knows his burial place.

THE PORTUGUESE CORTEREAL

The king of Portugal, grieved at having neglected Columbus, readily favoured an expedition for northern discovery. Gaspar Cortereal was appointed commander of the enterprise. [He sailed with three ships on May 15th, 1501.] He reached the shores of North America, ranged the coast for a distance of six or seven hundred miles, and carefully observed the country and its inhabitants. The most northern point which he attained, was probably about the fiftieth degree. Of the country along which he sailed, he had occasion to admire the brilliant freshness of the verdure, and the density of the stately forests. The pines, well adapted for masts and yards, promised to become an object of gainful commerce. But men were already with the Portuguese an established article of traffic; the inhabitants of the American coast seemed well fitted for labour; and Cortereal freighted his ships with more than fifty Indians, whom, on his return, October 8th, he sold as slaves. It was soon resolved to renew the expedition; but the adventurer never returned. His death was ascribed to a combat with the natives, whom he desired to kidnap; the name of Labrador, transferred to a more northern coast, is, probably, a memorial of his crime; and is, perhaps, the only permanent trace of Portuguese adventure within the limits of North America.[1] In May of the next year, 1502, Gaspar's brother, Miguel, sailed to search for his brother. They found so many rivers and bays that they divided their fleet; two vessels returned, but Miguel, like his brother, was never heard of again. A new expedition sent by the king found no trace of either, and when the eldest of the family asked permission, the king said he had lost enough Cortereals.[a]

FRENCH DISCOVERIES: VERRAZANO

The French entered without delay into the competition for the commerce and the soil of America. Within seven years of the discovery of the continent, in 1504, the fisheries of Newfoundland were known to the hardy mariners of Brittany and Normandy.[1] The island of Cape Breton acquired its name from their remembrance of home, and in France it was usual to esteem them the discoverers of the country. A map of the gulf of St. Lawrence was drawn by Denys, a citizen of Honfleur; and the fishermen of the northwest of France derived wealth from the regions, which, it was reluctantly confessed, had been first visited by the Cabots.

The fisheries had for some years been successfully pursued; savages from the northeastern coast had been brought to France [by Thomas Aubert of Dieppe], in 1508; plans of colonisation in North America had been suggested. 1518 [and perhaps attempted], by De Léry and Saint-Just; when at length

[1 If the archives of Dieppe had not been destroyed in the bombardment of 1694, and those of La Rochelle in the famous siege, France would doubtless occupy a higher place even than she now holds in the account of American exploration.]

Francis I, a monarch who had invited Da Vinci and Cellini to transplant the fine arts into his kingdom, employed Giovanni Verrazano another Florentine, to explore the new regions, which had alike excited curiosity and hope. It was by way of the isle of Madeira that the Italian, parting from a fleet which had cruised successfully along the shores of Spain, sailed for America, January 17th, 1524, with a single caravel, resolute to make discovery of new countries.[i]

VERRAZANO'S OWN ACCOUNT OF HIS VOYAGE IN 1524

Captain Giovanni da Verrazano to his most serene majesty, the king of France, writes:

Since the tempests which we encountered on the northern coasts, I have not written to your most serene and Christian majesty concerning the four ships sent out by your orders on the ocean to discover new lands, because I thought you must have been before apprized of all that had happened to us — that we had been compelled by the impetuous violence of the winds to put into Brittany in distress with only the two ships *Normandy* and *Dolphin;* and that after having repaired these ships, we made a cruise in them, well armed, along the coast of Spain, as your majesty must have heard, and also of our new plan of continuing our begun voyage with the *Dolphin* [or *Dauphine*] alone; from this voyage being now returned, I proceed to give your majesty an account of our discoveries.

On the 17th of last January we set sail from a desolate rock near the island of Madeira, belonging to his most serene majesty, the king of Portugal, with fifty men, having provisions sufficient for eight months, arms and other warlike munition and naval stores. Sailing westward with a light and pleasant easterly breeze, in twenty-five days we ran eight hundred leagues. On the 24th of February we encountered as violent a hurricane as any ship ever weathered from which we escaped unhurt by the divine assistance and goodness, to the praise of the glorious and fortunate name of our good ship, that had been able to support the violent tossing of the waves. Pursuing our voyage towards the west, a little northwardly, in twenty-four days more, having run four hundred leagues, we reached a new country, which had never before been seen by any one, either in ancient or modern times. At first it appeared to be very low, but on approaching it to within a quarter of a league from the shore we perceived, by the great fires near the coast, that it was inhabited. We perceived that it stretches to the south, and coasted along in that direction in search of some port, in which we might come to anchor, and examine into the nature of the country, but for fifty leagues we could find none in which we could lie securely.

Seeing the coast still stretch to the south, we resolved to change our course and stand to the northward, and as we still had the same difficulty, we drew in with the land and sent a boat on shore. Many people who were seen coming to the sea-side fled at our approach, but occasionally stopping, they looked back upon us with astonishment, and some were at length induced, by various friendly signs, to come to us. These showed the greatest delight on beholding us, wondering at our dress, countenances and complexion. They then showed us by signs where we could more conveniently secure our boat, and offered us some of their provisions. That your majesty may know all that we learned, while on shore, of their manners and customs of life, I will relate what we saw as briefly as possible. They go entirely naked, except that about the loins they wear skins of small animals like martens fastened by a girdle of plaited

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grass, to which they tie, all round the body, the tails of other animals hanging down to the knees; all other parts of the body and the head are naked. Some wear garlands similar to birds' feathers.

The complexion of these people is black, not much different from that of the Ethiopians; their hair is black and thick, and not very long, it is worn tied back upon the head in the form of a little tail. In person they are of good proportions, of middle stature, a little above our own, broad across the breast, strong in the arms, and well formed in the legs and other parts of the body; the only exception to their good looks is that they have broad faces, but not all, however, as we saw many that had sharp ones, with large black eyes and a fixed expression. They are not very strong in body, but acute in mind, active and swift of foot, as far as we could judge by observation. In these last two particulars they resemble the people of the east, especially those of the most remote. We could not learn a great many particulars of their usages on account of our short stay among them, and the distance of our ship from the shore.

As the "East" stretches around this country, I think it cannot be devoid of the same medicinal and aromatic drugs, and various riches of gold and the like, as is denoted by the colour of the ground. It abounds also in animals, as deer, stags, hares, and many other similar, and with a great variety of birds for every kind of pleasant and delightful sport. It is plentifully supplied with lakes and ponds of running water, and being in the latitude of 34 the air is salubrious, pure and temperate, and free from the extremes of both heat and cold.

We set sail from this place, continuing to coast along the shore, which we found stretching out to the west (east?); the inhabitants being numerous, we saw everywhere a multitude of fires. While at anchor on this coast, there being no harbour to enter, we sent the boat on shore with twenty-five men to obtain water, but it was not possible to land without endangering the boat, on account of the immense high surf thrown up by the sea, as it was an open roadstead. Many of the natives came to the beach, indicating by various friendly signs that we might trust ourselves on shore. One of their noble deeds of friendship deserves to be made known to your majesty. A young sailor was attempting to swim ashore through the surf to carry them some knick-knacks, as little bells, looking-glasses, and other like trifles; when he came near three or four of them he tossed the things to them, and turned about to get back to the boat, but he was thrown over by the waves, and so dashed by them that he lay as it were dead upon the beach. When these people saw him in this situation, they ran and took him up by the head, legs and arms, and carried him to a distance from the surf; the young man, finding himself borne off in this way, uttered very loud shrieks in fear and dismay, while they answered as they could in their language, showing him that he had no cause for fear.

Afterwards they laid him down at the foot of a little hill, when they took off his shirt and trousers, and examined him, expressing the greatest astonishment at the whiteness of his skin. Our sailors in the boat seeing a great fire made up, and their companion placed very near it, full of fear, as is usual in all cases of novelty, imagined that the natives were about to roast him for food. But as soon as he had recovered his strength after a short stay with them, showing by signs that he wished to return aboard, they hugged him with great affection, and accompanied him to the shore, then leaving him, that he might feel more secure, they withdrew to a little hill, from which they watched him until he was safe in the boat. This young man remarked that

these people were black like the others, that they had shining skins, middle stature, and sharper faces, and very delicate bodies and limbs, and that they were inferior in strength, but quick in their minds; this is all that he observed of them.

Departing hence, and always following the shore, which stretched to the north, we came, in the space of fifty leagues, to another land, which appeared very beautiful and full of the largest forests. We approached it, and going ashore with twenty men, we went back from the coast about two leagues, and found that the people had fled and hid themselves in the woods for fear. By searching around we discovered in the grass a very old woman and a young girl of about eighteen or twenty, who had concealed themselves for the same reason; the old woman carried two infants on her shoulders, and behind her neck a little boy eight years of age; when we came up to them they began to shriek and make signs to the men who had fled to the woods. We gave them a part of our provisions, which they accepted with delight, but the girl would not touch any; everything we offered to her being thrown down in great anger. We took the little boy from the old woman to carry with us to France, and would have taken the girl also, who was very beautiful and very tall, but it was impossible because of the loud shrieks she uttered as we attempted to lead her away; having to pass some woods, and being far from the ship, we determined to leave her and take the boy only. We found them fairer than the others, and wearing a covering made of certain plants, which hung down from the branches of the trees, tying them together with threads of wild hemp; their heads are without covering and of the same shape as the others.

We saw in this country many vines growing naturally, which entwine about the trees, and run up upon them as they do in the plains of Lombardy. These vines would doubtless produce excellent wine if they were properly cultivated and attended to, as we have often seen the grapes which they produce very sweet and pleasant, and not unlike our own.

After having remained here three days, riding at anchor on the coast, as we could find no harbour we determined to depart, and coast along the shore to the northeast, keeping sail on the vessel only by day, and coming to anchor by night. After proceeding one hundred leagues, we found a very pleasant situation among some steep hills, through which a very large river, deep at its mouth, forced its way to the sea; from the sea to the estuary of the river, any ship heavily laden might pass, with the help of the tide, which rises eight feet. But as we were riding at anchor in a good berth, we would not venture up in our vessel, without a knowledge of the mouth; therefore we took the boat, and entering the river, we found the country on its banks well peopled, the inhabitants not differing much from the others, being dressed out with the feathers of birds of various colours. They came towards us with evident delight, raising loud shouts of admiration, and showing us where we could most securely land with our boat. We passed up this river, about half a league, when we found it formed a most beautiful lake three leagues in circuit,[1] upon which they were rowing thirty or more of their small boats, from one shore to the other, filled with multitudes who came to see us. All of a sudden, as is wont to happen to navigators, a violent contrary wind blew in from the sea, and forced us to return to our ship, greatly regretting to leave this region which seemed so commodious and delightful, and which we supposed must also contain great riches, as the hills showed many indications of

[1 This is universally admitted to be the harbour of New York, and the mouth of the Hudson, where Verrazano preceded Henry Hudson by several years. The triangular island is recognised as Block Island.]

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minerals. Weighing anchor, we sailed fifty leagues toward the east, as the coast stretched in that direction, and always in sight of it; at length we discovered an island of a triangular form, about ten leagues from the mainland, in size about equal to the island of Rhodes, having many hills covered with trees, and well peopled, judging from the great number of fires which we saw all around its shores; we gave it the name of your majesty's illustrious mother.

We did not land there, as the weather was unfavourable, but proceeded to another place, fifteen leagues distant from the island, where we found a very excellent harbour. Before entering it, we saw about twenty small boats full of people, who came about our ship, uttering many cries of astonishment, but they would not approach nearer than within fifty paces. By imitating their signs, we inspired them in some measure with confidence, so that they came near enough for us to toss to them some little bells and glasses, and many toys, which they took and looked at, laughing, and then came on board without fear. Among them were two kings more beautiful in form and stature than can possibly be described: one was about forty years old, the other about twenty-four. We saw upon them several pieces of wrought copper, which is more esteemed by them than gold, as this is not valued on account of its colour, but it is considered by them as the most ordinary of the metals—yellow being the colour especially disliked by them; azure and red are those in highest estimation with them. Of these things which we gave them, they prized most highly the bells, azure crystals, and other toys to hang in their ears and about their necks; they do not value or care to have silk or gold stuffs, or other kinds of cloth, nor implements of steel or iron. When we showed them our arms, they expressed no admiration, and only asked how they were made; the same was the case of the looking-glasses, which they returned to us, smiling, as soon as they had looked at them. They are very generous, giving away whatever they have. We formed a great friendship with them.

This region is situated in the parallel of Rome, being 41° 40′ of north latitude, but much colder from accidental circumstances, and not by nature, as I shall hereafter explain to your majesty, and confine myself at present to the description of its local situation. It looks towards the south, on which side the harbour is half a league broad; afterwards, upon entering it, the extent between the coast and north is twelve leagues, and then enlarging itself it forms a very large bay, twenty leagues in circumference, in which are five small islands, of great fertility and beauty, covered with large and lofty trees. Among these islands any fleet, however large, might ride safely, without fear of tempests or other dangers. Turning towards the south, at the entrance of the harbour, on both sides, there are very pleasant hills, and many streams of clear water, which flow down to the sea. In the midst of the entrance, there is a rock of freestone, formed by nature, and suitable for the construction of any kind of machine or bulwark for the defence of the harbour.

Having supplied ourselves with everything necessary, on the 5th of May we departed from the port, and sailed one hundred and fifty leagues, keeping so close to the coast as never to lose it from our sight; the nature of the country appeared much the same as before, but the mountains were a little higher, and all in appearance rich in minerals. We did not stop to land as the weather was very favourable for pursuing our voyage, and the country presented no variety. The people were entirely different from the others we had seen, whom we had found kind and gentle, but these were so rude and barbarous that we were unable by any signs we could make, to hold communication with them. They clothe themselves in the skins of bears, lynxes, seals, and other animals. Their food, as far as we could judge by several visits to their dwel-

lings, is obtained by hunting and fishing, and certain fruits, which are a sort of root of spontaneous growth. They have no pulse, and we saw no signs of cultivation; the land appears sterile and unfit for growing of fruit or grain of any kind. If we wished at any time to traffick with them, they came to the sea shore and stood upon the rocks, from which they lowered down by a cord to our boats beneath whatever they had to barter, continually crying out to us, not to come nearer, and instantly demanding from us that which was to be given in exchange; they took from us only knives, fish hooks, and sharpened steel. No regard was paid to our courtesies; when we had nothing left to exchange with them, the men at our departure made the most brutal signs of disdain and contempt possible.

Against their will we penetrated two or three leagues into the interior with twenty-five men; when we came to the shore, they shot at us with their arrows, raising the most horrible cries and afterwards fleeing to the woods. In this region we found nothing extraordinary except vast forests and some metalliferous hills, as we infer from seeing that many of the people wore copper earrings. Departing from thence, we kept along the coast, steering northeast, and found the country more pleasant and open, free from woods, and distant in the interior we saw lofty mountains, but none which extended to the shore. Within fifty leagues we discovered thirty-two islands, all near the main land, small and of pleasant appearance, but high and so disposed as to afford excellent harbours and channels, as we see in the Adriatic gulf, near Illyria and Dalmatia. We had no intercourse with the people, but we judge that they were similar in nature and usages to those we were last among. After sailing between east and north the distance of one hundred and fifty leagues more, and finding our provisions and naval stores nearly exhausted, we took in wood and water and determined to return to France, having discovered 502, that is 700 (sic) leagues of unknown lands.

As to the religious faith of all these tribes, not understanding their language, we could not discover either by sign or gestures anything certain. It seemed to us that they had no religion nor laws, nor any knowledge of a First Cause or Mover, that they worshipped neither the heavens, stars, sun, moon, nor other planets; nor could we learn if they were given to any kind of idolatry, or offered any sacrifices or supplications, or if they have temples or houses of prayer in their villages: our conclusion was that they have no religious belief whatever, but live in this respect entirely free. All which proceeds from ignorance, as they are very easy to be persuaded, and imitated us with earnestness and fervour in all which they saw us do as Christians in our acts of worship.

My intention in this voyage was to reach Cathay, on the extreme coast of Asia, expecting, however, to find in the newly discovered land some such an obstacle, as they have proved to be, yet I did not doubt that I should penetrate by some passage to the eastern ocean. It was the opinion of the ancients, that our oriental Indian Ocean is one, and without any interposing land; Aristotle supports it by arguments founded on various probabilities; but it is contrary to that of the moderns and shown to be erroneous by experience; the country which has been discovered, and which was unknown to the ancients, is another world compared with that before known, being manifestly larger than our Europe, together with Africa and perhaps Asia, if we rightly estimate its extent. If the breadth of this newly discovered country corresponds to its extent of sea coast, it doubtless exceeds Asia in size. In this way we find that the land forms a much larger portion of our globe than the ancients supposed, who maintained, contrary to mathematical reasoning, that it was

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less than the water, whereas actual experience proves the reverse, so that we judge in respect to extent of surface the land covers as much space as the water; and I hope more clearly and more satisfactorily to point out and explain to your majesty the great extent of that new land, or new world, of which I have been speaking. The continent of Asia and Africa, we know for certain, is joined to Europe to the north in Norway and Russia, which disproves the idea of the ancients that all this part had been navigated from the Cimbric Chersonesus, eastward as far as the Caspian Sea. They also maintained that the whole continent was surrounded by two seas situated to the east and west of it, which seas in fact do not surround either of the two continents, for as we have seen above, the land of the southern hemisphere at the latitude of 54 extends eastwardly an unknown distance, and that of the northern passing the 66th parallel turns to the east, and has no termination as high as the 70th. In a short time, I hope, we shall have more certain knowledge of these things, by the aid of your majesty, whom I pray Almighty God to prosper in lasting glory, that we may see the most important results of this our cosmography in the fulfilment of the holy words of the Gospel.

On board the ship *Dolphin*,[1] in the port of Dieppe in Normandy, the 8th of July, 1524.

Your humble servitor,

GIOVANNI DA VERRAZANO.*j*

JACQUES CARTIER (1534–1536 A.D.)

The account of Verrazano's voyage is taken from his letter to the French king sent from Dieppe July 8th, 1524. The original is lost, but two Italian translations exist and there are allusions to it of early date. In 1864, an American, Buckingham Smith,*k* cast doubts on the credibility of the letter. H. C. Murphy,*l* in 1875 took up the subject again, and denied Verrazano's voyage in toto. The brilliance of his argument made a sensation and led Bancroft*i* in his revision of his history to omit the pages concerning Verrazano which he had originally written. Murphy's onslaught, however, evoked a host of defenders, and the great majority of historians now give full credence and honour to Verrazano.*a*

In July, Verrazano was once more in France [arriving at Dieppe July 8th]. His own narrative of the voyage is the earliest original account, now extant, of the coast of the United States. He advanced the knowledge of the country; and he gave to France some claim to an extensive territory, on the pretext of discovery. The historians of maritime adventure agree that Verrazano again embarked upon an expedition, from which, it is usually added, he never returned. Did he sail once more under the auspices of France? When the monarch had just lost "everything but honour" in the disastrous battle of Pavia, is it probable that the impoverished government could have sent forth another expedition? Did he relinquish the service of France for that of England? It is hardly a safe conjecture, as advanced by Biddle,*m* that he was murdered in an encounter with savages, while on a voyage of discovery, which Henry VIII had favoured. Hakluyt*h* asserts that Verrazano was thrice on the coast of America, and that he gave a map of it to the English monarch. It is the common tradition that he perished at sea, having been engaged in an expedition of which no tidings were ever heard. Such a report might

[1 The name of this famous ship is usually translated Dolphin from the French *Dauphine* or the Italian *Delfina*, but it more probably was chosen in honour of the Dauphin of France.]

easily be spread respecting a great navigator who had disappeared from the public view. Yet such certainty cannot be established.

But the misfortunes of the French monarchy did not affect the industry of its fishermen; who, amidst the miseries of France, still resorted to Newfoundland. There exists a letter of August 3rd, 1527, to Henry VIII, from the haven of St. John, in Newfoundland, written by an English captain, in which he declares he found in that one harbour eleven sail of Normans and one Breton, engaged in the fishery. The French king, engrossed by the passionate and unsuccessful rivalry with Charles V, could hardly respect so humble an interest. But Chabot, admiral of France, a man of bravery and influence, acquainted by his office with the fishermen, on whose vessels he levied some small exactions for his private emolument, interested Francis in the design of exploring and colonising the New World.

Jacques Cartier, a mariner of St. Malo, was selected to lead the expedition. His several voyages are of great moment; for they had a permanent effect in guiding the attention of France to the region of the St. Lawrence. It was April 20th, that the mariner, with two ships, left the harbour of St. Malo; and prosperous weather brought him May 10th upon the coasts of Newfoundland. Having almost circumnavigated the island, he turned to the south, and crossing the gulf, entered the bay, which he called Des Chaleurs, from the intense heats of midsummer. Finding no passage to the west, he sailed along the coast, as far as the smaller inlet of Gaspe. There, July 12th, upon a point of land, at the entrance of the haven, a lofty cross was raised, bearing a shield, with the lilies of France and an appropriate inscription. Henceforth the soil was to be esteemed a part of the dominions of the French king. Leaving the bay of Gaspe, Cartier discovered the great river of Canada, and sailed up its channel, till he could discern land on either side. As he was unprepared to remain during the winter, it then became necessary to return; the little fleet embarked August 9th, for Europe, and in less than thirty days, entered the harbour of St. Malo in security. His native city and France were filled with the tidings of his discoveries. The voyage had been easy and successful. Up to the day of steamships, the passage to and fro was not often made more rapidly or more safely.

The court listened to the urgency of the friends of Cartier; a new commission was issued; three well-furnished ships were provided by the king; and some of the young nobility of France volunteered to join the new expedition. The squadron sailed May 19th, 1535, for the New World, full of hopes of discoveries and plans of colonisation in the territory which now began to be known as New France.

It was after a stormy voyage that they arrived within sight of Newfoundland. Passing to the west of that island on the day of St. Lawrence, August 10th, 1535, they gave the name of that martyr to a portion of the noble gulf which opened before them; a name which has gradually extended to the whole gulf, and to the river. Sailing to the north of Anticosti, they ascended the stream in September, as far as a pleasant harbour in the isle, since called Orleans. The natives, Indians of Algonquin descent, received them with unsuspecting hospitality. Leaving his ships safely moored, Cartier, in a boat, sailed up the majestic stream to the chief Indian settlement on the island of Hochelaga. The language of its inhabitants proves them to have been of the Huron family of tribes. The town lay at the foot of a hill, which he climbed. As he reached the summit, he was moved to admiration by the prospect before him of woods, and waters, and mountains.

Imagination presented it as the future emporium of inland commerce,

and the metropolis of a prosperous province; filled with bright anticipations, he called the hill Mont-Real, and time, that has transferred the name to the island, is realising his visions. Cartier also gathered of the Indians some indistinct account of the countries now contained in the north of Vermont and New York. Rejoining his ships, the winter, rendered frightful by the ravages of the scurvy, was passed where they were anchored. At the approach of spring, a cross was solemnly erected upon land, and on it a shield was suspended, which bore the arms of France, and an inscription, declaring Francis to be the rightful king of these new-found regions. Having thus claimed possession of the territory, the Breton mariner returned to Europe, and July 6th, 1536, once more entered St. Malo in security.

THE SPANISH EXPLORERS

Extraordinary success had kindled in the Spanish nation an equally extraordinary enthusiasm. No sooner had the New World revealed itself to their enterprise than the valiant men, who had won laurels under Ferdinand among the mountains of Andalusia sought a new career of glory in more remote adventures. The weapons that had been tried in the battles with the Moors, and the military skill that had been acquired in the romantic conquest of Granada, were now turned against the feeble occupants of America. The passions of avarice and religious zeal were strangely blended; and the heroes of Spain sailed to the west, as if they had been bound on a new crusade, where infinite wealth was to reward their piety. The Spanish nation had become infatuated with a fondness for novelties; the "chivalry of the ocean" despised the range of Europe as too narrow, and offering to their extravagant ambition nothing beyond mediocrity. America was the region of romance, where the heated imagination could indulge in the boldest delusions; where the simple natives ignorantly wore the most precious ornaments; and, by the side of the clear runs of water, the sands sparkled with gold.

What way soever, says the historian of the ocean, the Spaniards are called, with a beck only, or a whispering voice, to anything rising above water, they speedily prepare themselves to fly, and forsake certainties under the hope of more brilliant success. To carve out provinces with the sword; to divide the spoils of empires; to plunder the accumulated treasures of some ancient Indian dynasty; to return from a roving expedition with a crowd of enslaved captives and a profusion of spoils — soon became the ordinary dreams in which the excited minds of the Spaniards delighted to indulge. Ease, fortune, life, all were squandered in the pursuit of a game, where, if the issue was uncertain, success was sometimes obtained, greater than the boldest imagination had dared to anticipate. Is it strange that these adventurers were often superstitious? The New World and its wealth were in themselves so wonderful, that why should credit be withheld from the wildest fictions? Why should not the hope be indulged, that the laws of nature themselves would yield to the desires of men so fortunate and so brave?[1]

THE DISPUTED VOYAGE OF VESPUCCI, AND THE NAME "AMERICA"

Few of the early names in American history have failed to be the subject of critical dispute. None have been the victims of more bitter controversy than Vespucci, the Florentine, whose first name has been latinised and femi-

[1 His later activities as a colonist will be discussed in another chapter.]

nised into the title of the entire New World. There exists a letter credited to Vespucci which says: "We sailed from the port of Cadiz, May 10, 1497." After spending a few days at the Canaries, the four ships proceeded and "arrived at the end of twenty-seven days upon a shore which we believed to be that of a continent."

If this letter is to be believed, Vespucci reached the continent a week or more before John Cabot, for whom June 24th, 1497, is the earliest date claimed; and fourteen months before the date when Columbus sighted the mainland in August 1498. Therefore there would be at least partial justice in giving the name America to the mainland. But this letter is in conflict with so much negative evidence that the 1497 voyage of Vespucci is not seriously accepted by the majority of historians, though, of course, it cannot be entirely disproved to have happened in a crowded time when, as Columbus said, "the very tailors" wanted to be discoverers. The letter however was not written till 1504, if then, and it distinctly states that Vespucci went under royal commission. Of this there is absolutely no confirmation, which is suspicious; there is indeed some proof that he could not have been out of Spain in the period indicated.

While Vespucci's voyage in 1497 is denied by almost all reputable historians with the exception of a few stalwart defenders like Varnhagen [n] and John Fiske,[b] there is little doubt that he made what he calls his "second" voyage, in 1499. Of this there is proof, for he is mentioned by Alonzo de Ojeda who was with Columbus in 1492 and who in 1499, made an independent voyage with four ships by royal commission and reached the Orinoco. In 1512 Columbus' son Diego, as heir to his father's rights, brought suit against the king of Spain for royalties from certain provinces. The king tried to prove that Columbus did not discover the provinces in question. Ojeda, called as a witness, mentioned his voyage in 1499 and stated that he took with him "Juan de la Cosa and Morigo Vespuche and other pilots." But he did not say that Vespucci had two years earlier discovered the mainland, though he did admit that his own voyage in 1499 was made possible by a surreptitious use of the maps and journals made by Columbus in 1498. Nor did Vespucci's nephew, who was at the trial, advance any family claims for priority.

The claim thus being further discredited, the question of Vespucci's intention to deceive is a new problem. The letters credited to him claim four voyages, two for the king of Spain, two for the king of Portugal. These letters appear as an appendix to the *Cosmographiæ introductio* published in the small town of St. Dié in 1507. In the text the author says, "The fourth part of the world having been discovered by Americus, it may be called Amerige; *i.e.*, Americus' land or America," He later reiterates the suggestion and explains the form America by saying that "both Europe and Asia have chosen their names from the feminine form." The author of this book, Martin Waldzeemuller,[o] otherwise known as Hylacomylus, thus deliberately invented the word America in 1509. In 1522 it was placed on a map in an edition of Ptolemy's *Geographia*.

From that time its convenience and gracefulness have given it permanence. The problem of Vespucci's assistance in foisting his name on the New World is also in dispute. If he wrote the letters in which he claims to have made four voyages of which the one he calls "the first" required seventeen months, while the one he calls "the second" was made in 1499; it seems hard to relieve him of a charge of intentional fraud. He deserves, however, the honour of planting the first colony of Europeans in South America, in 1503. In 1508

he was made pilot-major to King Ferdinand and he died February 22nd, 1512, apparently in high honour. The contrast with Columbus is complete. Columbus spent years and years of land-travel and toil preparing the means to invade the unknown sea, found a world there, suffered, after a brief glory, ignominy, imprisonment, and neglect, and was buried with the chains he had worn.

The year after his death, a suggestion was obscurely made that a certain minor navigator, Amerigo Vespucci, should be chosen as the sponsor for the New World. In proof of his right to the naming of a quarter of the globe, certain letters of his own were cited to the effect that he saw a coast which he thought to be a continent; this was five years after Columbus had made his first voyage. At best the letter utterly lacks substantiation, but evidence which would in a law court hardly establish a claim to an acre of ground has sufficed to fasten the name of a subordinate pilot upon a hemisphere.[a]

OTHER SPANISH EXPLORERS (1499–1511 A.D.)

A voyage of discovery was undertaken in 1499 by Alonso Niño, who had served under the admiral in his last voyage. Having fitted out a single ship, in conjunction with Christobal Guerra, a merchant of Seville, they both sailed to the coast of Paria. Though their discoveries were unimportant, yet they carried home such a quantity of gold and pearls, as inflamed their countrymen with desire of engaging in similar enterprises.

Vincent Yañez Pinzon, having, in connection with Ariez Pinzon, built four caravels, sailed in December of the preceding year from Palos for America. Leaving the Cape Verd Islands on the 13th of January, he stood boldly toward the south, and was the first Spaniard who ventured to cross the equinoctial line. In February, he discovered a cape, in 8° north latitude, and called it Cabo de Consolacion; but it has since been called Cape Augustine. Here his men landed, who cut the names of the ships, and the date of the year and day upon the trees and rocks, and took possession of the country for the crown of Castile. They saw no natives, but they perceived footsteps upon the shore. During the following night they saw many fires. In the morning, they sent forty armed men to treat with the natives, thirty-two of whom, armed with bows and arrows, advanced to meet them, followed by others, armed in the same manner. The Spaniards endeavoured to allure them by gifts, but in vain; for, in the dead of night, they fled from the places which they had occupied. Sailing northwestward, they discovered the river of the Amazons. At the mouth of this great river, they found many islands, the inhabitants of which received them hospitably and unsuspiciously; but Pinzon, with barbarian cruelty, seized about thirty of them, and carried them away to sell for slaves. At the mouth of one of the rivers, Pinzon and his squadron were endangered; but, escaping thence, crossing the line, and continuing his course till he came to Orinoco and Trinidad, he then made for the islands, sailed homewards, and, losing two of his three ships by the way, returned to Spain.

THE PORTUGUESE CABRAL DISCOVERS BRAZIL (1500 A.D.)

Before Pinzon reached Europe, the coast which he had discovered, had been taken possession of by the nation to whom it was allotted. The fertile district of country, "on the confines of which Pinzon stopped short," was very soon more fully discovered. Pedro Alvarez Cabral, sent by Emanuel, king of

Portugal, with thirteen ships, on a voyage from Lisbon to the East Indies, in order to avoid the calms on the Guinea shore, fetched a compass so far westward, as, by accident, to discover land in the 10th degree south of the equinoctial line. Proceeding along the coast several days, he was led from its extent to believe, that it must be a part of some great continent; and, on account of a cross which he erected there with much ceremony, he called it the Land of the Holy Cross; but it was afterward called Brazil. Having taken possession of it for the crown of Portugal, he despatched a ship to Lisbon with an account of this important discovery, and pursued his voyage.

The Portuguese king, on receiving the intelligence, sent ships to discover the whole country, and found it to be the land of America. A controversy hence arose between him and the king of Spain; but they being kinsmen and near friends, it was ultimately agreed that the king of Portugal should hold all the country that he had discovered, which was from the river of Marañon, or Amazons, to the river of Plate.

Portugal, at that time still in her glory, disregarding the donation made by the pope, and the compromise for half the world, to which he had reluctantly agreed, viewed all the discoveries made by Spain in the New World as so many encroachments on her own rights and property. Under the influence of this national jealousy, Gaspar de Cortereal, a Portuguese, of respectable family, inspired with the resolution of discovering new countries, and a new route to India, sailed from Lisbon, as we have already seen, and discovered the land which he judged to be fit for cultivation, and named Terra de Lavradores.

The king of Portugal, on receiving intelligence of Cabral's discovery, fitted out three ships to explore the country, and gave the command to Amerigo Vespucci, whom he invited for that purpose from Seville. They sailed in May, 1501, and, after a very tempestuous voyage of three months, made land in 5° south latitude. Having coasted on northward till they advanced as far as 32°, they left the coast, and struck out to sea. Standing to the southward till they reached 52°, they found it expedient to return, and they reached Lisbon after a voyage of sixteen months.

FURTHER SPANISH DISCOVERIES

Rodigero de Bastidas, in partnership with John de la Cosa, fitted out two ships from Cadiz. Sailing toward the western continent, he arrived on the coast of Paria; and, proceeding to the west, discovered all the coast of the province since known by the name of Terra Firma, from Cape de Vela to the gulf of Darien. Ojeda, with his former associate Amerigo Vespucci, went on a second voyage. Unacquainted with the destination of Bastidas, he held the same course, touched at the same places, and proceeded to Hispaniola.

In 1508, Juan Diaz de Solis and Vincent Yañez Pinzon sailed from Seville, with two caravels, to the coast of Brazil, and went to the 35th degree, south latitude, where they found the great river Paranaguazu, afterward called Rio de Plata, or River of Silver. Proceeding to the 40th degree, they erected crosses wherever they landed, took formal possession, and returned to Spain. In this voyage they discovered an extensive province, known afterward by the name of Yucatan. This same year Sebastian de Ocampo, by command of Ovando, sailed around Cuba, and first discovered with certainty that this country, which Columbus once supposed to be a part of the continent, is a large island.

In 1509, Don Diego, son of Christopher Columbus, having for two years

[1511 A.D.]

after the death of his father made incessant but fruitless application to King Ferdinand for the offices and rights to which he was legally entitled, at last commenced a suit against the king before the council of the Indies, and obtained a decree in confirmation of his claim of the viceroyalty, with all the privileges stipulated in the capitulation with his father. Succeeding Ovando in the government of Hispaniola, he now repaired to that island, accompanied by his wife, his brother, and uncles, and a numerous retinue of both sexes, of good parentage; and the colony acquired new lustre by the accession of so many respectable inhabitants. Agreeably to instructions from the king, he settled a colony in Cubagua, where large fortunes were soon acquired by the fishery of pearls. He also sent to Jamaica John de Esquibal with seventy men, who began a settlement on that island.

Alonso de Ojeda, having sailed from Hispaniola with a ship and two brigantines, carrying three hundred soldiers, to settle the continent, landed at Carthagena; but was beaten off by the natives. While he began a settlement at St. Sebastian, on the east side of the gulf of Darien, Diego Nicuesa with six vessels and 780 men began another at Nombre de Dios, on the west side. Both, however, were soon broken up by the natives. The early historians say that the natives of these countries were fierce and warlike; that their arrows were dipped in a poison so noxious that every wound was followed with certain death; that in one encounter they slew seventy of Ojeda's followers; and that the Spaniards, for the first time, were taught to dread the inhabitants of the New World. This was the first attempt to take possession of Terra Firma; and it was by virtue of the pope's grant, made in a form prescribed by some of the most eminent divines and lawyers in Spain.

The greater part of those who had engaged with Ojeda and Nicuesa in the expedition for settling the continent having perished in less than a year, a few who survived now settled, as a feeble colony, at Santa Maria on the gulf of Darien, under the command of Vasco Nuñez de Balboa.

In 1511, Don Diego Columbus, proposing to conquer the island of Cuba, and to establish a colony there, many persons of distinction in Hispaniola engaged in the enterprise. Three hundred men, destined for the service, were put under the command of Diego Velazquez, who had accompanied Christopher Columbus in his second voyage. With this inconsiderable number of troops, Velazquez conquered the island, without the loss of a man, and annexed it to the Spanish monarchy. The conqueror was now appointed governor and captain-general of the island.[p]

PONCE DE LEON IN FLORIDA (1513 A.D.)

Juan Ponce de Leon was the discoverer of Florida. His youth had been passed in military service in Spain, and during the wars in Granada he had shared in the wild exploits of predatory valour. No sooner had the return of the first voyage across the Altantic given an assurance of a New World, than he hastened to participate in the dangers and the spoils of adventure in America. He was a fellow voyager of Columbus in his second expedition. In the wars of Hispaniola he had been a gallant soldier; and Ovando had rewarded him with the government of the eastern province of that island. From the hills in his jurisdiction he could behold, across the clear waters of a placid sea, the magnificent vegetation of Porto Rico, which distance rendered still more admirable as it was seen through the transparent atmosphere of the tropics. A visit to the island stimulated the cupidity of avarice; and Ponce aspired to the government. He obtained the station in 1509: inured to

sanguinary war, he was inexorably severe in his administration: he oppressed the natives; he amassed wealth. But his commission as governor of Porto Rico conflicted with the claims of the family of Columbus; and policy, as well as justice, required his removal. Ponce was displaced.

Yet, in the midst of an archipelago, and in the vicinity of a continent, what need was there for a brave soldier to pine at the loss of power over a wild though fertile island? Age had not tempered the love of enterprise: he longed to advance his fortunes by the conquest of a kingdom, and to retrieve a reputation which was not without a blemish.[1] Besides, the veteran soldier, whose cheeks had been furrowed by hard service as well as by years, had heard, and had believed the tale, of a fountain which possessed virtues to renovate the life of those who should bathe in its stream, or give a perpetuity of youth to the happy man who should drink of its ever-flowing waters. So universal was this tradition that it was credited in Spain, not by the people and the court only, but also by those who were distinguished for virtue and intelligence. Nature was to discover the secrets for which alchemy had toiled in vain; and the elixir of life was to flow from a perpetual fountain of the New World, in the midst of a country glittering with gems and gold.

Ponce embarked at Porto Rico, March 3rd, 1513, with a squadron of three ships, fitted out at his own expense, for his voyage to fairyland. He touched at Guanahani; he sailed among the Bahamas; but the laws of nature remained inexorable. On Easter Sunday, March 27th, which the Spaniards call Pascua Florida, land was seen. It was supposed to be an island, and received the name of Florida, from the day on which it was discovered and from the aspect of the forests, which were then brilliant with a profusion of blossoms and gay with the fresh verdure of early spring. Bad weather would not allow the squadron to approach land (April 2nd): at length the aged soldier was able to go on shore, in the latitude of thirty degrees and eight minutes; some miles, therefore, to the north of St. Augustine. The territory was claimed (April 8th) for Spain. Ponce remained for many weeks to investigate the coast which he had discovered; though the currents of the Gulf Stream, and the islands, between which the channel was yet unknown, threatened shipwreck. He doubled Cape Florida; he sailed among the group which he named Tortugas; and, despairing of entire success, he returned to Porto Rico, leaving a trusty follower to continue the research. The Indians had everywhere displayed determined hostility. Ponce de Leon remained an old man; but Spanish commerce acquired a new channel through the gulf of Florida, and Spain a new province, which imagination could esteem immeasurably rich, since its interior was unknown.

The government of Florida was the reward which Ponce received from the king of Spain; but the dignity was accompanied with the onerous condition that he should colonise the country which he was appointed to rule. Preparations in Spain, and an expedition against the Caribbee Indians, delayed his return to Florida. When, after a long interval, he proceeded in 1521 with two ships to take possession of his province and select a site for a colony, his company was attacked by the Indians with implacable fury. Many Spaniards were killed; the survivors were forced to hurry to their ships; Ponce de Leon himself, mortally wounded by an arrow, returned to Cuba to die. So ended the

[1 The Peter Martyr map of 1511 had already shown in the relative place of Florida an island called Bimini. Here the fountain of youth was generally supposed to exist, and its discovery was the ambition of various explorers, but only incidentally. The fountain of youth has no place in the official documents of that time, and Balboa like others was mainly seeking gold and power.]

[1509–1516 A.D.]

adventurer who had coveted immeasurable wealth and had hoped for perpetual youth. The discoverer of Florida had desired immortality on earth, and gained its shadow.

LATER EXPLORERS OF THE COAST

Meantime, commerce may have discovered a path to Florida; and Diego Miruelo, a careless sea-captain, sailing from Havana in 1516, is said to have approached the coast, and trafficked with the natives. He could not tell distinctly in what harbour he had anchored[1]; he brought home specimens of gold, obtained in exchange for toys; and his report swelled the rumours, already credited, of the wealth of the country. Florida had at once obtained a governor; it now constituted a part of a bishopric.[i]

BALBOA DISCOVERER OF THE PACIFIC (1513 A.D.)

Attempts were made, at this period, to conquer and settle on the coast of Carthagena and Darien. In 1509, John de Esquibel had been sent by Diego Columbus from Santo Domingo to form the first settlement in Jamaica, to which Alonzo de Ojeda laid a claim, and threatened to hang Esquibel.

During the following year, Ojeda and John de la Cosa, who had received a licence to capture and take possession of Veragua, Carthagena, and other western countries, sailed from Santo Domingo, landed on the continent, and had several conflicts with the natives, who were a bolder and more advanced race than the aborigines of Hayti. In one attack seventy Spaniards were killed, and the remainder wounded with poisoned arrows. Ojeda and Cosas were saved by the arrival of another adventurer, Nicuesa, with four ships. The latter attacked the natives, burned their town, in which they found a large store of gold, and taking a number of prisoners sent them as slaves to work in the mines of Hayti. Among the commanders of these vessels was Francis Pizarro, whom Ojeda left at St. Sebastian, the place where he fixed upon for a settlement. The latter entered into an agreement with an outlaw, or pirate, to take him in his vessel to Santo Domingo. The pirate's vessel was wrecked on the coast of Cuba, from whence they escaped to Jamaica in a canoe. The pirate was there apprehended and hanged. Pizarro was obliged to leave St. Sebastian, and escaped with a few men to Carthagena — where Enciso, with two ships, arrived from Santo Domingo. Pizarro and Enciso then proceeded to St. Sebastian, where they were shipwrecked, and, on landing, found the place entirely destroyed by the natives. They saved, from the wrecks, provisions, arms, and various articles, and proceeded to re-establish themselves at St. Sebastian, but they were reduced to great extremities by the attacks of the natives, and by the scanty supply of food.

One of the most remarkable men among the explorers of America accompanied this expedition. This person was Vasquez [or Vasco] Nuñez de Balboa, [a bankrupt farmer], who had formerly sailed with Bastidas on his voyage of discovery. He had obtained a settlement at Hayti; but having been accused of some excesses, for which he was to have been executed, he escaped by being concealed on board Enciso's ship in a bread cask. He ventured after a day to make his appearance. Enciso was enraged, as he had been warned not to take any one but those on his muster-roll, from Hayti; but the principal persons on board interceded for Nuñez, and he was consequently

[1 It was probably Pensacola Bay.]

protected. He was afterwards almost the only person at St. Sebastian who had not absolutely given himself up to despair. Enciso was rallied and encouraged by Nuñez, by whose energy the stranded vessels were at last got afloat, and they sailed, according to the advice of Nuñez, to where he had seen a town, when he had made the voyage with Bastidas. They, accordingly, steered for the river Darien, and found the place and country such as both were described by Nuñez. They marched against the cacique and his people, attacked and put them to flight — found in the town, which was immediately deserted, abundance of provisions, also cotton, spun and unspun, household goods of various kinds, and more than the value of $10,000 in gold plates. The success of this adventure being justly attributed to Nuñez, his reputation became great. He deprived Enciso, who bore him no good will from the first, of all authority; gained, by his boldness, the confidence of the Spaniards, and founded the settlement of Santa Maria. Nuñez established his authority and retained his power in Darien, and the country then called Castell d'Oro, by gaining over, or defeating, the chiefs of the country, by buying, with the gold he sent to Santo Domingo, the authorities there over to his interest, and by his superior fertility of resources under the most difficult circumstances.

In the middle of September, 1513, having been informed of rich and vast regions to the southwest, stretching along a great ocean which was not far distant, he departed from Santa Maria, accompanied by the afterwards celebrated Francis Pizarro,[1] on an expedition in which, after some desperate conflicts with the natives, he advanced so far, on the 25th of September, as to behold, lying broad in view, the great Pacific Ocean [which he named the South Sea, or *Mar del Sur* — it was Magellan who gave it its name of Pacific Ocean].

Nuñez possessed the manner and ability of making himself beloved by his companions and followers. He was kind to the sick and the wounded, and shared the same fatigues and the same food as the humblest soldier. Before reaching the shores of the Pacific, he was opposed by Chiapes, the cacique of the country; who, however, was soon routed, and several of the natives killed by fire-arms, or torn by blood-hounds, those powerful auxiliaries of the Spanish conquerors in America. Nuñez then made peace with them — exchanging trinkets of little cost for gold to the value of four thousand pieces. Pizarro was then sent in advance to view the coast, and two others proceeded, on different routes, to find the nearest way from the heights to the sea. Nuñez followed as soon as he could bring up the sick and wounded. On reaching the shore, he walked, with his armour on, into the sea, until the water reached his middle, and then performed solemnly the ceremony of taking possession, in the name of the crown of Castile, of the ocean which he had discovered.

Before attempting further discoveries, he considered it prudent to return from the Pacific, and arrived at Santa Maria about the end of January, 1513, with the gold and pearls he had collected, and which he distributed fairly among the soldiers, deducting one fifth for the king. He immediately sent the king's share of gold and pearls and all his own to Spain by an agent. On arriving at Seville, this agent applied first to the bishop of Burgos, who was delighted at the sight of the gold and pearls. The bishop sent him to the king, and used all his influence with Ferdinand, who entertained a strong aversion to Nuñez de Balboa.

The bishop of Burgos had, previous to the arrival of the agent with treasures from Nuñez, counselled the king to supersede him by one of the worst characters in Spain. Instead of confirming Nuñez de Balboa in the govern-

[1 Pizarro's conquest of Peru will be found treated in our history of that country.]

[1514–1517 A.D.]

ment of the countries he discovered and annexed to the crown of Castile, Ferdinand appointed Pedro Arias d'Avila, or, as the Spanish writers, by contracting the first name, call him, Pedrarias, governor of Castell d'Oro. Haughty and ignorant, he was a master of the arts of oppression, violence, and fraud. He left Spain in April, 1514, with a fleet of fifteen ships, two thousand troops, a bishop, John de Quevedo, and numerous greedy and rapacious followers of noble birth; among others, Enciso, the enemy of Nuñez. On their arrival at Santa Maria, they were received by Nuñez with great respect. They found the latter inhabiting a small house, in simple attire, living on the most frugal diet, and drinking no other liquid than water; while he had, at the same time, a strong fort with four hundred and fifty brave soldiers faithfully attached to him. That he was ambitious, and did severe things to obtain that power which he was never known to abuse, is admitted. His accounts and statements were clear, and he had annexed the country, between the Atlantic and the sea which he had discovered, to the crown of Spain. Pedrarias imprisoned this great man, and sent strong representations against him to Spain.

There were, however, some honest men among those brought over by Pedrarias, who sent a true account of Nuñez to the king; and the latter formally expressed his approbation of the conduct of the late governor, and appointed him lord-lieutenant of the countries of the South Seas, directing also that Pedrarias should act by the advice of his predecessor.

On the king's letters arriving from Spain, they were suppressed by Pedrarias, who, in the meantime, by his perfidy and cruel exactions, brought the whole native population into hostility and revolt against the Spaniards. The bishop Quevedo then interfered, Nuñez was liberated, and, by his skill and demeanour, established tranquillity, and proceeded to the South Sea to build a town, which he in a short time accomplished, and was then recalled by Pedrarias. To the astonishment and horror of all the Spaniards, Nuñez was charged with treason[1] by Pedrarias, and publicly beheaded, on the charge that he had invaded the domains of the crown, merely by cutting down, without the governor's licence, the trees used in erecting the town which he built.

His execution was declared a murder by the royal audienza of Santo Domingo; yet Pedrarias, whom the bishop of Chiapa described as the most wicked monster who was ever sent to America, continued for many years, by the king's will, to exercise his cruelty and injustice. Thus perished Nuñez de Balboa, in 1517, at the age of forty-four years, for having served his king with more fidelity than any of the Spanish conquerors; of whom, if we may except Cortes, he was the ablest; and whose character stands far higher than any of those who added new territories to the dominions of Spain.

Pedrarias removed to Panama, where he erected a palace. In his hostilities and cruelties to the caciques and the native tribes, he caused great destruction of life; and so ill-judged and planned were his enterprises that, in subduing one cacique, Uracca of the mountains, more Spanish lives were lost than during the whole conquest of Mexico by Cortes. The only important conquest made under Pedrarias was by Francis Hernandez of the territory of Nicaragua, to which the governor immediately repaired to take possession for himself. Jealous of Hernandez, as he was of Nuñez, he charged the former

[1 The charge of treason was not entirely false, as Balboa had planned to secede from the government and go on an independent voyage. He was also now re-accused of complicity in the murder of Nicuesa, who had been forced to go to sea in a rotten ship in 1511, and was never heard of again.]

with a design to revolt; which the latter, confident in his innocence, boldly denied. Pedrarias immediately ordered him to be executed: power was to be upheld by the immediate death, according to the maxim of this tyrant, of conquerors who were suspected. For this murder, equally barbarous as that of Nuñez, Pedrarias was not called to account.q

HERNANDEZ, GRIJALVA, GARAY, GOMEZ, AND NARVAEZ

Hernandez [or Fernandez] de Cordova had discovered the province of Yucatan and the bay of Campeachy, in 1517. At a place where he had landed for supplies of water, his company was suddenly assailed, and he himself mortally wounded. The pilot whom Fernandez had employed conducted another squadron to the same shores in 1518. The knowledge already acquired was extended, and under happier auspices; and Grijalva, the commander of the fleet, explored the coast from Yucatan towards Panuco. The masses of gold which he collected, the rumours of the empire of Montezuma, its magnificence and its extent, heedlessly confirmed by the costly presents of the unsuspecting natives, were sufficient to inflame the coldest imagination, and excited the enterprise of Cortes. The voyage did not reach the shores of Florida.[1]

But while Grijalva was opening the way to the conquest of Mexico, the line of the American coast, from the Tortugas to Panuco, is said to have been examined, yet not with care, by an expedition which was planned, if not conducted, by Francisco Garay, the governor of Jamaica. The general outline of the gulf of Mexico now became known.[2] Garay encountered the determined hostility of the natives; a danger which eventually proved less disastrous to him than the rivalry of his own countrymen. The adventurers in New Spain would endure no independent neighbour: the governor of Jamaica became involved in a career which, as it ultimately tempted him to dispute the possession of a province with Cortes, led him to the loss of fortune and an inglorious death. The progress of discovery along the southern boundary of the United States was but little advanced by the expedition, of which the circumstances have been variously related.

A voyage for slaves brought the Spaniards still farther upon the northern coast. A company of seven, of whom the most distinguished was Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon, fitted out two slave ships from Santo Domingo, in 1520, in quest of labourers for their plantations and mines. From the Bahama Islands they passed to the coast of South Carolina, a country which was called Chicora. The Combahee river received the name of the Jordan: the name of St. Helena, given to a cape, now belongs to the sound. The natives of this region had not yet had cause to fear Europeans; they were invited to visit the ships; they came in cheerful throngs; the decks were covered. Immediately the ships weighed anchor; the sails were unfurled, and the prows turned towards Santo Domingo. Husbands were torn from their wives, and children from their parents. The crime was unprofitable, and was finally avenged. One of the returning ships foundered at sea, and the guilty and guiltless perished; many of the captives in the other sickened and died.

The events that followed mark the character of the times. Vasquez, repairing to Spain, boasted of his expedition, as if it entitled him to reward, and the emperor, Charles V, acknowledged his claim. In those days the

[1 The account of Cortes in Mexico will be found in our history of that country.]

[2 Garay's lieutenant Alonzo Alvarez de Pineda was in command, and in 1519 discovered the mouth of a great river, which is by many believed to be the Mississippi. It was at first called the Espiritu Santo on Garay's map of his province.]

[1523–1526 A.D.]

Spanish monarch conferred a kind of appointment [a *cedula*] which, however strange its character may appear, still has its parallel in history. Not only were provinces granted — countries were distributed to be subdued; and Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon begged to be appointed to the conquest of Chicora. After long entreaty, he obtained his suit, June 12th, 1523.

The issue of the new and bolder enterprise was disastrous to the undertaker. He wasted his fortune in preparations; his largest ship was stranded in the river Jordan; many of his men were killed by the natives, whom wrongs had quickened to active resistance; he himself escaped only to suffer from wounded pride; and, conscious of having done nothing worthy of being remembered,[1] the sense of humiliation is said to have hastened his death, October 18th, 1526.

The love of adventure did not wholly extinguish the desire for maritime discovery. When Cortes was able to pause from his success in Mexico, and devise further schemes for ingratiating himself with the Spanish monarch, he proposed to solve the problem of a northwest passage — the secret which has so long baffled the enterprise of the most courageous and persevering navigators. He deemed the existence of the passage unquestionable, and, by simultaneous voyages along the American coast, on the Pacific, and on the Atlantic, he hoped to complete the discovery to which Sebastian Cabot had pointed the way.

The design of Cortes remained but the offer of loyalty. A voyage to the northwest was really undertaken in 1525 by Stephen Gomez, an experienced Portuguese naval officer, who had been with Magellan in the first memorable passage into the Pacific Ocean.[2] The expedition was decreed by the council for the Indies, in the hope of discovering the northern route to India, which, notwithstanding it had been sought for in vain, was yet universally believed to exist. His ship entered the bays of New York and New England; on old Spanish maps, that portion is marked as the land of Gomez. Failing to discover a passage, and fearful to return without success and without a freight, he filled his vessel with robust Indians, to be sold as slaves. Brilliant expectations had been raised; and the conclusion was esteemed despicably ludicrous. The Spaniards scorned to repeat their voyages to the cold and frozen north; in the south, and in the south only, they looked for, as Peter Martyr said, "great and exceeding riches." The adventure of Gomez had no political results. It had been furthered by the enemies of Sebastian Cabot, who was, at that time, in the service of Spain; and it established the reputation of the Bristol mariner.

But neither the fondness of the Spanish monarch for extensive domains, nor the desire of the nobility for new governments, nor the passion of adventurers for undiscovered wealth would permit the abandonment of the conquest of Florida. Permission to invade that territory was next sought for and obtained by Pamphilo de Narvaez, the same person who had been sent by the jealous governor of Cuba to take Cortes prisoner, and who, after having declared him an outlaw, was himself easily defeated.

The territory, placed at the mercy of Narvaez, extended to the river of Palms; farther, therefore, to the west, than the territory which was afterwards included in Louisiana. His expedition was as unsuccessful as his

[1] His settlement of San Miguel was attempted in the region where the English later established Jamestown.]

[2] In our history of Portugal we have already described the first circumnavigation of the globe in 1519–21 by the companions of Fernão de Magelhães or Magellan, whose exploit belongs to Spanish glory as it was made by commission from the Spanish king.]

attempt against Cortes, but it was memorable for its disasters. Of three hundred men, of whom eighty were mounted, but four or five returned. The valour of the natives, thirst, famine, and pestilence, the want of concert between the ships and the men set on shore, the errors of judgment in the commanders, rapidly melted away the unsuccessful company. It is not possible to ascertain, with exactness, the point where Narvaez first landed in Florida, April 15th, 1527; probably it was at a bay a little east of the meridian of Cape St. Antony, in Cuba; it may have been, therefore, not far from the bay now called Apalache. The party soon struck into the interior; they knew not where they were, nor whither they were going; and followed the directions of the natives. These, with a sagacity careful to save themselves from danger, described the distant territory as full of gold, and freed themselves from the presence of troublesome guests by exciting a hope that covetousness could elsewhere be amply gratified. The town of Apalache, which was thought to contain immense accumulations of wealth, proved to be an inconsiderable collection of wigwams. It was probably in the region of the bay of Pensacola that the remnant of the party, after a ramble of eight hundred miles, finally came again upon the sea, in a condition of extreme penury (September 22nd). Here they manufactured rude boats, in which none but desperate men would have embarked; and Narvaez and most of his companions, after having passed nearly six months in Florida, perished in a storm near the mouth of the Mississippi.[1] One ship's company was wrecked upon an island; most of those who were saved died of famine. The four who ultimately reached Mexico (1536) by land succeeded only after years of hardships. The simple narrative of their wanderings, their wretchedness, and their courageous enterprise could not but have been full of marvels; their rambles, extending across Louisiana and the northern part of Mexico to the shores of the Pacific Ocean in Sonora, were almost as wide as those of Lewis and Clark to the sources of the Missouri and the mouth of the Columbia river; the story which one of them, Cabeza de Vaca, published, and of which the truth was affirmed, on oath, before a magistrate, is disfigured by bold exaggerations and the wildest fictions. The knowledge of the bays and rivers of Florida, on the gulf of Mexico, was not essentially increased; the strange tales of miraculous cures, of natural prodigies, and of the resuscitation of the dead were harmless falsehoods; the wanderers, on their return, persevered in the far more fatal assertion that Florida was the richest country in the world. The assertion was readily believed, even by those to whom the wealth of Mexico and Peru was familiarly known.

SOTO'S MARCH TO THE MISSISSIPPI

To no one was credulity more disastrous than to Ferdinand de Soto, a native of Xeres, and now an ambitious courtier. He had himself gained fame and fortune by military service in the New World. He had been the favourite companion of Pizarro in the conquest of Peru, where he had distinguished himself for conduct and valour. Perceiving the angry divisions which were threatened by the jealousy of the Spaniards in Peru, Soto had seasonably withdrawn, with his share of the spoils, and now appeared in Spain to enjoy his reputation, to display his opulence, and to solicit advancement. His reception was triumphant; success of all kinds awaited him. The daughter

[1 Cabeza de Vaca", one of the survivors described this river as sweetening the brine of the gulf of Mexico so that they were able to drink of its waters. Cabeza is by some th credited with preceding De Soto in the discovery of the Mississippi.]

[1539 A.D.]

of the distinguished nobleman under whom he had first served as a poor adventurer became his wife; and the special favour of Charles V invited his ambition to prefer a large request. It had ever been believed that the depths of the continent at the north concealed cities as magnificent and temples as richly endowed as any which had yet been plundered within the limits of the tropics. Soto desired to rival Cortes in glory, and surpass Pizarro in wealth. Blinded by avarice and the love of power, he repaired to Valladolid, and demanded permission to conquer Florida at his own cost; and Charles V readily conceded to so renowned a commander the government of the isle of Cuba, with absolute power over the immense territory to which the name of Florida was still vaguely applied.

No sooner was the design of the new expedition published in Spain, than the wildest hopes were indulged. How brilliant must be the prospect, since even the conqueror of Peru was willing to hazard his fortune and the greatness of his name! Adventurers assembled as volunteers, many of them people of noble birth and good estates. Houses and vineyards, lands for tillage, and rows of olive trees in the Ajarrafe of Seville were sold, as in the times of the Crusades, to obtain the means of military equipments.

The fleet sailed as gaily as if it had been but a holiday excursion of a bridal party. In Cuba, the precaution was used to send vessels to Florida to explore a harbour; and two Indians, brought as captives to Havana, invented such falsehoods as they perceived would be acceptable. They conversed by signs; and the signs were interpreted as affirming that Florida abounded in gold. The news spread great contentment; Soto and his troops were restless with longing for the hour of their departure to the conquest of [what the gentleman of Elvas[8] called] "the richest country which had yet been discovered."

Soto had been welcomed in Cuba (May, 1539) by long and brilliant festivals and rejoicings. At length, all preparations were completed; leaving his wife to govern the island, he and his company, full of unbounded expectations, embarked for Florida, and in about a fortnight his fleet anchored in the bay of Espiritu Santo. The soldiers went on shore; the horses, between two and three hundred in number, were disembarked; and the men of the expedition stood upon the soil which they had so eagerly desired to tread. Soto would listen to no augury but that of success; and, like Cortes, he refused to retain his ships, lest they should afford a temptation to retreat. Most of them were sent to Havana.

And now began the nomadic march of the adventurers; a numerous body of horsemen, besides infantry, completely armed; a force exceeding in numbers and equipments the famous expeditions against the empires of Mexico and Peru. Everything was provided that experience in former invasions and the cruelty of avarice could suggest; chains for captives, and the instruments of a forge; arms of all kinds then in use, and bloodhounds as auxiliaries against the feeble natives; ample stores of food, and, as a last resort, a drove of hogs which would soon swarm in the favouring climate, where the forests and the Indian maize furnished abundant sustenance. It was a roving expedition of gallant freebooters in quest of fortune. It was a romantic stroll of men whom avarice rendered ferocious, through unexplored regions, over unknown paths; wherever rumour might point to the residence of some chieftain with more than Peruvian wealth, or the ill-interpreted signs of the ignorant natives might seem to promise a harvest of gold. Religious zeal was also united with avarice: there were not only cavalry and foot-soldiers, with all that belongs to warlike array; twelve priests, besides other ecclesiastics, accompanied the expedition. Florida was to become Catholic during scenes of robbery and

carnage. Every festival was to be kept; every religious practice to be observed. As the troops marched through the wilderness, the solemn processions, which the usages of the church enjoined, were scrupulously instituted.

The wanderings of the first season brought the company from the bay of Espiritu Santo to the country of the Appalachians, east of the Flint river, and not far from the head of the bay of Appalachee. The names of the intermediate places cannot be identified. The march was tedious and full of dangers. The Indians were always hostile; the two captives of the former expedition escaped; a Spaniard, who had been kept in slavery from the time of Narvaez, could give no accounts of any country where there was silver or gold. The guides would purposely lead the Castilians astray, and involve them in morasses; even though death, under the fangs of the bloodhounds, was the certain punishment. The whole company grew dispirited, and desired the governor to return, since the country opened no brilliant prospects. "I will not turn back," said Soto, "till I have seen the poverty of the country with my own eyes." An exploring party discovered Ochus, the harbour of Pensacola; and a message was sent to Cuba, desiring that in the ensuing year supplies for the expedition might be sent to that place.

Early in the spring of the following year, 1540, the wanderers renewed their march, with an Indian guide, who promised to lead the way to a country, governed, it was said, by a woman, and where gold so abounded that the art of melting and refining it was understood. He described the process so well, that the credulous Spaniards took heart, and exclaimed, "He must have seen it, or the devil has been his teacher!" The Indian appears to have pointed towards the Gold Region of North Carolina. The adventurers, therefore, eagerly hastened to the northeast; they passed the Alatamaha; they admired the fertile valleys of Georgia, rich, productive, and full of good rivers. They passed a northern tributary of the Alatamaha, and a southern branch of the Ogechee; and, at length, came upon the Ogechee itself, which, in April, flowed with a full channel and a strong current. Much of the time, the Spaniards were in wild solitudes; they suffered for want of salt and of meat.

The direction of the march was now to the north; to the comparatively sterile country of the Cherokees, and in part through a district in which gold is now found. The inhabitants were poor, but gentle. Soto could hardly have crossed the mountains, so as to enter the basin of the Tennessee river; it seems, rather, that he passed from the head-waters of the Savannah, or the Chattahouchee, to the head-waters of the Coosa. The name of Canasauga, a village at which he halted, is still given to a branch of the latter stream. For several months the Spaniards were in the valleys which send their waters to the bay of Mobile; Chiaha was an island distant about a hundred miles from Canasauga. An exploring party, sent to the north, were appalled by the aspect of the Appalachian chain, and pronounced the mountains impassable. They had looked for mines of copper and gold; and their only plunder was a buffalo robe.

In the latter part of July the Spaniards were at Coosa. A southerly direction led the train to Tuscaloosa, October 18th; the wanderers reached a considerable town on the Alabama, above the junction of the Tombigbee, and about one hundred miles, or six days' journey, from Pensacola. The town was called Mavilla, or Mobile, a name which is still preserved, and applied, not to the bay only, but to the river, after the union of its numerous tributaries. The Spaniards, tired of lodging in the fields, desired to occupy

[1541 A.D.]

the town; the Indians rose to resist the invaders, whom they distrusted and feared. A battle ensued; the terrors of their cavalry gave the victory to the Spaniards. We know not if a more bloody Indian fight ever occurred on the soil of the United States: the town was set on fire; and twenty-five hundred Indians are said to have been slain, suffocated, or burned. They had fought with desperate courage; and, but for the flames, which consumed their light and dense settlements, they would have effectually repulsed the invaders. "Of the Christians, eighteen died"; one hundred and fifty were wounded with arrows; twelve horses were slain, and seventy hurt. The flames had not spared the baggage of the Spaniards; it was within the town, and was entirely consumed.

Meanwhile, ships from Cuba had arrived at Ochus, now Pensacola. Soto was too proud to confess his failure. He determined to send no news of himself, until, like Cortes, he had found some rich country. Soto retreated towards the north, November 18th, his troops already reduced, by sickness and warfare, to five hundred men. A month passed away before he reached winter quarters at Chicaça, a small town in the country of the Chickasaws, in the upper part of the state of Mississippi; probably on the western bank of the Yazoo. The weather was severe, and snow fell; but maize was yet standing in the open fields. The Spaniards were able to gather a supply of food, and the deserted town, with such rude cabins as they added, afforded them shelter through the winter. Yet no mines of Peru were discovered; no ornaments of gold adorned the rude savages; their wealth was the harvest of corn, and wigwams were their only palaces; they were poor and independent; they were hardy and loved freedom. When spring opened, Soto, as he had usually done with other tribes, demanded of the chieftain of the Chickasaws two hundred men to carry the burdens of his company.

The Indians, deceiving the sentinels, set fire to their own village, in which the Castilians were encamped. On a sudden, half the houses were in flames; and the loudest notes of the war-whoop rung through the air. The Indians, could they have acted with calm bravery, might have gained an easy and entire victory; but they trembled at their own success, and feared the unequal battle against weapons of steel. Many of the horses had broken loose; these, terrified and without riders, roamed through the forests, of which the burning village illuminated the shades, and seemed to the ignorant natives the gathering of hostile squadrons. Others of the horses perished in the stables; most of the swine were consumed; eleven of the Christians were burned, or lost their lives in the tumult. The clothes which had been saved from the fires of Mobile were destroyed, and the Spaniards, now as naked as the natives, suffered from the cold. Weapons and equipments were consumed or spoiled. Had the Indians made a resolute onset on this night or the next, the Spaniards would have been unable to resist. But in a respite of a week, forges were erected, swords newly tempered, and good ashen lances were made, equal to the best of Biscay. When the Indians attacked the camp, March 15th, they found "the Christians" prepared.

All the disasters which had been encountered, far from diminishing the boldness of the governor, served only to confirm his obstinacy by wounding his pride. Should he, who had promised greater booty than Mexico or Peru had yielded, now return as a defeated fugitive, so naked that his troops were clad only in skins and mats of ivy? The search for some wealthy region was renewed, April 27th; the caravan marched still farther to the west. For seven days it struggled through a wilderness of forests and marshes; and, at length, came to Indian settlements in the vicinity of the Mississippi. Soto

was the first [1] of Europeans to behold the magnificent river, which rolled its immense mass of waters through the splendid vegetation of a wide alluvial soil. The lapse of nearly three centuries has not changed the character of the stream; it was then described as more than a mile broad; flowing with a strong current, and, by the weight of its waters, forcing a channel of great depth. The water was always muddy; trees and timber were continually floating down the stream.

The Spaniards were guided to the Mississippi by natives; and were directed to one of the usual crossing places, probably at the lowest Chickasaw bluff, not far from the thirty-fifth parallel of latitude. The arrival of the strangers awakened curiosity and fear. A multitude of people from the western banks of the river, painted and gayly decorated with great plumes of white feathers, the warriors standing in rows with bow and arrows in their hands, the chieftains sitting under awnings as magnificent as the artless manufactures of the natives could weave, came rowing down the stream in a fleet of two hundred canoes, seeming to the admiring Spaniards "like a fair army of galleys." The boats of the natives were too weak to transport horses; almost a month expired before barges large enough to hold three horsemen each were constructed for crossing the river. At length the Spaniards, in May, embarked upon the Mississippi; and Europeans were borne to its western bank.

The Kaskaskias Indians, at that time, occupied a province southwest of the Missouri; Soto had heard its praises; he believed in its vicinity to mineral wealth; and he determined to visit its towns. In ascending the Mississippi the party was often obliged to wade through morasses; at length they came, as it would seem, upon the district of Little Prairie, and the dry and elevated lands which extend towards New Madrid. The Spaniards were adored as children of the sun, and the blind were brought into their presence, to be healed by the sons of light. "Pray only to God, who is in heaven, for whatsoever ye need," said Soto in reply. At Pacaha, the northernmost point which Soto reached near the Mississippi, he remained forty days, June 19th to July 29th. The spot cannot be identified.

An exploring party, which was sent to examine the regions to the north, reported that they were almost a desert. The country still nearer the Missouri was said by the Indians to be thinly inhabited; the bison abounded there so much that no maize could be cultivated; and the few inhabitants were hunters. Soto turned, therefore, to the west and northwest, and in August plunged still more deeply into the interior of the continent. The highlands of White river, more than two hundred miles from the Mississippi, were probably the limit of his ramble in this direction. The mountains offered neither gems nor gold; and the disappointed adventurers marched to the south. They passed through a succession of towns, of which the position cannot be fixed; till, at length, we find them among the Tunicas, near the hot springs and saline tributaries of the Washita. It was at Autiamque, a town on the same river, that they passed the winter; they had arrived at the settlement through the country of the Kappaws.

The native tribes, everywhere on the route, were found in a state of civilisation beyond that of nomadic hordes. They were an agricultural people, with fixed places of abode, and subsisted upon the produce of the fields, more than upon the chase. The Spaniards treated them with no other forbearance than their own selfishness demanded, and enslaved such as offended, employing

[1 We have already mentioned the prior claims of Pineda and Cabeza de Vaca. But though many have casually found the mouth of the river, it was Soto's men who first gave the world a true idea of its magnitude.]

[1542 A.D.]

them as porters and guides. On a slight suspicion, they would cut off the hands of numbers of the natives, for punishment or intimidation; while the young cavaliers, from desire of seeming valiant, ceased to be merciful, and exulted in cruelties and carnage. The guide who was unsuccessful, or who purposely led them away from the settlements of his tribe, would be seized and thrown to the hounds. Sometimes a native was condemned to the flames. Any trifling consideration of safety would induce the governor to set fire to a hamlet.

In the spring of the following year, 1542, Soto determined to descend the Washita to its junction, and to get tidings of the sea. As he advanced, he was soon lost amidst the bayous and marshes which are found along the Red river and its tributaries. Near the Mississippi, he came upon the country of Nilco, which was well peopled. At last, April 17th, he arrived at the province where the Washita, already united with the Red river, enters the Mississippi. The province was called Guachoya. Soto anxiously inquired the distance to the sea; the chieftain of Guachoya could not tell. Were there settlements extending along the river to its mouth? It was answered that its lower banks were an uninhabited waste. Unwilling to believe so disheartening a tale, Soto sent one of his men, with eight horsemen, to descend the banks of the Mississippi, and explore the country. They travelled eight days, and were able to advance not much more than thirty miles, they were so delayed by the frequent bayous, the impassable cane-brakes, and the dense woods. The governor received the intelligence with concern; he suffered from anxiety and gloom. His horses and men were dying around him, so that the natives were becoming dangerous enemies.[1]

AN EYE-WITNESS ON SOTO'S DEATH (THE GENTLEMAN OF ELVAS)

The governor fell into great dumps to see how hard it was to get to the sea; and worse, because his men and horses every day diminished, being without succour to sustain themselves in the country; and with that thought he fell sick. But before he took his bed he sent an Indian to the cacique of Quigalta to tell him that he was the child of the sun, and that all the way that he came all men obeyed and served him, that he requested him to accept of his friendship and come unto him, for he would be very glad to see him; and in sign of love and obedience to bring something with him of that which in his country was most esteemed. The cacique answered by the same Indian:

"That whereas he said he was the child of the sun, if he would dry up the river he would believe him; and touching the rest, that he was wont to visit none; but rather that all those of whom he had notice did visit him, served, obeyed, and paid him tributes willingly or perforce: therefore, if he desired to see him, it were best he should come thither; that if he came in peace he would receive him with special good will; and if in war, in like manner he would attend him in the town where he was, and that for him or any other he would not shrink one foot back."

By the time the Indian returned with this answer, the governor had betaken himself to bed, being evil handled with fevers, and was much aggrieved that he was not in case to pass presently the river and to seek him, to see if he could abate that pride of his, considering the river went now very strongly in those parts; for it was near half a league broad, and sixteen fathoms deep, and very furious, and ran with a great current; and on both sides there were many Indians, and his power was not now so great, but that he had need to help himself rather by finesse than by force. And seeing how many Indians

came daily to the town, and what store of people was in that country, fearing they should all conspire together and plot some treason against him; and because the town had some open gaps which were not made an end of enclosing, besides the gates which they went in and out by: because the Indians should not think he feared them, he let them all alone unrepaired; and commanded the horsemen to be appointed to them, and to the gates: and all night the horsemen went the round; and two and two of every squadron rode about, and visited the scouts that were without the town in their standings by the passages and the crossbowmen that kept the canoes in the river. And because the Indians should stand in fear of them, he determined to send a captain to Nilco, for those of Guachoya had told him that it was inhabited; that by using them cruelly, neither the one nor the other should presume to assail him; and he sent Nuñez de Touar with fifteen horsemen, and John de Guzman captain of the footmen, with his company in canoes up the river.

There were about five or six thousand people in the town; and, as many people came out of the houses, and fled from one house to another, and many Indians came flocking together from all parts, there was never a horseman that was not alone among many. The captain had commanded that they should not spare the life of any male. Their disorder was so great that there was no Indian that shot an arrow at any Christian. The shrieks of women and children were so great that they made the ears deaf of those that followed them. There were slain a hundred Indians, little more or less: and many were wounded with great wounds, whom they suffered to escape to strike a terror in the rest that were not there. There were some so cruel and butcher-like that they killed old and young, and all that they met, though they made no resistance; and those which presumed of themselves for their valour, and were taken for such, broke through the Indians, bearing down many with their stirrups and breasts of their horses; and some they wounded with their lances, and so let them go: and when they saw any youth or woman they took them, and delivered them to the footmen. These men's sins by God's permission lighted on their own heads; who, because they would seem valiant, became cruel; showing themselves extreme cowards in the sight of all men when most need of valour was required, and afterwards they came to a shameful death. Of the Indians of Nilco were taken prisoners fourscore women and children, and much spoil.

The governor felt in himself that the hour approached wherein he was to leave this present life, and called for the king's officers, captains, and principal persons, to whom he made a speech, saying that now he was to go to give an account before the presence of God of all his life past: and since it pleased him to take him in such a time, and that the time was come that he knew his death, that he his most unworthy servant did yield him many thanks therefor; and desired all that were present and absent (whom he confessed himself to be much beholden unto for their singular virtues, love and loyalty, which himself had well tried in the travels which they had suffered, which always in his mind he did hope to satisfy and reward, when it should please God to give him rest, with more prosperity of his estate), that they would pray to God for him, that for his mercy he would forgive him his sins, and receive his soul into eternal glory: and that they would quit and free him of the charge which he had over them, and ought unto them all, and that they would pardon him for some wrongs which they might have received of him. And to avoid some division, which upon his death might fall out upon the choice of his successor, he requested them to elect a principal person, and able to govern, of whom all should like well; and when he was elected, they

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should swear before him to obey him: and that he would thank them very much in so doing; because the grief that he had would somewhat be assuaged, and the pain that he felt, because he left them in so great confusion, to wit, in leaving them in a strange country, where they knew not where they were.

Baltasar de Gallegos answered in the name of all the rest. And first of all comforting him, he set before his eyes how short the life of this world was, and with how many troubles and miseries it is accompanied, and how God showed him a singular favor which soonest left it: telling him many other things fit for such a time. And touching the governor which he commanded they should elect, he besought him that it would please his lordship to name him which he thought fit, and him they would obey. And presently he named Luys de Moscoso de Alvarado, his captain-general. And presently he was sworn by all that were present, and elected for governor.

The next day being the 21st of May, 1542, departed out of this life, the valorous, virtuous, and valiant captain, Don Fernando de Soto, governor of Cuba, and adelantado of Florida: whom fortune advanced, as it useth to do others, that he might have the higher fall. He departed in such a place, and at such a time, as in his sickness he had but little comfort: and the danger wherein all his people were of perishing in that country, which appeared before their eyes, was cause sufficient why every one of them had need of comfort, and why they did not visit nor accompany him as they ought to have done. Luys de Moscoso determined to conceal his death from the Indians, because Fernando de Soto had made them believe that the Christians were immortal; and also because they took him to be hardy, wise, and valiant: and if they should know that he was dead, they would be bold to set upon the Christians, though they live peaceably by them.

As soon as he was dead, Luys de Moscoso commanded to put him secretly in the house, where he remained three days; and moving him from thence, commanded him to be buried in the night at one of the gates of the town within the wall. And as the Indians had seen him sick, and missed him, so did they suspect what might be. And passing by the place where he was buried, seeing the earth moved, they looked and spake one to another. Luys de Moscoso understanding of it, commanded him to be taken up by night, and to cast a great deal of sand into the mantles, wherein he was wound up, wherein he was carried in a canoe, and thrown into the midst of the river. The cacique of Guachoya inquired for him, demanding what was become of his brother and lord, the governor. Luys de Moscoso told him that he was gone to heaven, as many other times he did: and because he was to stay there certain days he had left him in his place. The cacique thought with himself that he was dead; and commanded two young and well-proportioned Indians to be brought thither; and said that the use of that country was when any lord died, to kill Indians to wait upon him, and serve him by the way, and for that purpose by his commandment were those come thither: and prayed Luys de Moscoso to command them to be beheaded, that they might attend and serve his lord and brother. Luys de Moscoso told him that the governor was not dead, but gone to heaven, and that of his own Christian soldiers he had taken such as he needed to serve him, and prayed him to command those Indians to be loosed, and not to use any such bad custom from thenceforth: straightway he commanded them to be loosed and to get them home to their houses. And one of them would not go; saying that he would not serve him that without desert had judged him to death, but that he would serve him as long as he lived which had saved his life.

Luys de Moscoso caused all the goods of the governor to be sold at an

outcry: to wit, two men slaves and two women slaves, and three horses, and seven hundred hogs. For every slave or horse, they gave two or three thousand ducats: which were to be paid at the first melting of gold or silver, or at the division of their portion of inheritance. And they entered into bonds, though in the country there was not wherewith to pay it within a year after, and put in sureties for the same. Such as in Spain had no goods to bind, gave two hundred ducats for a hog, giving assurance after the same manner. Those which had any goods in Spain bought with more fear, and bought the less. From that time forward, most of the company had swine, and brought them up, and fed upon them; and observed Fridays and Saturdays, and the evenings of feasts, which before they did not. For sometimes in two or three months they did eat no flesh, and whensoever they could come by it, they did eat it.

Some were glad of the death of Don Ferdinando de Soto, holding for certain that Luys de Moscoso (which was given to his ease) would rather desire to be among the Christians at rest, than to continue the labours of the war in subduing and discovering of countries; whereof they were already weary, seeing the small profit that ensued thereof.[s]

THE RETURN OF SOTO'S COMPANIONS (1542 A.D.)

The discoverer of the Mississippi slept beneath its waters. He had crossed a large part of the continent in search of gold, and found nothing so remarkable as his burial-place.[1]

No longer guided by the energy and pride of Soto, the company resolved on reaching New Spain without delay. Should they embark in such miserable boats as they could construct, and descend the river? Or should they seek a path to Mexico through the forests? They were unanimous in the opinion that it was less dangerous to go by land; the hope was still cherished that some wealthy state, some opulent city, might yet be discovered, and all fatigues be forgotten in the midst of victory and spoils. Again they penetrated the western wilderness; in July they found themselves in the country of the Natchitoches; but the Red river was so swollen that it was impossible for them to pass. They soon became bewildered. As they proceeded, the Indian guides purposely led them astray; "they went up and down through very great woods," without making any progress. The wilderness, into which they had at last wandered, was sterile and scarcely inhabited; they had now reached the great buffalo prairies of the west, the hunting-grounds of the Pawnees and Comanches, the migratory tribes on the confines of Mexico. The Spaniards believed themselves to be at least one hundred and fifty leagues west of the Mississippi. Desperate as the resolution seemed, it was determined to return once more to its banks, and follow its current to the sea. There were not wanting men whose hopes and whose courage were not yet exhausted, who wished rather to die in the wilderness than to leave it in poverty; but Moscoso [or Muscoço] the new governor, [says the gentleman of Elvas[s]], had long "desired to see himself in a place where he might sleep his full sleep."

In December they came upon the Mississippi at Minoya, a few leagues above the mouth of Red river, often wading through deep waters, and grateful to God if at night, they could find a dry resting-place.

Nor was the labour yet at an end; it was no easy task for men in their

[1 "The adelantado of Cuba and Florida, who had hoped to gather the wealth of nations, left as his property four Indian slaves, three horses, and a herd of swine."—J. G. SHEA.[t]]

[1543–1547 A.D.]

condition to build brigantines. Erecting a forge, they struck off the fetters from the slaves; and, gathering every scrap of iron in the camp, they wrought it into nails. Timber was sawed by hand with a large saw, which they had always carried with them. They caulked their vessels with a weed like hemp; barrels, capable of holding water, were with difficulty made; to obtain supplies of provision, all the hogs and even the horses were killed, and their flesh preserved by drying; and the neighbouring townships of Indians were so plundered of their food that the miserable inhabitants would come about the Spaniards begging for a few kernels of their own maize, and often died from weakness and want of food. The rising of the Mississippi assisted the launching of the seven brigantines; they were frail barks, which had no decks; and as, from the want of iron, the nails were of necessity short, they were constructed of very thin planks, so that the least shock would have broken them in pieces. Thus provided, in seventeen days, July 2nd to 18th, 1543, the fugitives reached the gulf of Mexico; the distance seemed to them two hundred and fifty leagues, and was not much less than five hundred miles. They observed that for some distance from the mouth of the Mississippi the sea is not salt, so great is the volume of fresh water which the river discharges. Following, for the most part, the coast, it was more than fifty days before the men, who finally escaped, now no more than three hundred and eleven in number, September 10th, entered the river Panuco.

Such is the history of the first visit of Europeans to the Mississippi; the honour of the discovery belongs, without a doubt, to the Spaniards. There were not wanting adventurers who desired to make one more attempt to possess the country by force of arms; their request was refused. Religious zeal was more persevering; December 28th, 1547, Louis Cancello, a missionary of the Dominican order, gained, through Philip, then heir apparent in Spain, permission to visit Florida, and attempt the peaceful conversion of the natives. Christianity was to conquer the land against which so many expeditions had failed. The Spanish governors were directed to favour the design; all slaves, that had been taken from the northern shore of the Gulf of Mexico, were to be manumitted and restored to their country. The ship was fitted out with much solemnity; but the priests, who sought the first interview with the natives, were feared as enemies, and, being immediately attacked, Louis and two others fell martyrs to their zeal (1549). Florida was abandoned. It seemed as if death guarded the avenues to the country.[1]

THE GREAT MARCH OF CORONADO

"Almost at the same time that Soto, with the naked, starving remnant of his army, was at Pacaha," says J. G. Shea, "another Spanish force under Vasquez de Coronado, well handled and perfectly equipped, must in July and August, 1541, have been encamped so near that an Indian runner in a few days might have carried tidings between them. Coronado actually heard of his countryman and sent him a letter; but his messenger failed to find Soto's party. But, strangely enough, the cruel, useless expedition of Soto finds ample space in history, while the well-managed march of Coronado's careful exploration finds scant mention. No greater contrast exists in our history than that between these two campaigns."[1]

In 1530, ten years after the conquest of Mexico by Cortes, stories were told the Spaniards there of seven great Indian cities in the north, within the present limits of New Mexico and Arizona. The cities were said to be full of silver and gold; and Nuño de Guzman, with a force of four hundred Span-

iards and twenty thousand Indians, set out from Mexico in search of this Land of the Seven Cities, believed to be only six hundred miles distant. The Seven Cities and the Island of the Amazons, of which he had also heard, kept receding as he marched, and finally he retraced his steps as far as Compostella and Guadalaxara, where he established what was afterwards known as the province of New Gallicia. He was presently deposed from the governorship of this province by Mendoza, the new viceroy, and was succeeded by Francisco Vasquez de Coronado. To Coronado, in 1536, came the accounts of the arrival at Culiacan of De Vaca and his three companions, the sole survivors of Narvaez's expedition to Florida in 1527, after nine years' wanderings through the great regions north of the Gulf of Mexico, with their accounts of having fallen in with civilised peoples, living "in populous towns with very large houses." Coronado sent out Fray Marcos de Nizza, a monk who had been in Peru under Alvarado, on a preliminary investigation north, accompanied by one of De Vaca's companions, a negro named Stephen, and others. Fray Marcos' report upon his return is the first definite account which exists of the exploration and history of the region occupied by what we call the Pueblo Indians. It may be found in Hakluyt[h]. Fray Marcos came to many Indian villages, passed through rich valleys, and heard much about the province of Cibola and its seven great cities, and of other great kingdoms beyond, which were called Marata, Acus, and Totonteac. From a hill he looked down upon a city in a plain, which he said was larger than Mexico, and which his Indian companions said was the smallest of the Seven Cities. After great dangers and remarkable experiences he returned to Coronado, who went with him to Mexico to report to Mendoza. Mendoza forwarded Fray Marcos' written report to the emperor Charles V, accompanied by an account of his own of the previous attempts at exploring the country.

In February, 1540, Coronado himself, accompanied by Fray Marcos, set out for the Seven Cities of Cibola, with a force of three hundred Spaniards and eight hundred Indians. But the expedition resulted in great disappointment. Instead of the great city which Marcos had reported, Cibola turned out a poor village with not more than two hundred inhabitants, situated on a rocky eminence. From its resemblance in situation, Coronado gave the name Granada to the village. He states that the name Cibola belonged to the whole district, not to any particular place. From this village, August 3rd, 1540, he sent to the viceroy the account of his explorations, from which we quote, expressing his disappointment and his disbelief in Fray Marcos' report of the rich and powerful kingdoms beyond.[u]

Coronado's Own Account of His March

The 22 of the moneth of Aprill last past I departed from the prouince of Culiacan with part of the army, and in such order as I mentioned vnto your Lordship, and according to the successe I assured my selfe, by all likelihood that I shall not bring all mine armie together in this enterprise: because the troubles haue bene so great and the want of victuals, that I thinke all this yeere wil not be sufficient to performe this enterprise, & if it should bee performed in so short a time, it would be to the great losse of our people. For as I wrote vnto your Lordship, I was fourescore dayes in trauailing to Culiacan, in all which time I and those Gentlemen my companions which were horsemen, carried on our backs, and on our horses, a little victuall, so that from

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henceforward wee carried none other needefull apparell with vs, that was aboue a pound weight.

Thirtie leagues before wee arriued at the place which the father prouinciall tolde vs so well of in his relation, I sent Melchior Diaz before with fifteene horses, giuing him order to make but one dayes iourney of two, because hee might examine all things, against mine arriuall: who trauailed foure dayes iourney through exceeding rough Mountaines where hee found neither victuals, nor people, nor information of any things, sauing that hee found two or three poore little villages, containing 20. or 30. cottages a piece, and by the inhabitants thereof hee vnderstoode that from thence forward there were nothing but exceeding rough mountaines which ran very farre, vtterly disinhabited and voyd of people. And because it was labour lost, I would not write vnto your Lordship therof.

It grieued the whole company, that a thing so highly commended, and whereof the father had made so great bragges, should be found so contrary, and it made them suspect that all the rest would fall out in like sort. Which when I perceiued I sought to encourage them the best I coulde, telling them that your Lordshippe alwayes was of opinion, that this voyage was a thing cast away, and that wee should fixe our cogitation vpon those seuen Cities, and other prouinces, whereof wee had knowledge: that there should bee the ende of our enterprise: and with this resolution and purpose wee all marched cheerefully through a very badde way which was not passable but one by one, or else wee must force out with Pioners the path which wee founde, wherewith the Souldiours were not a little offended, finding all that the Frier had sayde to bee quite contrary: for among other things which the father sayde and affirmed, this was one, that the way was plaine and good, and that there was but one small hill of halfe a league in length. And yet in trueth there are mountaines which although the way were well mended could not bee passed without great danger of breaking the horses neckes: and the way was such, that of the cattell which your Lordship sent vs for the prouision of our armie wee lost a great part in the voyage through the roughnesse of the rockes. The lambes and sheepe lost their hoofes in the way.

At length I arriued at the valley of the people called Caracones, the 26. day of the moneth of May: and from Culiacan vntill I came thither, I could not helpe my selfe, saue onely with a great quantitie of bread of Maiz: for seeing the Maiz in the fieldes were not yet ripe, I was constrained to leaue them all behind me.

And by that time that wee were come to this valley of the Caracones, some tenne or twelue of our horses were dead through wearinesse: for being ouercharged with great burdens, and hauing but little meate, they could not endure the trauaile. Likewise some of our Negros and some of our Indians dyed here; which was no small want vnto vs for the performance of our enterprise.

I departed from the Caracones, and alwayes kept by the Sea coast as neere as I could iudge, and in very deed I still found my selfe the farther off: in such sort that when I arriued at Chichilticale I found myselfe tenne dayes iourney from the Sea: and the father prouinciall sayd that it was onely but fiue leagues distance, and that hee had seene the same. Wee all conceiued great griefe and were not a little confounded, when we saw that wee found euery thing contrary to the information which he had giuen your Lordship.

I rested myselfe two dayes in Chichilticale, and to haue done well I should haue stayed longer, in respect that here wee found our horses so tyred: but because wee wanted victuals, wee had no leasure to rest any longer: I entred

the confines of the desert Countrey on Saint Iohns eue, and to refresh our former trauailes, the first dayes we founde no grasse, but worser way of mountaines and badde passages, then wee had passed alreadie: and the horses being tired, were greatly molested therewith: so that in this last desert wee lost more horses then wee had lost before: and some of my Indians which were our friendes dyed, and one Spanyard whose name was Spinosa; and two Negroes, which dyed with eating certaine herbes for lacke of victuals.

But after wee had passed these thirtie leagues, wee found fresh riuers, and grasse like that of Castile. I sent the master of the field to search whether there were any bad passage which the Indians might keepe against vs, and that hee should take and defend it vntill the next day that I shoulde come thither. So hee went, and found in the way a very bad passage, where wee might haue sustayned very great harme: wherefore there hee seated himselfe with his company that were with him: and that very night the Indians came to take that passage to defend it, and finding it taken, they assaulted our men there, and as they tell mee they assaulted them like valiant men; although in the ende they retired and fledde away. Whereupon the next day in the best order that I could I departed in so great want of victuall, that I thought that if wee should stay one day longer without foode, wee should all perish for hunger, especially the Indians, for among vs all we had not two bushels of corne: wherefore it behooued mee to pricke forward without delay. The Indians here and there made fires, and were answered againe afarre off as orderly as wee for our liues could haue done, to giue their fellowes vnderstanding, how wee marched and where we arriued.

As soone as I came within sight of this citie of Granada, I sent Dôn Garcias Lopez Campemaster, frier Daniel, and frier Luys, and Fernando Vermizzo somewhat before with certaine horsemen, to seeke the Indians and to aduertise them that our comming was not to hurt them, but to defend them in the name of the Emperour our Lord, according as his maiestie had giuen vs in charge: which message was deliuered to the inhabitants of that countrey by an interpreter. But they like arrogant people made small account thereof; because we seemed very few in their eyes, and that they might destroy vs without any difficultie; and they strooke frier Luys with an arrow on the gowne, which by the grace of God did him no harme.

In the meane space I arriued with all the rest of the horsemen, and footemen, and found in the fieldes a great sort of the Indians which beganne to shoote at vs with their arrowes: and because I would obey your will and the commaund of the Marques, I woulde not let my people charge them, forbidding my company, which intreated mee that they might set vpon them, in any wise to prouoke them, saying that that which the enemies did was nothing, and that it was not meete to set vpon so fewe people. On the other side the Indians perceiuing that wee stirred not, tooke great stomacke and courage vnto them: insomuch that they came hard to our horses heeles to shoote at vs with their arrowes. Whereupon seeing that it was now time to stay no longer, and that the friers also were of the same opinion, I set vpon them without any danger: for suddenly they fled part to the citie which was neere and well fortified, and other into the field, which way they could shift: and some of the Indians were slaine, and more had beene if I would haue suffered them to haue bene pursued.

But considering that hereof wee might reape but small profite, because the Indians that were without, were fewe, and those which were retired into the citie, with them which stayed within at the first were many, where the victuals were whereof wee had so great neede, I assembled my people, and deuided

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them as I thought best to assault the citie, and I compassed it about: and because the famine which wee sustained suffered no delay, my selfe with certaine of these gentlemen and souldiers put our selues on foote, and commaunded that the crossebowes and harquebusiers shoulde giue the assault, and shoulde beate the enemies from the walles, that they might not hurt vs, and I assaulted the walles on one side, where they tolde me there was a scaling ladder set vp, and that there was one gate: but the crossebowmen suddenly brake the strings of their bowes, and the harquebusiers did nothing at all: for they came thither so weake and feeble, that scarcely they coulde stand on their feete: and by this meanes the people that were aloft on the wals to defend the towne were no way hindered from doing vs all the mischiefe they could: so that twise they stroke mee to the ground with infinite number of great stones, which they cast downe: and if I had not beene defended with an excellent good headpiece which I ware, I thinke it had gone hardly with mee: neuerthelesse my companie tooke mee vp with two small wounds in the face, and an arrowe sticking in my foote, and many blowes with stones on my armes and legges, and thus I went out of the battell very weake. I thinke that if Don Garcias Lopez de Cardenas the second time that they strooke mee to the ground had not succoured mee with striding ouer mee like a good knight, I had beene in farre greater danger then I was. But it pleased God that the Indians yeelded themselues vnto vs, and that this citie was taken: and such store of Maiz was found therein, as our necessitie required. And because my armour was gilded and glittering, they all layd load on mee, and therefore I was more wounded than the rest, not that I did more than they, or put my selfe forwarder than the rest, for all these Gentlemen and souldiers carried themselues as manfully as was looked for at their hands. I am nowe well recouered I thanke God, although somewhat bruised with stones.

It remaineth now to certifie your Honour of the seuen cities, and of the kingdomes and prouinces whereof the Father prouinciall made report vnto your Lordship. And to bee briefe, I can assure your honour, he sayd the trueth in nothing that he reported, but all was quite contrary, sauing onely the names of the cities, and great houses of stone: for although they bee not wrought with Turqueses, nor with lyme, nor brickes, yet are they very excellent good houses of three or foure or fiue lofts high, wherein are good lodgings and faire chambers with lathers instead of staires, and certaine cellars vnder the ground very good and paued, which are made for winter, they are in maner like stooues: and the lathers which they haue for their houses are all in a maner mooueable and portable, which are taken away and set downe when they please, and they are made of two pieces of wood with their steppes, as ours be.

The seuen cities are seuen small townes, all made with these kinde of houses that I speake of: and they stand all within foure leagues together, and they are all called the kingdome of Cibola, and euery one of them haue their particular name: and none of them is called Cibola, but altogether they are called Cibola. And this towne which I call a citie, I haue named Granada, as well because it is somewhat like vnto it, as also in remembrance of your lordship. In this towne where I nowe remaine, there may be some two hundred houses, all compassed with walles, and I thinke that with the rest of the houses which are not so walled, they may be together fiue hundred. There is another towne neere this, which is one of the seuen, & it is somwhat bigger than this, and another of the same bignesse that this is of, and the other foure are somewhat lesse: and I send them all painted vnto your lordship with the voyage. And the parchment wherein the picture is, was found here with

other parchments. The people of this towne seeme vnto me of a reasonable stature, and wittie, yet they seeme not to bee such as they should bee, of that iudgement and wit to builde these houses in such sort as they are. For the most part they goe all naked, and they haue painted mantles like those which I send vnto your lordship. They eate the best cakes that euer I sawe, and euery body generally eateth of them. They haue the finest order and way to grinde that wee euer sawe in any place. And one Indian woman of this countrey will grinde as much as foure women of Mexico. They have most excellent salte in kernell, which they fetch from a certaine lake a dayes iourney from hence. They haue no knowledge among them of the North Sea, nor of the Westerne Sea, neither can I tell your lordship to which wee bee neerest: But in reason they should seeme to bee neerest to the Westerne Sea: and at the least I thinke I am an hundred and fiftie leagues from thence: and the Northerne Sea should bee much further off. Your lordship may see howe broad the land is here. Here are many sorts of beasts, as Beares, Tigers, Lions, Porkespicks, and certaine Sheep as bigge as an horse, with very great hornes and little tailes, I haue seene their hornes so bigge, that it is a wonder to behold their greatnesse.

The kingdome of Totonteac so much extolled by the Father prouinciall, which sayde that there were such wonderfull things there, and such great matters, and that they made cloth there, the Indians say is an hotte lake, about which are fiue or sixe houses; and that there were certaine other, but that they are ruinated by warre. The kingdome of Marata is not to be found, neither haue the Indians any knowledge thereof. The kingdome of Acus is one onely small citie, where they gather cotton which is called Acucu. I would to God I had better newes to write vnto your lordship: neuerthelesse I must say the trueth: And as I wrote to your lordship from Culiacan, I am nowe to aduertise your honour as wel of the good as of the bad. Yet this I would haue you bee assured, that if all the riches and the treasures of the world were heere, I could haue done no more in the seruice of his Maiestie and of your lordshippe, than I haue done in comming hither whither you haue sent mee, my selfe and my companions carrying our victuals vpon our shoulders and vpon our horses three hundred leagues; and many dayes going on foote trauailing ouer hilles and rough mountaines, with other troubles which I cease to mention, neither purpose I to depart vnto the death, if it please his Maiestie and your lordship that it shall be so.[v]

CORONADO CONTINUES HIS MARCH

Bandelier[w] identifies some of the places mentioned in connection with the expedition with pueblos north of Santa Fé. In the *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society for October, 1881, Henry W. Haynes[x] has given in detail the reasons for identifying Cibola with the region of the present Zuñi pueblos. Frank H. Cushing made the important discovery that this tribe has preserved the tradition of the coming of Fray Marcos, and also to have a tradition of the visit of Coronado, and even of Cabeza de Vaca. Squier[y] also identifies Cibola with Zuñi, as do Simpson,[z] Prince,[cc] Davis,[bb] and H. H. Bancroft.[dd]

Of the rest of the march, Thwaites writes[a]: "Disappointed, but still hoping to find the country of gold, Coronado's gallant little army, frequently thinned by death and desertion, beat for three years up and down the southwestern wilderness — now thirsting in the deserts, now penned up in gloomy cañons, now crawling over pathless mountains, suffering the horrors of starva-

tion and of despair, but following this will-o'-the-wisp with a melancholy perseverance seldom seen in man save when searching for some mysterious treasure. Coronado apparently crossed the state of Kansas twice; 'through mighty plains and sandy heaths, smooth and wearisome and bare of wood. All that way the plains are as full of crookback oxen [bison] as the mountain Serena in Spain is of sheep. They were a great succour for the hunger and want of bread which our people stood in. One day it rained in that plain a great shower of hail as big as oranges, which caused many tears, weaknesses, and vows.' The wanderer ventured as far as the Missouri, and would have gone still farther eastward but for his inability to cross the swollen river. Co-operating parties explored the upper valleys of the Rio Grande and Gila, ascended the Colorado for two hundred and forty miles above its mouth, and visited the Grand Cañon of the same river. Coronado at last returned, satisfied that he had been made the victim of travellers' idle tales. He was rewarded with contumely and lost his place as governor of New Gallicia; but his romantic march[1] stands in history as one of the most remarkable exploring expeditions of modern times."[2]

ENGLISH EXPLORATIONS: FROBISHER'S THREE VOYAGES

"England," says Thwaites, "would have followed up Cabot's discovery of North America with more vigour had not Henry VII, being a Catholic prince, hesitated to set aside the pope's bull giving the new continent to Spain. His subjects, however, made large hauls of fish along the foggy shores of Newfoundland, and in 1502 some American savages were exhibited to him in London. Henry VIII was at first similarly scrupulous; but when, in 1533, he got rid of his queen, Catharine of Aragon, he was free from Spanish entanglements, and aspired to make England a maritime nation. Among many other enterprises the Northwest Passage allured him, although nothing came of his ventures in that direction." *ee*

In 1527, Robert Thorne, a wealthy merchant of Bristol, who had long resided at Seville, and had acquired something of the Spanish love of adventure, prevailed upon the king to fit out an expedition of two ships, "to attempt a discovery even to the north pole." The expedition left the Thames on the 20th of May, 1527. All that we know of the result of this voyage is that one of the ships was cast away on the north of Newfoundland. In 1536, a voyage of discovery to the northwest parts of America was projected by a person named Hore, of London. Of one hundred and twenty persons, who accompanied him, thirty were gentlemen of the inns of court and chancery. The voyage was signally disastrous. On their arrival in Newfoundland, they suffered so much from famine that they were driven to the horrible expedient of cannibalism. At length, a French ship arriving on the coast, the adventurers succeeded in capturing it, by stratagem, and returned home. The Frenchmen were indemnified by Henry VIII, who pardoned the violence to which necessity had impelled the English adventurers.

The foreign trade of England in the sixteenth century hardly extended beyond the Flemish towns, Iceland, and a limited fishery on the Banks of

[1 General Simpson[z] speaks of his expedition as one which, "for extent in distance travelled, duration in time, and the multiplicity of its co-operating expeditions, equalled, if it did not exceed, any land expedition that has been undertaken in modern times." General Simpson maintains that Coronado "reached what is now the boundary line between Kansas and Nebraska, well on toward the Missouri river." Bandelier[w] is not satisfied that he went so far northeast, and thinks that he moved more in a circle.]

[2 Copyright, 1897, by Longmans, Green, & Co.

Newfoundland. But the presence and counsel of Sebastian Cabot, who was well acquainted with the bold navigations of the Spaniards, opened the views and inflamed the ambition of a people not insensible of their own abilities. When that experienced navigator was appointed grand pilot of England, by Edward VI, he was at the same time constituted "governour of the mysterie and companie of the marchants adventurers for the discovery of regions, dominions, islands, and places unknowen." By his advice, and under his directions, a voyage was undertaken in 1553, for the discovery of a northeast passage to Cathay. Three ships were fitted out for this expedition, of which Sir Hugh Willoughby was appointed captain-general, and Richard Chancellor pilot-major.//

Thrice, at least, perhaps thrice by Cabot alone, the attempt at a northwestern passage had been made, and always in vain. A northeast passage was now proposed; the fleet of Willoughby and Chancellor was to reach the rich lands of Cathay by doubling the northern promontory of Lapland. The ships parted company. The fate of Willoughby was as tragical as the issue of the voyage of Chancellor was successful. The admiral, with one of the ships, was driven, by the severity of the polar autumn, to seek shelter in a Lapland harbour, which afforded protection against storms, but not against the rigours of the season. When search was made for him in the following spring, Willoughby himself was found dead in his cabin; and his journal, detailing his sufferings from the polar winter, was complete probably to the day when his senses were suspended by the intolerable cold. His ship's company lay dead in various parts of the vessel, some alone, some in groups. The other ship reached the harbour of Archangel. This was "the discovery of Russia," in 1554, and the commencement of maritime commerce with that empire. A Spanish writer calls the result of the voyage "a discovery of new Indies." The Russian nation, one of the oldest and least mixed in Europe, now awakening from a long lethargy, emerged into political distinction. About eleven years from this time, the first town in the United States' territory was permanently built. So rapid are the changes on the theatre of nations! One of the leading powers of the age became known to western Europe only in the sixteenth century; another had not then one white man within its limits.

The principle of joint stock companies, so favourable to every enterprise of uncertain result, by dividing the risks, and by nourishing a spirit of emulous zeal in behalf of an inviting scheme, was applied to the purposes of navigation; and a company of merchant adventurers was incorporated in 1555, for the discovery of unknown lands.

For even the intolerance of Queen Mary could not check the passion for maritime adventure. The sea was becoming the element on which English valour was to display its greatest boldness; English sailors neither feared the sultry heats and consuming fevers of the tropics, nor the intense severity of northern cold. The trade to Russia, now that the port of Archangel had been discovered, gradually increased and became very lucrative; and a regular and as yet an innocent commerce was carried on with Africa. The marriage of Mary with the king of Spain tended to excite the emulation which it was designed to check. The enthusiasm awakened by the brilliant pageantry with which King Philip was introduced into London excited Richard Eden / to gather into a volume the history of the most memorable maritime expeditions. Religious restraints, the thirst for rapid wealth, the desire of strange adventure, had driven the boldest spirits of Spain to the New World; their deeds had been commemorated by the copious and accurate details of the Spanish historians;

[1576 A.D.]

and the English, through the alliance of their sovereign made familiar with the Spanish language and literature, became emulous of Spanish success beyond the ocean.

The firmness of Elizabeth seconded the enterprise of her subjects. They were rendered the more proud and intractable for the short and unsuccessful effort to make England an appendage to Spain. England, no longer the ally but the antagonist of Philip, claimed the glory of being the mistress of the northern seas, and prepared to extend its commerce to every clime. The queen strengthened her navy, filled her arsenals, and encouraged the building of ships in England: she animated the adventurers to Russia and to Africa by her special protection; and while her subjects were endeavouring to penetrate into Persia by land, and enlarge their commerce with the East by combining the use of ships and caravans, the harbours of Spanish America were at the same time visited by their privateers in pursuit of the rich galleons of Spain, and at least from thirty to fifty English ships came annually to the bays and banks of Newfoundland.

The possibility of effecting a northwest passage had ever been maintained by Sebastian Cabot. The study of geography had now become an interesting pursuit; the press teemed with books of travels, maps, and descriptions of the earth; and Sir Humphrey Gilbert, reposing from the toils of war, engaged deeply in the science of cosmography. A judicious and well-written argument [*A Discourse of Discovery for a New Passage to Cataia*] in favour of the possibility of a northwestern passage was the fruit of his literary industry.

The same views were entertained by one of the boldest men who ever ventured upon the ocean. For fifteen years, Martin Frobisher, an Englishman, well versed in various navigation, had revolved the design of accomplishing the discovery of the Northwest Passage; esteeming it, says Beste, "the only thing of the world, that was yet left undone, by which a notable minde might be made famous and fortunate." Too poor himself to provide a ship, it was in vain that he conferred with friends; in vain he offered his services to merchants. After years of desire, his representations found a hearing at court; and Dudley, earl of Warwick, liberally promoted his design. Two small barks of twenty-five and of twenty tons, with a pinnace of ten tons' burden, composed the whole fleet, which was to enter gulfs that none but Cabot had visited. As they dropped down the Thames (June 8th, 1576), Queen Elizabeth waved her hand in token of favour, and, by an honourable message, transmitted her approbation of an adventure which her own treasures had not contributed to advance.

During a storm on the voyage, the pinnace was swallowed up by the sea; the mariners in the *Michael* became terrified, and turned their prow homewards; but Frobisher, in a vessel not much surpassing in tonnage the barge of a man-of-war, made his way, fearless and unattended, to the shores of Labrador, and to a passage or inlet north of the entrance of Hudson's Bay. It was among a group of American islands, in the latitude of sixty-three degrees and eight minutes, that he entered what seemed to be a strait. Hope suggested that his object was obtained; that the land on the south was America; on the north was the continent of Asia; and that the strait opened into the immense Pacific. Great praise is due to Frobisher, even though he penetrated less deeply than Cabot into the bays and among the islands of this Meta Incognita, this unknown goal of discovery. Yet his voyage was a failure. To land upon an island, and, perhaps, on the main; to gather up stones and rubbish, in token of having taken possession of the country for Elizabeth; to seize one of

the natives of the north for exhibition to the gaze of Europe — these were all the results which he accomplished.

What followed marks the insane passions of the age. America and mines were always thought of together. A stone, which had been brought from the frozen regions, was pronounced by the refiners of London to contain gold. The news excited the wakeful avarice of the city: there were not wanting those who endeavoured to purchase of Elizabeth a lease of the new lands, of which the loose minerals were so full of the precious metal. A fleet was immediately fitted out, to procure more of the gold rather than to make any further research for the passage into the Pacific; and the queen, who had contributed nothing to the voyage of discovery, sent a large ship of her own to join the expedition, which was now to conduct to infinite opulence. More men than could be employed volunteered their services; those who were discharged resigned their brilliant hopes with reluctance. The mariners, having received the communion, embarked May 27th, 1577, for the arctic El Dorado, "and with a merrie wind" soon arrived at the Orkneys. As they reached the northeastern coast of America, June 7th, the dangers of the polar seas became imminent; mountains of ice encompassed them on every side. At one moment they expected death; at the next they looked for gold. The fleet made no discoveries; it did not advance so far as Frobisher alone had done. But it found large heaps of earth, which, even to the incredulous, seemed plainly to contain the coveted wealth; besides, spiders abounded; and spiders were affirmed to be "true signs of great store of gold."[1] In freighting the ships, the admiral himself toiled like a painful labourer.

It was believed that the rich mines of the polar regions would countervail the charges of a costly adventure; the hope of a passage to Cathay increased; and, for the security of the newly discovered lands, soldiers and discreet men were selected to become their inhabitants. A magnificent fleet of fifteen sail was assembled, in part at the expense of Elizabeth; the sons of the English gentry embarked as volunteers; one hundred persons were chosen to form the colony, which was to secure to England a country more desirable than Peru, a country too inhospitable to produce a tree or a shrub, yet where gold lay, not charily concealed in mines, but glistening in heaps upon the surface. Twelve vessels were to return immediately with cargoes of the ore; three were ordered to remain and aid the settlement. The Northwest Passage was now become of less consideration; Asia itself could not vie with the riches of this hyperborean archipelago.

But the entrance to these wealthy islands was rendered difficult by frost; and the fleet of Frobisher, as it now approached the American coast (May 31st to September 28th, 1578), was bewildered among immense icebergs, which were so vast that, as they melted, torrents poured from them in sparkling waterfalls. One vessel was crushed and sunk, though the men on board were saved. In the dangerous mists the ships lost their course, and came into the straits which have since been called Hudson's, and which lie south of the imagined gold regions. The admiral believed himself able to sail through to the Pacific, and resolve the doubt respecting the passage. But his duty as a mercantile agent controlled his desire of glory as a navigator. He struggled to regain the harbour where his vessels were to be laden; and, after encountering peril of every kind — "getting in at one gap and out at another" — he at last arrived at the haven in the Countess of Warwick's Sound.

The zeal of the volunteer colonists had moderated; and the disheartened

[1] Settle, *hh* in Hakluyt *h*: How rich, then, the alcoves of a library!

sailors were ready to mutiny. One ship, laden with provisions for the colony, deserted and returned; and an island was discovered with enough of the black ore "to suffice all the gold-gluttons of the world." The plan of the settlement was abandoned. It only remained to freight the home-bound ships with a store of minerals. The adventurers and the historians of the voyage are silent about the disposition which was made of the cargo of the fleet. The knowledge of the seas was not extended; the credulity of avarice met with a rebuke; and the belief in regions of gold among the Eskimos was dissipated; but there remained a firm conviction that a passage to the Pacific Ocean might yet be threaded among the icebergs and northern islands of America.

While Frobisher was thus attempting to obtain wealth and fame on the northeast coast of America, the western limits of the territory of the United States became known. Embarking on a voyage in quest of fortune (1577 to 1580), Francis Drake acquired immense treasures as a freebooter in the Spanish harbours on the Pacific, and, having laden his ship with spoils, gained for himself enduring glory by circumnavigating the globe. But before following in the path which the ship of Magellan had thus far alone dared to pursue, Drake determined to explore the northwestern coast of America, in the hope of discovering the strait which connects the oceans. With this view, he crossed the equator, sailed beyond the peninsula of California, and followed the continent to the latitude of the southern borders of New Hampshire. Here the cold seemed intolerable to men who had just left the tropics. Despairing of success, he retired to a harbour in a milder latitude, within the limits of Mexico; and, having repaired his ship, and named the country New Albion, he sailed for England, through the seas of Asia.

Thus was the southern part of the Oregon territory first visited by Englishmen, yet not till after a voyage of the Spanish from Acapulco, commanded by Cabrillo, a Portuguese, had traced the American continent to within two and a half degrees of the mouth of Columbia river (1542), while, thirteen years after the voyage of Drake, John de Fuca, a mariner from the Isles of Greece, then in the employ of the viceroy of Mexico, sailed into the bay which is now known as the gulf of Georgia (1593), and, having for twenty days steered through its intricate windings and numerous islands, returned with a belief, that the entrance to the long-desired passage into the Atlantic had been found.

The lustre of the name of Drake is borrowed from his success. In itself, this part of his career was but a splendid piracy against a nation with which his sovereign and his country professed to be at peace. The exploits of Drake, except so far as they nourished a love for maritime affairs, were injurious to commerce; the minds of the sailors were debauched by a passion for sudden acquisitions; and to receive regular wages seemed base and unmanly, when, at the easy peril of life, there was hope of boundless plunder. Commerce and colonisation rest on regular industry; the humble labour of the English fishermen, who now frequented the Grand Bank, bred mariners for the navy of their country, and prepared the way for its settlements in the New World. Already four hundred vessels came annually from the harbours of Portugal and Spain, of France and England, to the shores of Newfoundland. The English were not there in such numbers as other nations, for they still frequented the fisheries of Iceland; but yet they "were commonly lords in the harbours," and in the arrogance of naval supremacy, exacted payment for protection. It is an incident honourable to the humanity of the early voyagers that, on one of the American islands, not far from the fishing stations, hogs and horned cattle were purposely left, that they might multiply and become a resource to some future generation of colonists.

THE DISASTERS OF SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT

While the queen and her adventurers were dazzled by the glittering prospects of mines of gold in the frozen regions of the remote north, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, with a sounder judgment and a better knowledge, watched the progress of the fisheries, and formed healthy plans for colonisation. It was not difficult for Gilbert to obtain a liberal patent (June 11th, 1578), formed according to the tenor of a previous precedent, and to be of perpetual efficacy, if a plantation should be established within six years. To the people who might belong to his colony, the rights of Englishmen were promised; to Gilbert, the possession for himself or his assigns of the soil which he might discover, and the sole jurisdiction, both civil and criminal, of the territory within two hundred leagues of his settlement, with supreme executive and legislative authority. Thus the attempts at colonisation, in which Cabot and Frobisher had failed, were renewed under a patent that conferred every immunity on the leader of the enterprise, and abandoned the colonists themselves to the mercy of an absolute proprietary.



SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT
(1539–1583)

Under this patent, Gilbert began to collect a company of volunteer adventurers, contributing largely from his own fortune to the preparation. Jarrings and divisions ensued, before the voyage was begun; many abandoned what they had inconsiderately undertaken; the general and a few of his assured friends — among them his step-brother, Walter Raleigh [in command of the *Falcon*] — put to sea in 1579; one of his ships was lost; and misfortune compelled the remainder to return. The vagueness of the accounts of this expedition is ascribed to a conflict with a Spanish fleet, of which the issue was unfavourable to the little squadron of emigrants. Gilbert attempted to keep his patent alive by making grants of lands. None of his assigns succeeded in establishing a colony; and he was himself too much impoverished to renew his efforts.

But the pupil of Coligny was possessed of an active genius, which delighted in hazardous adventure. To prosecute discoveries in the New World, lay the foundation of states, and acquire immense domains, appeared to the daring enterprise of Raleigh as easy designs, which would not interfere with the pursuit of favour and the career of glory in England. Before the limit of the charter had expired, Gilbert, assisted by his brother, equipped a new squadron. The fleet embarked under happy omens; the commander, on the eve of his departure, received from Elizabeth a golden anchor guided by a lady, a token of the queen's regard; a man of letters from Hungary accompanied the expe-

dition; and some part of the United States would have then been colonised, had not the unhappy projector of the design been overwhelmed by a succession of disasters. Two days after leaving Plymouth (June 13th), the largest ship in the fleet, which had been furnished by Raleigh, who himself remained in England, deserted, under a pretence of infectious disease, and returned into harbour. Gilbert was incensed, but not intimidated. He sailed for Newfoundland; and, entering St. Johns, he summoned the Spaniards and Portuguese, and other strangers, to witness the feudal ceremonies by which he took possession of the country for his sovereign. A pillar, on which the arms of England were infixed, was raised as a monument; and lands were granted to the fishermen in fee, on condition of the payment of a quit-rent. The "mineral-man" of the expedition, an honest and religious Saxon, was especially diligent; it was generally agreed that "the mountains made a show of mineral substance"; as there were so many foreign vessels in the vicinity, the precious ore was carried on board the larger ship with such mystery that the dull Portuguese and Spaniards suspected nothing of the matter.*i*

The colony being thus apparently established, Sir Humphrey Gilbert embarked in his small frigate, the *Squirrel*, which was, in fact, a miserable bark of ten tons; and, taking with him two other ships, proceeded on a voyage of discovery to the southward. One of these vessels, the *Delight*, was soon after wrecked among the shoals near Sable Island; and of above one hundred men on board, only twelve escaped. Among those who perished were the historian and the mineralogist of the expedition; a circumstance which preyed upon the mind of Sir Humphrey, whose ardent temper fondly cherished the hope of fame and of inestimable riches. He now determined to return to England; but as his little frigate, as she is called, appeared wholly unfit to proceed on such a voyage, he was entreated not to venture in her, but to take his passage in the *Golden Hinde*. To these solicitations the gallant knight replied, "I will not forsake my little company going homeward, with whom I have passed so many storms and perils." When the two vessels had passed the Azores, Sir Humphrey's frigate was observed to be nearly overwhelmed by a great sea; she recovered, however, the stroke of the waves, and immediately afterwards the general was observed by those in the *Hinde*, sitting abaft with a book in his hand, and calling out, "Courage, my lads! we are as near heaven by sea as by land!" The same night this little bark, and all within her, were swallowed up in the sea, and never more heard of. Such was the unfortunate end of the brave Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who may be regarded as the father of western colonization, and who was one of the chief ornaments of the most chivalrous age of English history.*ii*

DUTCH EXPLORERS: HUDSON'S DISCOVERIES

Producing almost no grain of any kind, Holland had the best supplied granary of Europe: without fields of flax, it had an infinite number of weavers of linen: destitute of flocks, it became the centre of all woollen manufactures; and the country which had not a forest, built more ships than all Europe besides. Their enterprising mariners displayed the flag of the republic from Southern Africa to the Arctic circle. "The ships of the Dutch," said Raleigh, "outnumber those of England and ten other kingdoms." War for liberty became unexpectedly a guaranty of opulence; Holland gained the commerce of Spain by its maritime force; it secured the wealth of the Indies by traffic. Lisbon and Antwerp were despoiled; Amsterdam, the depot of the mer-

chandise of Europe and of the East, was esteemed beyond dispute the first commercial city of the world.

Within two years of the Union of Utrecht, that is, in 1581, Bath, an Englishman who had five times crossed the Atlantic, proposed to the States to conduct four ships of war to America. The adventure was declined by the government; but no obstacles were offered to private enterprise. Ten years afterwards, William Usselinx, who had lived some years in Castile, Portugal, and the Azores, proposed a West India Company; but the dangers of the undertaking were still too appalling. It was not till 1597 that voyages to the New World were actually undertaken. In that year, Bikker of Amsterdam, and Leyen of Enkhuisen, each formed a company to traffic with the West Indies. The commerce was continued with such success, that, after years of discussion, a plan for a West India Company was reduced to writing, and communicated to the states general, 1600.

As years rolled away, the progress of English commerce in the west awakened the attention of the Dutch. England and Holland had been allies in the contest against Spain; had both spread their sails on the Indian seas; had both become competitors for possessions in America. In the same year in which Smith embarked for Virginia, vast designs were ripening among the Dutch. Their merchants had perused every work which shed light on the western world, had gathered intelligence from the narratives of sailors; and now they planned a privileged company, which should count the states general among its stockholders, and possess, exclusively, the liberty of approaching America from Newfoundland to the straits of Magellan, and Africa from the tropics to the Cape of Good Hope. Principalities might easily be won from the Spaniards, whose scattered citadels protected but a narrow zone.

The party which desired peace with Spain, and which counted Grotius and Olden Barneveldt among its ornaments, for a long time succeeded in repressing the energy of hope, and defeating every effort at Batavian settlements in the west.

While the negotiations with Spain postponed the formation of a West India Company, the Dutch found their way to the United States through another channel. The first efforts of the Dutch merchants to share in the commerce of Asia were accompanied with a desire to search for a northwest passage; and the ill success of Cabot and Frobisher, of Willoughby and Davis, did but animate the Netherlands to a generous rivalry. Twice in the sixteenth century [as described in our history of Holland,] did they seek a passage by the north, and vainly coasted along Nova Zembla and Muscovy. Again did the envoy of Amsterdam descend within ten degrees of the pole, passing a winter in Nova Zembla, rendered horrible by famine, by the ferocity of polar beasts of prey, and by ice; the ship was frozen in hopelessly; in two little vessels the wretched crew hardly escaped. The voyages of the Dutch were esteemed without a parallel, for their daring.

The establishment of an East India Company, March 20th, 1602, with the exclusive right to commerce beyond the Cape of Good Hope on the one side, and beyond the straits of Magellan on the other, with all powers requisite for conquests, colonisation, and government, covered the seas of Asia with fleets of Indiamen.

Meantime Europe had not relinquished the hope of a nearer passage to Asia; and Denmark took its place among the states whose ships vainly toiled for the discovery. No sooner was the failure known than a company of London merchants, excited by the immense profits of voyages to the East,

contributed the means for a new attempt; and Henry Hudson was the chosen leader of the expedition. Sailing to the north in 1607, with his only son for his companion, he coasted the shores of Greenland, and hesitated whether to attempt the circumnavigation of that country, or the passage across the pole. What though he came within eight degrees of the pole, thus surpassing every earlier navigator? After renewing the discovery of Spitzbergen, vast masses of ice compelled his return. But the zeal of Hudson could not be quenched; and the next year beheld him once more engaged in a voyage, and cherishing the deceitful hope that, through the icy seas which divide Spitzbergen from Nova Zembla, he might find a path to the genial clime of southern Asia.

The failure of two expeditions daunted the enterprise of Hudson's employers; they could not daunt the courage of the great navigator, who was destined to become the rival of Smith and of Champlain. He longed to tempt once more the dangers of the northern seas; and, repairing to Holland, he offered, in the service of the Dutch East India Company, to explore the icy wastes in search of the coveted passage. The voyage of Smith to Virginia stimulated desire; the Zealanders, fearing the loss of treasure, objected; but by the influence of Balthazar Moucheron, the directors for Amsterdam resolved on equipping a small vessel of discovery; and on the fourth day of April, 1609, the *Half Moon*, or *Crescent*, commanded by Hudson, and manned by a mixed crew of Englishmen and Hollanders, his only son being of the number, set sail for the Northwestern Passage.

Masses of ice impeded the navigation towards Nova Zembla; Hudson, who had examined the maps of John Smith of Virginia, turned to the west; and passing beyond Greenland and Newfoundland, and running down the coast of Acadia, he anchored, probably, in the mouth of the Penobscot. Then, following the track of Gosnold, he came upon the promontory of Cape Cod, and, believing himself its first discoverer, gave it the name of New Holland. Long afterwards it was claimed as the northeastern boundary of New Netherlands. From the sands of Cape Cod, he steered a southerly course till he was opposite the entrance into the bay of Virginia, August 18th, where Hudson remembered that his countrymen were planted. Then turning again to the north, he discovered the Delaware Bay, examined its currents and its soundings, and, without going on shore, took note of the aspect of the country.

On the third day of September, almost at the time when Champlain was invading New York from the north, less than five months after the truce with Spain, which gave the Netherlands a diplomatic existence as a state, the *Half Moon* anchored within Sandy Hook, September 4, 1609, and from the neighbouring shores, that were crowned with "goodly oakes," attracted frequent visits from the natives. After a week's delay, Hudson sailed through the Narrows, September 11th, and at the mouth of the river anchored in a harbour which was pronounced to be very good for all winds. Of the surrounding lands, the luxuriant grass, the flowers, the trees, the grateful fragrance, were admired. Ten days were employed in exploring the river; the first of Europeans,[1] Hudson went sounding his way above the Highlands, till at last the *Half Moon* had sailed some miles beyond the present city of Hudson, and a boat had advanced a little beyond Albany. Frequent intercourse was held with the astonished natives of the Algonquin race; and the strangers were welcomed by a deputation from the Mohawks. Having completed

[1 In speaking of Hudson's discovery of the river that bears his name, it is of course to be remembered that Verrazano had anchored in the bay of New York and seen the *grandissima riviera* nearly a century before Hudson, who, however, was the first to explore it.]

his discovery, Hudson descended the stream to which time has given his name; and on the fourth day of October, about the season of the return of John Smith to England, he set sail for Europe, leaving once more to its solitude the land, that his imagination, anticipating the future, described as "the most beautiful" in the world.

The history of a country is always modified by its climate, and, in many of its features, is determined by its geographical situation. The region which Hudson had discovered possessed on the seaboard a harbour unrivalled in its advantages; having near its eastern boundary a river that admits the tide far into the interior; extending to the chain of the great lakes, which have their springs in the heart of the continent; containing within its limits the sources of large rivers that flow to the gulf of Mexico and to the bays of Chesapeake and of Delaware; inviting to extensive internal intercourse by natural channels, of which, long before Hudson anchored off Sandy Hook, even the warriors of the Five Nations availed themselves in their excursions to Quebec, to the Ohio, or the Susquehanna; with just sufficient difficulties to irritate, and not enough to dishearten — New York united most fertile lands with the highest adaptation to foreign and domestic commerce.

A happy return voyage brought the *Half Moon* into Dartmouth. Hudson forwarded to his Dutch employers a brilliant account of his discoveries; but he never revisited the lands which he eulogized; and the Dutch East India Company refused to search further for the Northwest Passage.

Meantime ambition revived among the English merchants; a company was formed, and Hudson again entered, April 17th, 1610, the northern seas in search of a path to the Pacific. Passing Iceland, and Greenland, and Frobisher's Straits, he sailed, August 2nd, into the straits which bear his own name, and where he had been preceded by none but Sebastian Cabot. As he emerged from the passage and came upon the wide gulf, he believed that his object had been gained. How great was his disappointment when he found himself embayed! As he sailed to and fro along the coast, it seemed a labyrinth without end; still confident of ultimate success, the inflexible mariner resolved on wintering in the bay, that he might perfect his discovery in the spring. At length the late and anxiously-expected spring burst forth; but it opened in vain for Hudson. Provisions were exhausted: he divided the last bread among his men, and prepared for them a bill of return; and "he wept as he gave it them." Believing himself almost on the point of succeeding where Spaniards, and English, and Danes, and Dutch, had failed, he left his anchoring-place to steer for Europe.

For two days the ship was encompassed by fields of ice, and the discontent of the crew broke forth into mutiny. Hudson was seized June 21st, 1610, and, with his only son and seven others, four of whom were sick, was thrown into the shallop. Seeing his commander thus exposed, Philip Staffe, the carpenter, demanded and gained leave to share his fate; and just as the ship made its way out of the ice, on the longest summer's day, in a latitude where the sun hardly went down, and twilight ceased only with the dawn, the shallop was cut loose. What became of Hudson? Did he die miserably of starvation? Did he reach land to perish from the fury of the natives? Was he crushed between ribs of ice? The returning ship encountered storms, by which, it is probable, Hudson was overwhelmed. Alone, of the great mariners of that day, he lies buried in America; the gloomy waste of waters which bears his name is his tomb and his monument.[i]

John Fiske thus vividly sums up the life and achievements of Hudson:

"In all that he attempted he failed, and yet he achieved great results that

[1610 A.D.]

were not contemplated in his schemes. He started two immense industries, the Spitzbergen whale fisheries and the Hudson Bay fur trade; and he brought the Dutch to Manhattan Island. No realisation of his dreams could have approached the astonishing reality which would have greeted him could he have looked through the coming centuries and caught a glimpse of what the voyager now beholds in sailing up the bay of New York. But what perhaps would have surprised him most of all would have been to learn that his name was to become part of the folk-lore of the beautiful river to which it is attached, that he was to figure as a Dutchman, in spite of himself, in legend and on the stage; that when it is thunder weather on the Catskills the children should say it is Hendrik Hudson playing at skittles with his goblin crew. Perhaps it is not an unkindly fate. Even as Milton wished for his dead friend Lycidas that he might become the genius of the shore, so the memory of the great Arctic navigator will remain a familiar presence among the hillsides which the gentle fancy of Irving has clothed with undying romance.[ii]





CHAPTER III

THE INDIANS

To recognise the Indian ownership of the limitless prairies and forests of this continent — that is, to consider the dozen squalid savages who hunted at long intervals over a territory of a thousand square miles as owning it outright — necessarily implies a similar recognition of the claims of every white hunter, squatter, horse-thief, or wandering cattle-man. Take as an example the country round the Little Missouri. When the cattle-men, the first actual settlers, came into this land in 1882, it was already scantily peopled by a few white hunters and trappers. Like the Indians, they felt that their having hunted over the soil gave them a vague prescriptive right to its sole occupation, and they did their best to keep actual settlers out. In some cases, to avoid difficulty, their nominal claims were bought up; generally, and rightly, they were disregarded. In fact, the mere statement of the case is sufficient to show the absurdity of asserting that the land really belonged to the Indians. The different tribes have always been utterly unable to define their own boundaries. Thus the Delawares and Wyandots, in 1785, though entirely separate nations, claimed and, in a certain sense, occupied almost exactly the same territory. — THEODORE ROOSEVELT. [b]

THE common belief in "the gradual extinction of the noble red Indian," perpetuates at least four fallacies. The being referred to is not an Indian; he is red only when he paints himself so; he is not often noble; and he is not being extinguished.

Everyone knows, of course, that Columbus named the aborigines as he did, because he thought he had found India. The mistake was soon discovered to the disappointment of the Spanish and the ruin of Columbus, but the word Indian has stuck till the real Indians are now commonly dubbed Hindus or East Indians. The epithet "red" is due to pure carelessness, or wish for brevity, as the Indian is usually of a cinnamon brown tone. As Columbus' contemporary, Gomara[c] said, they "were neither white, black, nor grey, but like men with the jaundice or of the colour of boiled quinces. The

nobility of the Indian is credited to him on various grounds; first, the picturesqueness of certain features of his life, the romance that always attaches to the woods and to the outlaw, to the freedom from many of those restrictions and oppressions of European law and custom previous to the nineteenth century which so irritated men like Rousseau; also to the persistent feeling that in a contest where both sides use cruelty and treachery freely, the one who loses must have lost because he could not stoop to certain weapons, and finally, to the poetic belief in the majesty of the vanquished. On the other hand, the other extreme of belief that no Indian is trustworthy or worthy at all, is equally to be shunned, for history is full of evidences of tribal and individual fidelity, scrupulousness, compassion and honour.

THE INDIAN NOT BECOMING EXTINCT

The theory that the Indian race is waning into limbo along with the dodo and the bison is a theory that will die even harder than the Indian. It is impossible that the race should ever expect much influence again on American life; it is probable that it will gradually be absorbed into the national life by intermarriage and education. But for the present, the Indian population is generally accepted as at worst stationary.

There are many grounds for believing that there are more Indians living in America to-day than there were when Columbus landed. The wild exaggerations natural to the excited and terrified pioneers were too long accepted as truth. As a matter of fact there were vast tracts of territory which the Indians never travelled. The very necessities of the hunt made a crowded civilisation impossible. They lived in small and widely isolated tribes. Famine was their bitterest foe, and their legends are full of the ravages it made in their numbers. Starvation, pestilence, and inter-tribal war kept down their numbers long before the white man's gun startled the forests.

With this view Theodore Roosevelt [b] differs somewhat: "Formerly writers greatly overestimated their original numbers, counting them by millions. Now it is the fashion to go to the other extreme, and even to maintain that they have not decreased at all. This last is a theory that can only be upheld on the supposition that the whole does not consist of the sum of the parts; for whereas we can check off on our fingers the tribes that have slightly increased, we can enumerate scores that have died out almost before our eyes. Speaking broadly, they have mixed but little with the English (as distinguished from the French and Spanish) invaders. They are driven back, or die out, or retire to their own reservations; but they are not often assimilated. Still, on every frontier, there is always a certain amount of assimilation going on, much more than is commonly admitted; and whenever a French or Spanish community has been absorbed by the energetic Americans, a certain amount of Indian blood has been absorbed also."

Opposed to the theory that the Indian is a creature of profound nobility, is the theory that he is the degenerate relic of a former high civilisation. This belief has been shown to be false. In Central America, Mexico and Peru, as is shown in our history of those regions, there was indeed a life in cities, where stone architecture, hieroglyphic writing and sculpture were employed, and where luxury reached a high point of lavishness, but this civilisation was in force at the time the Spanish came; it was in many respects only a barbarism with mitigations, and it was doubtless only the beginning of a progress which was smothered, as smaller billows by a tidal wave, under the sudden shock of European culture which for all its cruelty was centuries

ahead of that in America. The condition of these advanced Indian races is discussed more fully in the Mexican, Central and South American sections of our history.

As the southern Indians were emerging into civilisation, so the northern were well lifted up above the lowest degrees of savagery. Early explorers like De Soto found some Indians devoted to agriculture and unused to war. Others led a sort of Bedouin existence. Their forest life seemed to be that, not of ignorance, but of conscious choice and pride; they had tribal government with a high and valued degree of personal liberty. They had languages — too many in fact, four hundred being the highest and one hundred and twenty-six the lowest estimate of the number of American languages. The Indian had pottery, implements of peace and war, and a currency. He had a superb system of warfare.

THE INDIAN AS A MILITARY GENIUS

As a soldier the Indian may be said to have revolutionised war. The approved tactics of to-day are those which the Indians developed and which the white learned from him at great cost in frequent lessons. The essentials of discipline were rigidly preserved yet with the fullest development of personal initiative. Coöperation and signal service were well understood too, and they had beautifully attained the tactics of swift attack at a carefully selected moment and retreat with a minimum loss at a maximum speed. The Indian took the horse and gun from the white man and soon almost equalled him in their management. As for finding and using cover, scouting and the general service of information, of keeping in touch with the enemy and learning as much as possible of him without self-betrayal — the world never before knew what the words meant, in comparison with the Indian perfection.

The white man had to learn to fight Indian fashion or be driven back to the sea that brought him over. He learned the lesson well and by having an inexhaustible base of supplies and recruits, and by virtue of his religious love of a fixed home and established industry, he gradually established white civilisation behind a stockade which the Indians might endanger and alarm, but could not capture and hold.

It is to the Indian, in a large sense, that the United States owes its independence. For the Indian unwittingly taught the white the value, the need, the thrill of freedom, the necessity and the pride of individuality, and finally the true science of warfare by which the irregular colonial troops gradually harassed the British regular to desperation and rashness and wore out even English pluck and perseverance. Again, since many British historians credit the American Revolution with solidifying the liberty of the English parliament against royal encroachments, it is a curious, and not altogether a false deduction, that to the American Indian the English people are indebted for some of their freedom.

INDIAN CRUELTY AND WHITE CRUELTY

As to the cruelty of the Indian, there is no defence. It is not to lack of imagination or to lack of sympathy, so much as to sheer and wanton delight in pain. The fascinations of torment were sometimes inflicted on themselves and the training of a warrior occasionally included such ordeals as gave a new appearance to his infliction of the same tortures on captives. Outside of actual torture some of the Indians treated their women captives with a

respect bordering on indifference. The plains Indians, however, added the horrors of rapine to the feeling of hatred and dread they inspired. But it must be remembered that in contemporary Europe general rapine was the custom in captured cities and that the Inquisition was showing how illiterate in the highest art of fiendishness the untutored Indian actually was. Torture was still a civil institution even in England and Scotland, and as late as 1646 a woman had her tongue nailed to a board at Henley-on-the-Thames because she complained of a tax levied by parliament. The English in the East Indies were using as great cruelties against the natives as the western Indians used against the invaders. The characters of the various tribes of Indians were almost as diverse as those of the different races and castes of Europe. The patriarchal idea of polygamy and the Roman idea of divorce at will were general. Personal habits varied from the filth and brutality of some northwest and Eskimo tribes to the sense of beauty and adornment, the gentle dignity of the Sacs and Foxes and some of the eastern tribes. Ideas of decency were, as everywhere, inconsistent. In some of the tribes where nakedness was almost absolute, a man or woman would be ashamed, unless very drunk, even to speak to, or look in the eye of a son-in-law or daughter-in-law. The ideas of "uncleanness" and its removal were akin to those of the Hebrews.

The Indian has been nearly as much sinned against as sinning. As Theodore Roosevelt [b] and others point out, it is ridiculous to say that a few hundred Indians secured a property right over the great forest lands which they did not clear and till, did not mark out with boundaries, fixed no habitations upon, and about whose ownership they did not even fight among one another, except when it was for the time rich in game. The whites had quite as good a right here as the Indian, and the nature of their plans made the right superior. But the white cheated the Indian right and left, lied to him, robbed him, enslaved him, gave him rum with malice prepense. Against the cruelties of the Indians are to be set the retaliations in kind of the whites. Frontenac burned prisoners at the stake in 1692 (though the French in general treated the Indian with the greatest consideration and got on best with him); in 1764 the grandson of William Penn offered bounties for scalps, including $50 for the scalp of an Indian woman, and $130 for the scalp of an Indian boy under ten years old. It was a common thing for the whites to kill all their prisoners, and again it must be remembered what unspeakable atrocities were practised in Europe at the capture of a European city by Europeans, of Netherland towns by the Spanish for example, and of the Christian city of Constantinople by the holy crusaders. And the sum total of Indian atrocities is almost negligible in comparison with the superhuman ruthlessness of the Spaniards, who, as we shall see in the next chapter, absolutely annihilated whole tribes of Indians. And even in the years since the white has put the Indian under such control that he is no longer a serious danger, the treatment of him has been by no means such as to show that honesty, mercy, and truth are the exclusive importation of European civilisation.

As a whole, then, the Indian has been like everyone else. His environment moulded him and yet he was slowly rising in civilisation. He was a mixture of good impulses and bad, and they took turns in control of his action. Few things in history are more hideous than certain of his deeds, and few things are more beautiful than others. About him there has grown up a dual school of literature: the poetic phase of Chateaubriand, Cooper and Longfellow, and the cynical which denies him any praise whatever. There are truth and falsehood in about equal proportion in each phase. The real Indian oscillated between the sublime and the ridiculous as did the knights errant of

the Middle Ages. Meanwhile, we have him to thank for adding to history one of its most interesting phases. A summary of the principal tribal divisions of the Indian population is desirable.[a]

THWAITES [1] ON THE INDIAN TRIBES AND THEIR NUMBERS

The North Americans presented a considerable variety of types, ranging from the southern Indians, some of whose tribes were rather above the Caribs in material advancement, and quite superior to them in mental calibre, down to the Diggers, the savage root-eaters of the Cordilleran region.

The migrations of some of the Red Indian tribes were frequent, and they occupied overlapping territories, so that it is impossible to fix the tribal boundaries with any degree of exactness. Again, the tribes were so merged by intermarriage, by affiliation, by consolidation, by the fact that there were numerous polyglot villages of renegades, by similarities in manner, habits, and appearance, that it is difficult even to separate the savages into families. It is only on philological grounds that these divisions can be made at all. In a general way we may say that between the Atlantic and the Rockies, Hudson Bay and the Gulf of Mexico, there were four Indian languages in vogue, with great varieties of local dialect.



A Sioux Indian

The Algonquins were the most numerous, holding the greater portion of the country from the unoccupied "debatable land" of Kentucky northward to Hudson Bay, and from the Atlantic westward to the Mississippi. Among their tribes were the Narragansetts and Mohicans. These savages were rude in life and manners, were intensely warlike, depended for subsistence chiefly on hunting and fishing, lived in rude wigwams covered with bark, skins, or matted reeds, practised agriculture in a crude fashion, and were less stable in their habitations than the southern Indians. They have made a larger figure in our history than any other family, because through their lands came the heaviest and most aggressive movement of white population. Estimates of early Indian populations necessarily differ, in the absence of accurate knowledge, but it is now known that the numbers were never so great as was at first estimated. The colonists on the Atlantic seaboard found a native population much larger than elsewhere existed, for the Indians had a superstitious, almost a romantic, attachment to the seaside; and fish-food abounded there. Back from the waterfalls on the Atlantic slope — in the mountains and beyond — there were large areas destitute of inhabitants; and even in the nominally occupied territory the villages were generally small and far apart. A careful modern estimate is that the Algonquins at no time numbered over ninety thousand souls, and possibly not over fifty thousand.

In the heart of this Algonquin land was planted the ethnic group called the Iroquois, with its several distinct branches, often at war with each other. The craftiest, most daring, and most intelligent of Red Indians, yet still in the savage hunter state, the Iroquois were the terror of every native band east of the Mississippi, and eventually pitted themselves against their white

[1 Reproduced by permission. Copyright, 1897, by Longmans, Green, & Co.]

neighbours. The five principal tribes of this family — Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas, all stationed in palisaded villages south and east of lakes Erie and Ontario — formed a loose confederacy, styled by themselves "The Long House," and by the whites "The Five Nations," which firmly held the waterways connecting the Hudson river and the Great Lakes. The population of the entire group was not over seventeen thousand — a remarkably small number, considering the active part they played in American history, and the control which they exercised through wide tracts of Algonquin territory. Later they were joined by the Tuscaroras from North Carolina, and the confederacy was thereafter known as "The Six Nations."

The southern Indians occupied the country between the Tennessee river and the Gulf, the Appalachian ranges and the Mississippi. They were divided into five lax confederacies — the Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks, and Seminoles. Of a milder disposition than their northern cousins, they were rather in a barbarous than a savage state. The Creeks, in particular, had good intellects, were fair agriculturists, and quickly adopted many mechanic and rural arts from their white neighbours; so that by the time of the revolution they were not far behind the small white proprietors in industrial or domestic methods. In the Indian Territory of to-day the descendants of some of these southern Indians are good farmers and herdsmen, with a capacity for self-government and shrewd business dealing. It is not thought that the southern tribes ever numbered above fifty thousand persons.

The Dakota or Sioux family occupied for the most part the country beyond the Mississippi. They were and are a fierce, high-strung people, are genuine nomads, and war appears to have been their chief occupation. Before the advent of the Spaniards they were foot-wanderers; but runaway horses came to them from Mexico and from the exploring expeditions of Narvaez, Coronado, and De Soto, and very early in the historic period the Indians of the far western plains became expert horsemen, attaining a degree of equestrian skill equal to that of the desert-dwelling Arabs. Outlying bands of the Dakotas once occupied the greater part of Wisconsin and northern Illinois, and were, it is believed by competent investigators, one of the various tribes of mound-builders. Upon withdrawing to the west of the Mississippi, they left behind them one of their tribes — the Winnebagos — whom Nicolet found (1634) resident on and about Green Bay of Lake Michigan, at peace and in confederacy with the Algonquins, who hedged them about. Other trans-Mississippi nations there are, but they are neither as large nor of such historical importance as the Dakotas.

The above enumeration, covering the territory south of Hudson Bay and east of the Rocky Mountains, embraces those savage nations with which the white colonists of North America have longest been in contact. North and west of these limits were and are other aboriginal tribes of the same race, but materially differing from those to whom allusion has been made, as well as from each other, in speech, stature, feature, and custom. These, too, lie, generally speaking, in ethnological zones. North of British Columbia are the fish-eating and filthy Hyperboreans, including the Eskimos and the tribes of Alaska and the British Northwest. South of these dwell the Columbians — the aborigines of Oregon, Washington, and British Columbia — a somewhat higher type than the Hyperboreans, but much degenerated from contact with whites. The Californians are settled not only in what is now termed California, but stretch back irregularly into the mountains of Oregon, Idaho, Nevada, and Utah.[d]

FRANCIS PARKMAN'S[1] ACCOUNT OF THE INDIAN LIFE AND CHARACTER

The Indian is a true child of the forest and the desert. The wastes and solitudes of nature are his congenial home. His haughty mind is imbued with the spirit of the wilderness, and the light of civilisation falls on him with a blighting power. His unruly pride and untamed freedom are in harmony with the lonely mountains, cataracts, and rivers among which he dwells; and primitive America, with her savage scenery and savage men, opens to the imagination a boundless world, unmatched in wild sublimity.

The Indians east of the Mississippi may be divided into several great families, each distinguished by a radical peculiarity of language. In their moral and intellectual, their social and political state, these various families exhibit strong shades of distinction; but, before pointing them out, I shall indicate a few prominent characteristics, which, faintly or distinctly, mark the whole in common.

All are alike a race of hunters, sustaining life wholly, or in part, by the fruits of the chase. Each family is split into tribes; and these tribes, by the exigencies of the hunter life, are again divided into sub-tribes, bands, or villages, often scattered far asunder, over a wide extent of wilderness. Unhappily for the strength and harmony of the Indian race, each tribe is prone to regard itself, not as the member of a great whole, but as a sovereign and independent nation, often arrogating to itself an importance superior to all the rest of mankind;[2] and the warrior whose petty horde might muster a few scores of half-starved fighting men, strikes his hand upon his heart, and exclaims, in all the pride of patriotism, "I am a Menomone."

In an Indian community, each man is his own master. He abhors restraint and owns no other authority than his own capricious will; and yet this wild notion of liberty is not consistent with certain gradations of rank and influence. Each tribe has its sachem, or civil chief, whose office is in a manner hereditary, and, among many, though by no means among all tribes, descends in the female line; so that the brother of the incumbent, or the son of his sister, and not of his own son, is the rightful successor to his dignities.[3] If, however, in the opinion of the old men and subordinate chiefs, the heir should be disqualified for the exercise of the office by cowardice, incapacity, or any defect of character, they do not scruple to discard him, and elect another in his place, usually fixing their choice on one of his relatives. The office of the sachem is no enviable one. He has neither laws to administer nor power to enforce his commands. His counsellors are the inferior chiefs and principal men of the tribe; and he never sets himself in opposition to the popular will, which is the sovereign power of these savage democracies. His province is to advise, and not to dictate; but, should he be a man of energy, talent, and address, and especially should he be supported by numerous relatives and friends, he may often acquire no small measure of respect and power. A

[1 Perhaps no one has known the Indians or their homes better than Francis Parkman, who lived among them in the wilderness, sympathised both with their patriotism to their tribes and with the civilisation that shackled them; who hunted out their records with indefatigable zeal in book and manuscript, and who wrote so brilliantly that John Fiske[e] was moved to call him "incomparably the greatest historian that America has produced." From his description of the Indian character we shall quote liberally.]

[2] Many Indian tribes bear names which in their dialect signify men, indicating that the character belongs, *par excellence*, to them. Sometimes the word was used by itself, and sometimes an adjective was joined with it, as original men, men surpassing all others.

[3] The dread of female infidelity has been assigned, and with probable truth, as the origin of this custom. The sons of a chief's sister must necessarily be his kindred; though his own reputed son may be, in fact, the offspring of another.

clear distinction is drawn between the civil and military authority, though both are often united in the same person. The functions of war-chief may, for the most part, be exercised by any one whose prowess and reputation are sufficient to induce the young men to follow him to battle; and he may, whenever he thinks proper, raise a band of volunteers, and go out against the common enemy.

We might imagine that a society so loosely framed would soon resolve itself into anarchy; yet this is not the case, and an Indian village is singularly free from wranglings and petty strife. Several causes conspire to this result. The necessities of the hunter life, preventing the accumulation of large communities, make more stringent organization needless; while a species of self-control, inculcated from childhood upon every individual, enforced by a sentiment of dignity and manhood, and greatly aided by the peculiar temperament of the race, tends strongly to the promotion of harmony. Though he owns no law, the Indian is inflexible in his adherence to ancient usages and customs; and the principle of hero-worship, which belongs to his nature, inspires him with deep respect for the sages and captains of his tribe. The very rudeness of his condition, and the absence of the passions which wealth, luxury, and the other incidents of civilisation engender, are favourable to internal harmony; and to the same cause must likewise be ascribed too many of his virtues, which would quickly vanish, were he elevated from his savage state.

A peculiar social institution exists among the Indians, highly curious in its character; and though I am not prepared to say that it may be traced through all the tribes east of the Mississippi, yet its prevalence is so general, and its influence on political relations so important, as to claim especial attention. Indian communities, independently of their local distribution into tribes, bands, and villages, are composed of several distinct clans. Each clan has its emblem, consisting of the figure of some bird, beast, or reptile; and each is distinguished by the name of the animal which it thus bears as its device; as, for example, the clan of the Wolf, the Deer, the Otter, or the Hawk. In the language of the Algonquins, these emblems are known by the name of *Totems*.[1] The members of the same clan, being connected, or supposed to be so, by ties of kindred, more or less remote, are prohibited from intermarriage. Thus Wolf cannot marry Wolf; but he may, if he chooses, take a wife from the clan of the Hawks, or any other clan but his own. It follows that when this prohibition is rigidly observed, no single clan can live apart from the rest; but the whole must be mingled together, and in every family the husband and wife must be of different clans.

To different totems attach different degrees of rank and dignity; and those of the Bear, the Tortoise, and the Wolf are among the first in honour. Each man is proud of his badge, jealously asserting its claims to respect; and the members of the same clan, though they may, perhaps, speak different dialects, and dwell far asunder, are yet bound together by the closest ties of fraternity. If a man is killed, every member of the clan feels called upon to avenge him; and the wayfarer, the hunter, or the warrior is sure of a cordial welcome in the distant lodge of the clansman whose face perhaps he has never seen. It may be added that certain privileges, highly prized as hereditary

[1] See Schoolcraft, *f Oneota*. The extraordinary figures intended to represent tortoises, deer, snakes, and other animals, which are often seen appended to Indian treaties, are the totems of the chiefs, who employ these devices of their respective clans as their sign manual. The device of his clan is also sometimes tattooed on the body of the warrior. The word tribe might, perhaps, have been employed with as much propriety as that of clan, to indicate the totemic division; but as the former is constantly employed to represent the local or political divisions of the Indian race, hopeless confusion would arise from using it in a double capacity.

rights, sometimes reside in particular clans; such as that of furnishing a sachem to the tribe, or of performing certain religious ceremonies or magic rites.

The Indians east of the Mississippi may be divided into three great families; the Iroquois, the Algonquin, and the Mobilian, each speaking a language of its own, varied by numerous dialectic forms. To these families must be added a few stragglers from the great western race of the Dakota, besides several distinct tribes of the south, each of which has been regarded as speaking a tongue peculiar to itself. The Mobilian group embraces the motley confederacy of the Creeks, the crafty Choctaws, and the staunch and warlike Chickasaws. Of these, and of the distinct tribes dwelling in their vicinity, or within their limits, I shall only observe that they offer, with many modifications, and under different aspects, the same essential features which mark the Iroquois and the Algonquins, the two great families of the north. The latter, who were the conspicuous actors in the events of the ensuing narrative, demand a closer attention.

Foremost in war, foremost in eloquence, foremost in their savage arts of policy, stood the fierce people called by themselves the Hodenosaunee, and by the French the Iroquois, a name which has since been applied to the entire family of which they formed the dominant member.[1] They extended their conquests and their depredations from Quebec to the Carolinas, and from the western prairies to the forests of Maine.[2] On the south, they forced tribute from the subjugated Delawares, and pierced the mountain fastnesses of the Cherokees with incessant forays.[3] On the north, they uprooted the ancient settlements of the Wyandots; on the west they exterminated the Eries and the Andantes [Conestogas], and spread havoc and dismay among the tribes of the Illinois; and on the east, the Indians of New England fled at the first peal of the Mohawk war-cry. Nor was it the Indian race alone who quailed before their ferocious valour. All Canada shook with the desolating fury of their onset; the people fled to the forts for refuge; the blood-besmeared conquerors roamed like wolves among the burning settlements, and the youthful colony trembled on the brink of ruin.

The Iroquois in some measure owed their triumphs to the position of their country; for they dwelt within the present limits of the state of New York, whence several great rivers and the inland oceans of the northern lakes opened

[1] A great difficulty in the study of Indian history arises from a redundancy of names employed to designate the same tribe; yet this does not prevent the same name from being often used to designate two or more different tribes. The following are the chief of those which are applied to the Iroquois by different writers, French, English, and German: Iroquis, Five, and afterwards Six Nations; Confederates, Hodenosaunee, Aquanuscioni, Aggonnonshioni, Ongwe Honwe, Mengwe, Maquas, Mahaquase, Massawomecs, Palenachendchiesktajeet. The name of Massawomecs has been applied to several tribes; and that of Mingoes is often restricted to a colony of the Iroquois which established itself near the Ohio.

[2] François, a well-known Indian belonging to the remnant of the Penobscots living at Old Town, in Maine, told me, in the summer of 1843, that a tradition was current, among his people, of their being attacked in ancient times by the Mohawks, or, as he called them, Mohogs, a tribe of the Iroquois, who destroyed one of their villages, killed the men and women, and roasted the small children on forked sticks, like apples, before the fire. When he began to tell his story, François was engaged in patching an old canoe, in preparation for a moose hunt; but soon growing warm with his recital, he gave over his work, and at the conclusion exclaimed with great wrath and earnestness, "Mohog all devil!"

[3] The tribute exacted from the Delawares consisted of wampum, or beads of shell, an article of inestimable value with the Indians. "Two old men commonly go about, every year or two, to receive this tribute; and I have often had opportunity to observe what anxiety the poor Indians were under, while these two old men remained in that part of the country where I was. An old Mohawk sachem, in a poor blanket and a dirty shirt, may be seen issuing his orders with as arbitrary an authority as a Roman dictator." — COLDEN.[9]

ready thoroughfares to their roving warriors through all the adjacent wilderness. But the true fountain of their success is to be sought in their own inherent energies, wrought to the most effective action under a political fabric well suited to the Indian life; in their mental and moral organisation; in their insatiable ambition and restless ferocity.

In their scheme of government, as in their social customs and religious observances, the Iroquois displayed, in full symmetry and matured strength, the same characteristics which in other tribes are found distorted, withered, decayed to the root, or, perhaps, faintly visible in an imperfect germ. They consisted of five tribes or nations — the Mohawks, the Oneidas, the Onondagas, the Cayugas, and the Senecas, to whom a sixth, the Tuscaroras, was afterwards added.[1] To each of these tribes belonged an organisation of its own. Each had several sachems, who, with the subordinate chiefs and principal men, regulated all its internal affairs; but, when foreign powers were to be treated with, or matters involving the whole confederacy required deliberation, all the sachems of the several tribes convened in general assembly at the great council-house, in the valley of Onondaga. Here ambassadors were received, alliances were adjusted, and all subjects of general interest discussed with exemplary harmony.[2] The order of debate was prescribed by time-honoured customs, and, in the fiercest heat of controversy, the assembly maintained its iron self-control.

But the main stay of Iroquois polity was the system of *totemship*. It was this which gave the structure its elastic strength; and but for this, a mere confederacy of jealous and warlike tribes must soon have been rent asunder by shocks from without or discord from within. At some early period, the Iroquois must have formed an individual nation; for the whole people, irrespective of their separation into tribes, consisted of eight totemic clans; and the members of each clan, to what nation soever they belonged, were mutually bound to one another by those close ties of fraternity which mark this singular institution. Thus the five nations of the confederacy were laced together by an eight-fold band; and to this hour their slender remnants cling to one another with invincible tenacity.

It was no small security to the liberties of the Iroquois — liberties which they valued beyond any other possession — that by the Indian custom of descent in the female line, which among them was more rigidly adhered to than elsewhere, the office of the sachem must pass, not to his son, but to his brother, his sister's son, or some yet remoter kinsman. His power was con-

[1] The following are synonymous names, gathered from various writers: Mohawks, Anies, Agniers, Agnierrhonons, Sankhicans, Canungas, Mauguawogs, Ganeagaonoh, Oneidas, Oneotas, Onoyats, Anoyints, Onneiouts, Oneyyotecaronoh, Onoiochrhonons, Onondagas, Onnontagues, Onondagaonohs, Cayugas, Caiyoquos, Goiogoens, Gweugwehonoh, Senecas, Sinnikes, Chennessies, Genesees, Chenandoanes, Tsonnontouans, Jenontowanos, Nundawaronoh.

[2] "In the year 1745, August Gottlieb Spangenburg, a bishop of the United Brethren, spent several weeks in Onondaga, and frequently attended the great council. The council-house was built of bark. On each side six seats were placed, each containing six persons. No one was admitted besides the members of the council, except a few who were particularly honored. If one rose to speak, all the rest sat in profound silence, smoking their pipes. The speaker uttered his words in a singing tone, always rising a few notes at the close of each sentence. Whatever was pleasing to the council was confirmed by all with the word *nee*, or "*yes*." And, at the end of each speech, the whole company joined in applauding the speaker by calling *hoho*. At noon, two men entered bearing a large kettle filled with meat, upon a pole across their shoulders, which was first presented to the guests. A large wooden ladle, as broad and deep as a common bowl, hung with a hook to the side of the kettle, with which every one might at once help himself to as much as he could eat. When the guests had eaten their fill, they begged the counsellors to do the same. The whole was conducted in a very decent and quiet manner. Indeed, now and then, one or the other would lie flat upon his back to rest himself, and sometimes they would stop, joke, and laugh heartily." — LOSKIEL. [h]

stantly deflected into the collateral branches of his family; and thus one of the strongest temptations of ambition was cut off.[1] The Iroquois had no laws; but they had ancient customs which took the place of laws. Each man, or rather, each clan, was the avenger of its own wrongs; but the manner of the retaliation was fixed by established usage. The tribal sachems, and even the great council at Onondaga, had no power to compel the execution of their decrees; yet they were looked up to with a respect which the soldier's bayonet or the sheriff's staff would never have commanded; and it is highly to the honour of the Indian character that they could exact so great an authority where there was nothing to enforce it but the weight of moral power.[2]

The origin of the Iroquois is lost in hopeless obscurity. That they came from the west; that they came from the north; that they sprang from the soil of New York, are the testimonies of three conflicting traditions, all equally worthless as aids to historic inquiry. It is at the era of their confederacy — the event to which the five tribes owed all their greatness and power, and to which we need assign no remoter date than that of a century before the first arrival of the Dutch in New York — that faint rays of light begin to pierce the gloom, and the chaotic traditions of the earlier epoch mould themselves into forms more palpable and distinct.

Taounyawatha, the God of the Waters — such is the belief of the Iroquois — descended to the earth to instruct his favourite people in the arts of savage life; and when he saw how they were tormented by giants, monsters, and evil spirits, he urged the divided tribes, for the common defence, to band themselves together in an everlasting league. While the injunction was as yet unfulfilled, the sacred messenger was recalled to the Great Spirit; but, before his departure, he promised that another should appear, empowered to instruct the people in all that pertained to their confederation. And accordingly, as a band of Mohawk warriors was threading the funereal labyrinth of an ancient pine forest, they heard, amid its blackest depths, a hoarse voice chanting in measured cadence; and, following the sound, they saw, seated among the trees, a monster so hideous, that, one and all, they stood benumbed with terror. His features were wild and frightful. He was encompassed by hissing rattlesnakes, which, Medusa-like, hung writhing from his head; and on the ground around him were strewn implements of incantation, and magic vessels formed of human skulls. Recovering from their amazement, the warriors could perceive that in the mystic words of the chant, which he still poured forth, were couched the laws and principles of the destined confederacy. The tradition further declares that the monster, being surrounded and captured, was presently transformed to human shape, that he became a chief of tran-

[1] The descent of the sachemship in the female line was a custom universally prevalent among the Five Nations, or Iroquois proper. Since, among Indian tribes generally, the right of furnishing a sachem was vested in some particular totemic clan, it results of course that the descent of the sachemship must follow the descent of the totem; that is, if the totemship descend in the female line, the sachemship must do the same. This custom of descent in the female line prevailed not only among the Iroquois proper, but also among the Wyandots, and probably among the Andastes and the Eries, extinct members of the great Iroquois family. Thus, among any of these tribes, when a Wolf warrior married a Hawk squaw, their children were Hawks, and not Wolves. With the Creeks of the south, according to the observations of Hawkins,[i] the rule was the same; but among the Algonquins, on the contrary, or at least among the northern branches of this family, the reverse took place, the totemships, and consequently the chieftainships, descending in the male line, after the analogy of civilised nations.

[2] Morgan[j] is of opinion that these institutions were the result of "a protracted effort of legislation." An examination of the customs prevailing among other Indian tribes makes it probable that the elements of the Iroquois policy existed among them from an indefinite antiquity; and the legislation of which Morgan speaks could only involve the arrangement and adjustment of already existing materials.

scendent wisdom and prowess, and to the day of his death ruled the councils of the now united tribes. Ever afterwards the presiding sachem of the council at Onondaga inherits from him the honoured name of Atotarho.

The traditional epoch which preceded the auspicious event of the confederacy, though wrapped in clouds and darkness, and defying historic scrutiny, has yet a character and meaning of its own. The gloom is peopled thick with phantoms; with monsters and prodigies, shapes of wild enormity, yet offering in the Teutonic strength of their conception, the evidence of a robustness of mind unparalleled among tribes of a different lineage. In those evil days, the scattered and divided Iroquois were beset with every form of peril and disaster. Giants, cased in armour of stone, descended on them from the mountains of the north. Huge beasts trampled down their forests like fields of grass. Human heads, with streaming hair and glaring eyeballs, shot through the air like meteors, shedding pestilence and death throughout the land. A great horned serpent rose from Lake Ontario; and only the thunderbolts of the skies could stay his ravages, and drive him back to his native deeps. The skeletons of men, victims of some monster of the forest, were seen swimming in the Lake of Teungktoo; and around the Seneca village on the hill of Genundewah, a two-headed serpent coiled himself, of size so monstrous that the wretched people were unable to ascend his scaly sides, and perished in multitudes by his pestilential breath. Mortally wounded at length by the magic arrow of a child, he rolled down the steep, sweeping away the forest with his writhings, and plunging into the lake below, where he lashed the black waters till they boiled with blood and foam, and at length, exhausted with his agony, sunk, and perished at the bottom. Under the falls of Niagara dwelt the Spirit of the Thunder, with his brood of giant sons; and the Iroquois trembled in their villages when, amid the blackening shadows of the storm they heard his deep shout roll along the firmament.

The energy of fancy, whence these barbarous creations drew their birth, displayed itself, at a later period, in that peculiar eloquence which the wild democracy of the Iroquois tended to call forth, and to which the mountain and the forest, the torrent and the storm, lent their stores of noble imagery. That to this imaginative vigour was joined mental power of a different stamp, is witnessed by the caustic irony of Garangula and Sagoyewatha, and no less by the subtle policy, sagacious as it was treacherous, which marked the dealings of the Iroquois with surrounding tribes.[1]

With all this intellectual superiority, the arts of life among them had not emerged from their primitive rudeness; and their coarse pottery, their spear and arrow heads of stone, were in no way superior to those of many other tribes. Their agriculture deserves a higher praise. In 1696, the invading army of Count Frontenac found the maize fields extending a league and a half or two leagues from their villages; and, in 1779, the troops of General Sullivan were filled with amazement at their abundant stores of corn, beans, and squashes, and at the ancient apple orchards which grew around their settlements.

[1] For traditions of the Iroquois see Schoolcraft,[k] Cusick,[l] and Clark,[m] *Hist. Onondaga*, I. Cusick was an old Tuscarora Indian, who, being disabled by an accident from active occupations, essayed to become the historian of his people, and produced a small pamphlet, written in a language almost unintelligible, and filled with a medley of traditions in which a few grains of truth are inextricably mingled with a tangled mass of absurdities. He relates the monstrous legends of his people with an air of implicit faith, and traces the presiding sachems of the confederacy in regular descent from the first Atotarho downwards. His work, which was printed at the Tuscarora village, near Lewiston, in 1828, is illustrated by several rude engravings representing the stone giants, the flying heads, and other traditional monsters.

Their dwellings and works of defence were far from contemptible, either in their dimensions or in their structure; and though by the several attacks of the French, and especially by the invasion of De Nonville, in 1687, and of Frontenac, nine years later, their fortified towns were levelled to the earth, never again to reappear; yet, in the works of Champlain[n] and other early writers we find abundant evidence of their pristine condition. Along the banks of the Mohawk, among the hills and hollows of Onondaga, in the forests of Oneida and Cayuga, on the romantic shores of Seneca Lake and the rich borders of the Genesee, surrounded by waving maize fields, and encircled from afar by the green margin of the forest, stood the ancient strongholds of the confederacy. The clustering dwellings were encompassed by palisades, in single, double, or triple rows, pierced with loopholes, furnished with platforms within, for the convenience of the defenders, with magazines of stones to hurl upon the heads of the enemy, and with water conductors to extinguish any fire which might be kindled from without.

The area which these defences enclosed was often several acres in extent, and the dwellings, ranged in order within, were sometimes more than a hundred feet in length. Posts, firmly driven into the ground, with an intervening framework of poles, formed the basis of the structure; and its sides and arched roof were closely covered with layers of elm bark. Each of the larger dwellings contained several distinct families, whose separate fires were built along the central space, while compartments on each side, like the stalls of a stable, afforded some degree of privacy. Here, rude couches were prepared, and bear and deer skins spread; while above, the ripened ears of maize, suspended in rows, formed a golden tapestry.

In the long evenings of midwinter, when in the wilderness without the trees cracked with biting cold, and the forest paths were clogged with snow, then, around the lodge-fires of the Iroquois, warriors, squaws, and restless naked children were clustered in social groups, each dark face brightening in the fickle firelight, while, with jest and laugh, the pipe passed round from hand to hand. Perhaps some shrivelled old warrior, the story-teller of the tribe, recounted to attentive ears the deeds of ancient heroism, legends of spirits and monsters, or tales of witches and vampires — superstitions not less rife among this all-believing race, than among the nations of the transatlantic world.

The life of the Iroquois, though void of those multiplying phases which vary the routine of civilised existence, was one of sharp excitement and sudden contrast. The chase, the war-path, the dance, the festival, the game of hazard, the race of political ambition, all had their votaries. When the assembled sachems had resolved on war against some foreign tribe, and when, from their great council-house of bark, in the valley of Onondaga, their messengers had gone forth to invite the warriors to arms, then from east to west, through the farthest bounds of the confederacy, a thousand warlike hearts caught up the summons with glad alacrity. With fasting and praying, and consulting dreams and omens; with invoking the war god, and dancing the frantic war-dance, the warriors sought to insure the triumph of their arms; and, these strange rites concluded, they began their stealthy progress, full of confidence, through the devious pathways of the forest. For days and weeks, in anxious expectation, the villagers await the result. And now, as evening closes, a shrill, wild cry, pealing from afar, over the darkening forest, proclaims the return of the victorious warriors. The village is alive with sudden commotion; and snatching sticks and stones, knives and hatchets, men, women, and children, yelling like fiends let loose, swarm out of the narrow

portal, to visit upon the miserable captives a foretaste of the deadlier torments in store for them. The black arches of the forest glow with the fires of death; and with brandished torch and firebrand the frenzied multitude close around their victim. The pen shrinks to write, the heart sickens to conceive, the fierceness of his agony; yet still, amid the din of his tormentors, rises his clear voice of scorn and defiance. The work is done; the blackened trunk is flung to the dogs, and, with clamorous shouts and hootings, the murderers seek to drive away the spirit of their victim.[1]

The Iroquois reckoned these barbarities among their most exquisite enjoyments; and yet they had other sources of pleasure, which made up in frequency and in innocence what they lacked in intensity. Each passing season had its feasts and dances, often mingling religion with social pastime. The young had their frolics and merry-makings; and the old had their no less frequent councils, where conversation and laughter alternated with grave deliberations for the public weal. There were also stated periods marked by the recurrence of momentous ceremonies, in which the whole community took part — the mystic sacrifice of the dogs, the orgies of the dream feast, and the loathsome festival of the exhumation of the dead. Yet in the intervals of war and hunting, these multiform occupations would often fail; and, while the women were toiling in the cornfields, the lazy warriors vainly sought relief from the scanty resources of their own minds, and beguiled the hours with smoking or sleeping, with gambling or gallantry.

If we seek for a single trait pre-eminently characteristic of the Iroquois, we shall find it in that boundless pride which impelled them to style themselves, not inaptly as regards their own race, "the men surpassing all others."[2] "Must I," exclaimed one of their great warriors, as he fell wounded among a crowd of Algonquins — "must I, who have made the whole earth tremble, now die by the hands of children?" Their power kept pace with their pride. Their war parties roamed over half America, and their name was a terror from the Atlantic to the Mississippi; but, when we ask the numerical strength of the dreaded confederacy, when we discover that, in the days of their greatest triumphs, their united cantons could not have mustered four thousand warriors, we stand amazed at the folly and dissension which left so vast a region the prey of a handful of bold marauders. Of the cities and villages now so thickly scattered over the lost domain of the Iroquois, a single one might boast a more numerous population than all the five united tribes.[3]

From this remarkable people, who with all the ferocity of their race blended

[1] "Being at this place the 17 of June, there came fifty prisoners from the south-westward. They were of two nations, some whereof have few guns; the other none at all. One nation is about ten days' journey from any Christians, and trade onely with one greatt house, nott farr from the sea, and the other trade onely, as they say, with a black people. This day of them was burnt two women, and a man and a child killed with a stone. Att night we heard a great noyse as if ye houses had all fallen, butt itt was only ye inhabitants driving away ye ghosts of ye murthered. The 18th going to Canagorah, that day there were most cruelly burnt four men, four women and one boy. The cruelty lasted aboutt seven hours. When they were almost dead letting them loose to the mercy of ye boys, and taking the hearts of such as were dead to feast on." — GREENHALGH.[o]

[2] This is Colden's[q] translation of the word Ongwehonwe, one of the names of the Iroquois.

[3] La Hontan[p] estimated the Iroquois at from five thousand to seven thousand fighting men; but his means of information were very imperfect, and the same may be said of several other French writers, who have overrated the force of the confederacy. In 1677, the English sent one Greenhalgh[o] to ascertain their numbers. He visited all their towns and villages, and reported their aggregate force at two thousand one hundred and fifty fighting men. The report of Colonel Coursey, agent from Virginia, at about the same period, closely corresponds with this statement. Subsequent estimates, up to the period of the Revolution, when their strength had much declined, vary from twelve hundred to two thousand one hundred and twenty. Most of these estimates are given by Clinton,[q] and several by Jefferson.[r]

heroic virtues and marked endowments of intellect, I pass to other members of the same great family, whose different fortunes may perhaps be ascribed rather to the force of circumstance, than to any intrinsic inferiority.

The peninsula between the lakes Huron, Erie, and Ontario was occupied by two distinct peoples, speaking dialects of the Iroquois tongue. The Hurons or Wyandots, including the formidable bands called by the French the Dionondadies, or Tobacco Nation,[1] dwelt among the forests which bordered the eastern shores of the fresh water sea, to which they have left their name; while the Neutral Nation, so called from their neutrality in the war between the Hurons and the Five Nations, inhabited the northern shores of Lake Erie, and even extended their eastern flank across the strait of Niagara.

The population of the Hurons has been variously stated at from ten thousand to thirty thousand souls, but probably did not exceed the former estimate. The Franciscans and the Jesuits were early among them, and from their copious descriptions, it is apparent that, in legends and superstitions, manners and habits, religious observances and social customs, this people were closely assimilated to their brethren of the Five Nations. Their capacious dwellings of bark, and their palisaded forts, seemed copied after the same model. Like the Five Nations they were divided into tribes, and cross-divided into totemic clans; and, as with them, the office of sachem descended in the female line. The same crude materials of a political fabric were to be found in both; but, unlike the Iroquois, the Wyandots had not as yet wrought them into a system, and woven them into a harmonious whole.

Like the Five Nations, the Wyandots were in some measure an agricultural people; they bartered the surplus products of their maize fields to surrounding tribes, usually receiving fish in exchange; and this traffic was so considerable, that the Jesuits styled their country the Granary of the Algonquins.[2] Their prosperity was rudely broken by the hostilities of the Five Nations; for though the conflicting parties were not ill matched in point of numbers, yet the united counsels and ferocious energies of the confederacy swept all before them. In the year 1649, in the depth of winter, their warriors invaded the country of the Wyandots, stormed their largest villages, and involved all within in indiscriminate slaughter. The survivors fled in panic terror, and the whole nation was dispersed and broken.

Some found refuge among the French of Canada, where, at the village of Lorette, near Quebec, their descendants still remain; others were incorporated with their conquerors; while others again fled northward, beyond Lake Superior, and sought an asylum among the desolate wastes which bordered on the northeastern bands of the Dakota. Driven back by those fierce bison-hunters, they next established themselves about the outlet of Lake Superior, and the shores and islands in the northern parts of Lake Huron. Thence, about the year 1680, they descended to Detroit, where they formed a permanent settlement, and where, by their superior valour, capacity, and address, they soon acquired a marvellous ascendancy over the surrounding Algonquins.

The ruin of the Neutral Nation followed close on that of the Wyandots, to whom, according to Jesuit authority, they bore an exact resemblance in character and manners. The Senecas soon found means to pick a quarrel

[1] Hurons, Wyandots, Yendots, Ouendaets, Quatogies. The Dionondadies are also designated by the following names: Tionontatez, Petuneux — Nation of Tobacco.

[2] Bancroft[8] in his chapter on the Indians east of the Mississippi, falls into a mistake when he says that no trade was carried on by any of the tribes. For an account of the traffic between the Hurons and Algonquins, see Mercier.[t]

with them; they were assailed by all the strength of the insatiable confederacy, and within a few years their destruction as a nation was complete.

South of Lake Erie dwelt two members of the Iroquois family. The Andastes built their fortified villages along the valleys of the Alleghany and the upper Ohio; while the Erigas, or Eries, occupied the borders of the lake which still retains their name. Of these two nations little is known, for the Jesuits had no missions among them, and few traces of them survive beyond their names and the record of their destruction. The war with the Wyandots was scarcely over, when the Five Nations turned their arms against their Erie brethren.

In the year 1655, using their canoes as scaling ladders, they stormed the Erie stronghold, leaped down like tigers among the defenders, and butchered them without mercy. The greater part of the nation was involved in the massacre, and the remnant was incorporated with the conquerors, or with other tribes, to which they fled for refuge. The ruin of the Andastes came next in turn; but this brave people fought for twenty years against their inexorable assailants, and their destruction was not consummated until the year 1672, when they shared the fate of the rest.

Thus, within less than a quarter of a century, four nations, the most brave and powerful of the North American savages, sank before the arms of the confederates. Nor did their triumphs end here. Within the same short space they subdued their southern neighbours the Lenape, the leading members of the Algonquin family, and expelled the Ottawas, a numerous people of the same lineage, from the borders of the river which bears their name. In the north, the west, and the south, their conquests embraced every adjacent tribe; and meanwhile their war parties were harassing the French of Canada with reiterated inroads, and yelling the war-whoop under the very walls of Quebec.

They were the worst of conquerors. Inordinate pride, the lust of blood and dominion, were the mainsprings of their warfare; and their victories were stained with every excess of savage passion. That their triumphs must have cost them dear; that, in spite of their cautious tactics, these multiplied conflicts must have greatly abridged their strength, would appear inevitable. Their losses were, in fact, considerable; but every breach was repaired by means of a practice which they, in common with other tribes, constantly adhered to. When their vengeance was glutted by the sacrifice of a sufficient number of captives, they spared the lives of the remainder, and adopted them as members of their confederated tribes, separating wives from husbands, and children from parents, and distributing them among different villages, in order that old ties and associations might be more completely broken up. This policy, was designated among them by a name which signifies "flesh cut into pieces and scattered among the tribes."

In the years 1714–15, the confederacy received a great accession of strength. Southwards, about the headwaters of the rivers Neuse and Tar, and separated from their kindred tribes by intervening Algonquin communities, dwelt the Tuscaroras, a warlike people belonging to the generic stock of the Iroquois. The wrongs inflicted by white settlers, and their own undistinguishing vengeance, involved them in a war with the colonists, which resulted in their defeat and expulsion. They emigrated to the Five Nations, whose allies they had been in former wars with southern tribes, and who now gladly received them, admitting them as a sixth nation, into their confederacy, and assigning to their sachems a seat in the council-house at Onondaga.

It is a remark of Gallatin,[u] that in their career of conquest, the Five Nations

encountered more stubborn resistance from the tribes of their own family, than from those of a different lineage. In truth, all the scions of this warlike stock seem endued with singular vitality and force, and among them we must seek for the best type of the Indian character. Few tribes could match them in prowess and constancy, in moral energy and intellectual vigour. The Jesuits remarked that they were more intelligent, yet less tractable, than other savages; and Charlevoix[v] observes that, though the Algonquins were readily converted, they made but fickle proselytes; while the Hurons, though not easily won over to the church, were far more faithful in their adherence. Of this tribe, the Hurons or Wyandots, a candid and experienced observer [W. H. Harrison[w]] declares that of all the Indians with whom he was conversant, they alone held it disgraceful to turn from the face of an enemy when the fortunes of the fight were adverse.

Besides these inherent qualities, the tribes of the Iroquois race derived great advantages from their superior social organisation. They were all, more or less, tillers of the soil, and were thus enabled to concentrate a more numerous population than the scattered tribes who live by the chase alone. In their well-peopled and well-constructed villages, they dwelt together the greater part of the year; and thence the religious rites and social and political usages, which elsewhere existed only in the germ, attained among them a full and perfect development. Yet these advantages were not without alloy, and the Jesuits were not slow to remark that the stationary and thriving Iroquois were more loose in their observance of social ties than the wandering and starving savages of the north.[1]

The Algonquin Family

Except the detached nation of the Tuscaroras, and a few smaller tribes adhering to them, the Iroquois family was confined to the region south of the lakes Erie and Ontario, and the peninsula east of Lake Huron. They formed, as it were, an island in the vast expanse of Algonquin population extending from Hudson's Bay on the north to the Carolinas on the south; from the Atlantic on the east to the Mississippi and Lake Winnipeg on the west. They were Algonquins who greeted Jacques Cartier, as his ships ascended the St. Lawrence. The first British colonists found savages of the same race hunting and fishing along the coasts and inlets of Virginia; and it was the daughter of an Algonquin chief who interceded with her father for the life of the adventurous Englishman. They were Algonquins who, under Sassacus the Pequot, and Philip of Mount Hope, waged war against the Puritans of New England; who dwelt at Penacook, under the rule of the great magician, Passaconaway, and trembled before the evil spirits of the Crystal Hills; and who sang *aves* and told their beads in the forest chapel of Father Rasles, by the banks of the Kennebec. They were Algonquins who, under the great tree at Kensington, made the covenant of peace with William Penn; and when French Jesuits and fur-traders explored the Wabash and the Ohio, they found their valleys tenanted by the same far-extended race. Years later the traveller, perchance, could find them pitching their bark lodges along the beach at Mackinaw, spearing fish among the boiling rapids of St. Mary's, or skimming the waves of Lake Superior in their birch canoes.

Of all the members of the Algonquin family, those called by the English

[1] "Here ye Indyans were very desirous to see us ride our horses, wch wee did: they made great feasts and dancing, and invited us yt when all ye maides were together, both wee and our Indyans might choose such as lyked us to ly with." — GREENHALGH.[o]

the Delawares, by the French the Loups, and by themselves Lenni Lenape, or Original Men, hold the first claim to attention; for their traditions declare them to be the parent stem whence other Algonquin tribes have sprung. The latter recognised the claim, and, at all solemn councils, accorded to the ancestral tribe the title of Grandfather.[1]

The first European colonists found the conical lodges of the Lenape clustered in frequent groups about the waters of the Delaware and its tributary streams, within the present limits of New Jersey, and eastern Pennsylvania. The nation was separated into three divisions, and three sachems formed a triumvirate, who, with the council of old men, regulated all its affairs. They were, in some small measure, an agricultural people; but fishing and the chase were their chief dependence, and through a great part of the year they were scattered abroad, among forests and streams, in search of sustenance.

When William Penn held his far-famed council with the sachems of the Lenape, he extended the hand of brotherhood to a people as unwarlike in their habits as his own pacific followers. This is by no means to be ascribed to any inborn love of peace. The Lenape were then in a state of degrading vassalage to the Five Nations, who, that they might drain to the dregs the cup of humiliation had forced them to assume the name of Women, and forego the use of arms.[2] Dwelling under the shadow of the tyrannical confederacy, they were long unable to wipe out the blot; but at length, pushed from their ancient seats by the encroachments of white men, and removed westward, partially beyond the reach of their conquerors, their native spirit began to revive, and they assumed a tone of unwonted defiance. During the Old French War they resumed the use of arms, and while the Five Nations fought for the English, they espoused the cause of France. At the opening of the Revolution, they boldly asserted their freedom from the yoke of their conquerors; and a few years after, the Five Nations confessed, at a public council, that the Lenape were no longer women, but men. Ever since that period, they have stood in high repute for bravery, generosity, and all the savage virtues; and the settlers of the frontier have often found, to their cost, that the "women" of the Iroquois have been transformed into a race of formidable warriors. Later the small remnant settled beyond the Mississippi were among the bravest marauders of the west. Their war-parties pierced the farthest wilds of the Rocky Mountains; and the prairie traveller might sometimes meet the Delaware warrior returning from a successful foray, a gaudy handkerchief bound about his brows, his snake locks fluttering in the wind, and his rifle resting across his saddle-bow, while the tarnished and begrimed equipments of his half-wild horse bore witness that the unscrupulous rider had waylaid and plundered some Mexican cavalier.

Adjacent to the Lenape, and associated with them in some of the most notable passages of their history, dwelt the Shawanos, the Chaouanons of the French, a tribe of bold, roving, and adventurous spirit. Their eccentric wanderings, their sudden appearances and disappearances, perplex the antiquary, and defy research; but from various scattered notices, we may

[1] The Lenape, on their part, call the other Algonquin tribes Children, Grandchildren, Nephews, or Younger Brothers; but they confess the superiority of the Wyandots and the Five Nations, by yielding them the title of Uncles. They, in return, call the Lenape Nephews, or more frequent Cousins.

[2] The story told by the Lenape themselves, and recorded with the utmost good faith by Loskiel[h] and Heckewelder,[x] that the Five Nations had not conquered them, but, by a cunning artifice, had cheated them into subjection, is wholly unworthy of credit. It is not to be believed that a people so acute and suspicious could be the dupes of so palpable a trick; and it is equally incredible that a high-spirited tribe could be induced, by the most persuasive rhetoric, to assume the name of Women, which in Indian eyes is the last confession of abject abasement.

gather that at an early period, they occupied the valley of the Ohio; that, becoming embroiled with the Five Nations, they shared the defeat of the Andastes, and about the year 1672 fled to escape destruction. Some found an asylum in the country of the Lenape, where they lived tenants at will of the Five Nations; others sought refuge in the Carolinas and Florida, where, true to their native instincts, they soon came to blows with the owners of the soil. Again, turning northwards, they formed new settlements in the valley of the Ohio, where they were now suffered to dwell in peace, and where, at a later period, they were joined by such of their brethren as had found refuge among the Lenape.

Of the tribes which, single and detached, or cohering in loose confederacies, dwelt within the limits of Lower Canada, Acadia, and New England, it is needless to speak; for they offered no distinctive traits demanding notice. Passing the country of the Lenape and the Shawanos, and descending the Ohio, the traveller would have found its valley chiefly occupied by two nations, the Miamis or Twightwees, on the Wabash and its branches, and the Illinois, who dwelt in the neighbourhood of the river to which they have given their name. Though never subjugated, as were the Lenape, both the Miamis and the Illinois were reduced to the last extremity by the repeated attacks of the Five Nations; and the Illinois, in particular, suffered so much by these and other wars, that the population of ten or twelve thousand, ascribed to them by the early French writers, had dwindled, during the first quarter of the eighteenth century, to a few small villages.[1] According to Marest,[z] they were a people sunk in sloth and licentiousness; but that priestly father had suffered much at their hands, and viewed them with a jaundiced eye. Their agriculture was not contemptible; they had permanent dwellings as well as portable lodges; and though wandering through many months of the year among their broad prairies and forests, there were seasons when their whole population was gathered, with feastings and merry-making, within the limits of their villages.

Turning his course northward, traversing lakes Michigan and Superior, and skirting the western margin of Lake Huron, the voyager would have found the solitudes of the wild waste around him broken by scattered lodges of the Ojibwas, Pottawottomies, and Ottawas. About the bays and rivers west of Lake Michigan, he would have seen the Sacs, the Foxes, and the Menomonees; and penetrating the frozen wilderness of the north, he would have been welcomed by the rude hospitality of the wandering Knisteneaux [or Crees].

The Ojibwas, with their kindred, the Pottawottomies, and their friends the Ottawas — the latter of whom were fugitives from the eastward, whence they had fled from the wrath of the Iroquois — were banded into a sort of confederacy. In blood and language, in manners and character, they were closely allied. The Ojibwas, by far the most numerous of the three, occupied the basin of Lake Superior, and extensive adjacent regions. In their boundaries, the career of Iroquois conquests found at length a check. The fugitive Wyandots sought refuge in the Ojibwa hunting-grounds; and tradition relates that, at the outlet of Lake Superior, an Iroquois war-party once encountered a disastrous repulse.

In their mode of life, they were far more rude than the Iroquois, or even the southern Algonquin tribes. The totemic system is found among them in its most imperfect state. The original clans have become broken into

[1] Father Raslel,[y] 1723, says that there were eleven. Marest,[z] in 1712, found only three.

fragments, and indefinitely multiplied; and many of the ancient customs of the institution are but loosely regarded. Agriculture is little known and, through summer and winter, they range the wilderness with restless wandering, now gorged to repletion, and now perishing with want. In the calm days of summer, the Ojibwa fisherman pushes out his birch canoe upon the great inland ocean of the north; and, as he gazes down into the pellucid depths, he seems like one balanced between earth and sky. The watchful fish-hawk circles above his head; and below, farther than his line will reach, he sees the trout glide shadowy and silent over the glimmering pebbles. The little islands on the verge of the horizon seem now starting into spires, now melting from the sight, now shaping themselves into a thousand fantastic forms, with the strange mirage of the waters; and he fancies that the evil spirits of the lake lie basking their serpent forms on those unhallowed shores. Again he explores the watery labyrinths where the stream sweeps among pine-tufted islands, or runs, black and deep, beneath the shadows of moss-bearded firs; or he drags his canoe upon the sandy beach, and, while his camp-fire crackles on the grass-plat, reclines beneath the trees, and smokes and laughs away the sultry hours, in a lazy luxury of enjoyment.

But when winter descends upon the north, sealing up the fountains, fettering the streams, and turning the green-robed forests to shivering nakedness, then, bearing their frail dwellings on their backs, the Ojibwa family wander forth into the wilderness, cheered only, on their dreary track, by the whistling of the north wind, and the hungry howl of wolves. By the banks of some frozen stream, women and children, men and dogs, lie crouched together around the fire. They spread their benumbed fingers over the embers, while the wind shrieks through the fir-trees like the gale through the rigging of a frigate, and the narrow concave of the wigwam sparkles with the frost-work of their congealed breath. In vain they beat the magic drum, and call upon their guardian manitoes — the wary moose keeps aloof, the bear lies close in his hollow tree, and famine stares them in the face. And now the hunter can fight no more against the nipping cold and blinding sleet. Stiff and stark, with haggard cheek and shrivelled lip, he lies among the snow drifts; till, with tooth and claw, the famished wildcat strives in vain to pierce the frigid marble of his limbs. Such harsh schooling is thrown away on the incorrigible mind of the northern Algonquin. He lives in misery, as his fathers lived before him. Still, in the brief hour of plenty he forgets the season of want; and still the sleet and the snow descend upon his houseless head.

In speaking of the Iroquois, some of the distinctive peculiarities of the Algonquins have already been hinted at. It must be admitted that, in moral stability and intellectual vigour, they are inferior to the former; though some of the most conspicuous offspring of the wilderness, Metacom, Tecumseh, and Pontiac himself, owned their blood and language.

The fireside stories of every primitive people are faithful reflections of the form and colouring of the national mind; and it is no proof of sound philosophy to turn with contempt from the study of a fairy tale. The legendary lore of the Iroquois, black as the midnight forests, awful in its gloomy strength, is but another manifestation of that spirit of mastery which uprooted whole tribes from the earth, and deluged the wilderness with blood. The traditionary tales of the Algonquins wear a different aspect. The credulous circle around an Ojibwa lodge-fire listened to wild recitals of necromancy and witchcraft — men transformed to beasts, and beasts transformed to men, animated trees, and birds who spoke with human tongue. They heard of malignant sorcerers dwelling among the lonely islands of spell-bound lakes;

of grisly *weendigoes*, and bloodless *geebi*; of evil *manitoes* lurking in the dens and fastnesses of the woods; of pygmy champions, diminutive in stature, but mighty in soul, who, by the potency of charm and talisman, subdued the direst monsters of the waste; and of heroes, who not by downright force and open onset, but by subtle strategy, tricks, or magic art, achieved marvellous triumphs over the brute force of their assailants. Sometimes the tale will breathe a different spirit, and tell of orphan children abandoned in the heart of a hideous wilderness, beset with fiends and cannibals. Some enamoured maiden, scornful of earthly suitors, plights her troth to the graceful manito of the grove; or bright aerial beings, dwellers of the sky, descend to tantalise the gaze of mortals with evanescent forms of loveliness.

The mighty giant, the God of the Thunder, who made his home among the caverns, beneath the cataract of Niagara, was a conception which the deep imagination of the Iroquois might fitly engender. The Algonquins held a simpler faith, and maintained that the thunder was a bird who built his nest on the pinnacle of towering mountains. Two daring boys once scaled the height, and thrust sticks into the eyes of the portentous nestlings; which hereupon flashed forth such wrathful scintillations, that the sticks were shivered to atoms.[1]

The religious belief of the Algonquins — and the remark holds good, not of the Algonquins only, but of all the hunting tribes of America — is a cloudy bewilderment, where we seek in vain for system or coherency. Among a primitive and savage people, there were no poets to vivify its images, and no priests to give distinctness and harmony to its rites and symbols. To the Indian mind, all nature was instinct with deity. A spirit was embodied in every mountain, lake, and cataract; every bird, beast, or reptile, every tree, shrub, or grassblade, was endued with mystic influence; yet this untutored pantheism did not exclude the conception of certain divinities, of incongruous and ever shifting attributes. The sun, too, was a god, and the moon was a goddess. Conflicting powers of good and evil divided the universe: but if, before the arrival of Europeans, the Indian recognised the existence of one, almighty, self-existing Being, the Great Spirit, the Lord of heaven and earth, the belief was so vague and dubious as scarcely to deserve the name. His perceptions of moral good and evil were perplexed and shadowy; and the belief in a state of future reward and punishment was by no means of universal prevalence.

Of the Indian character, much has been written foolishly and credulously believed. By the rhapsodies of poets, the cant of sentimentalists, and the extravagance of some who should have known better, a counterfeit image has been tricked out, which might seek in vain for its likeness through every corner of the habitable earth: an image bearing no more resemblance to its original than the monarch of the tragedy and the hero of the epic poem bear to their living prototypes in the palace and the camp. The shadows of his wilderness home, and the darker mantle of his own inscrutable reserve, have made the Indian warrior a wonder and a mystery. Yet to the eye of rational

[1] For Algonquin legends, see Schoolcraft *f*. Le Jeune *cc* early discovered these legends among the tribes of his mission. Two centuries ago, among the Algonquins of Lower Canada, a tale was related to him, which, in its principal incidents, is identical with the story of the "Boy who set a snare for the sun," found by Schoolcraft among the tribes of the upper Lakes. The coincidence affords a curious proof of the antiquity and wide diffusion of some of these tales. The Dakotas, as well as the Algonquins, believe that the thunder is produced by a bird. An Indian propounded to Le Jeune a doctrine of his own. According to his theory, the thunder is produced by the eructations of a monstrous giant, who had unfortunately swallowed a quantity of snakes; and the latter falling to the earth, caused the appearance of lightning. "*Voilà une philosophie bien nouvelle!*" exclaims the astonished Jesuit.

observation there is nothing unintelligible in him. He is full, it is true, of contradiction. He deems himself the centre of greatness and renown; his pride is proof against the fiercest torments of fire and steel; and yet the same man would beg for a dram of whiskey, or pick up a crust of bread thrown to him like a dog, from the tent door of the traveller. At one moment, he is wary and cautious to the verge of cowardice; at the next, he abandons himself to a very insanity of recklessness; and the habitual self-restraint which throws an impenetrable veil over emotion is joined to the wild, impetuous passions of a beast or a madman.

Such inconsistencies, strange as they seem in our eyes, when viewed under a novel aspect, are but the ordinary incidents of humanity. The qualities of the mind are not uniform in their action through all the relations of life. With different men, and different races of men, pride, valour, prudence, have different forms of manifestation, and where in one instance they lie dormant, in another they are keenly awake. The conjunction of greatness and littleness, meanness and pride, is older than the days of the patriarchs; and such antiquated phenomena, displayed under a new form in the unreflecting undisciplined mind of a savage, call for no special wonder, but should rather be classed with the other enigmas of the fathomless human heart. The dissecting knife of a Rochefoucauld might lay bare matters of no less curious observation in the breast of every man.

Nature has stamped the Indian with a hard and stern physiognomy. Ambition, revenge, envy, jealousy, are his ruling passions; and his cold temperament is little exposed to those effeminate vices which are the bane of milder races. With him revenge is an overpowering instinct; nay, more, it is a point of honour and a duty. His pride sets all language at defiance. He loathes the thought of coercion; and few of his race have ever stooped to discharge a menial office. A wild love of liberty, an utter intolerance of control, lie at the basis of his character, and fire his whole existence. Yet, in spite of this haughty independence, he is a devout hero-worshipper; and high achievement in war or policy touches a chord to which his nature never fails to respond. He looks up with admiring reverence to the sages and heroes of his tribe; and it is this principle, joined to the respect for age which swings from the patriarchal element in his social system, which, beyond all others, contributes union and harmony to the erratic members of an Indian community. With him the love of glory kindles into a burning passion; and to allay its cravings, he will dare cold and famine, fire, tempest, torture, and death itself.

These generous traits are overcast by much that is dark, cold, and sinister, by sleepless distrust, and rankling jealousy. Treacherous himself, he is always suspicious of treachery in others. Brave as he is — and few of mankind are braver — he will vent his passion by a secret stab rather than an open blow. His warfare is full of ambuscade and stratagem; and he never rushes into battle with that joyous self-abandonment, with which the warriors of the Gothic races flung themselves into the ranks of their enemies. In his feasts and his drinking bouts we find none of that robust and full-toned mirth, which reigned at the rude carousals of our barbaric ancestry. He is never jovial in his cups, and maudlin sorrow or maniacal rage is the sole result of his potations.

Over all emotion he throws the veil of an iron self-control, originating in a peculiar form of pride, and fostered by rigorous discipline from childhood upward. He is trained to conceal passion, and not to subdue it. The inscrutable warrior is aptly imaged by the hackneyed figure of a volcano covered with snow; and no man can say when or where the wild-fire will burst forth.

This shallow self-mastery serves to give dignity to public deliberation, and harmony to social life. Wrangling and quarrel are strangers to an Indian dwelling; and while an assembly of the ancient Gauls was garrulous as a convocation of magpies, a Roman senate might have taken a lesson from the grave solemnity of an Indian council. In the midst of his family and friends, he hides affections, by nature none of the most tender, under a mask of icy coldness; and in the torturing fires of his enemy, the haughty sufferer maintains to the last his look of grim defiance.



An Indian Chief

His intellect is as peculiar as his moral organisation. Among all savages, the powers of perception preponderate over those of reason and analysis; but this is more especially the case with the Indian. An acute judge of character, at least of such parts of it as his experience enables him to comprehend; keen to a proverb in all exercises of war and the chase, he seldom traces effects to their causes, or follows out actions to their remote results. Though a close observer of external nature, he no sooner attempts to account for her phenomena than he involves himself in the most ridiculous absurdities; and quite content with these puerilities, he has not the least desire to push his inquiries further. His curiosity, abundantly active within its own narrow circle, is dead to all things else; and to attempt rousing it from its torpor is but a bootless task. He seldom takes cognisance of general or abstract ideas; and his language has scarcely the power to express them, except through the medium of figures drawn from the external world, and often highly picturesque and forcible. The absence of reflection makes him grossly improvident, and unfits him for pursuing any complicated scheme of war or policy.

Some races of men seem moulded in wax, soft and melting, at once plastic and feeble. Some races, like some metals, combine the greatest flexibility with the greatest strength. But the Indian is hewn out of a rock. You can rarely change the form without destruction of the substance. Races of inferior energy have possessed a power of expansion and assimilation to which he is a stranger; and it is this fixed and rigid quality which has proved his ruin. He will not learn the arts of civilisation, and he and his forest must perish together. The stern, unchanging features of his mind excite our admiration from their very immutability; and we look with deep interest on the fate of this irreclaimable son of the wilderness, the child who will not be weaned from the breast of his rugged mother. And our interest increases when we discern in the unhappy wanderer mingled among his vices, the germs of heroic virtues — a hand bountiful to bestow as it is rapacious to seize, and even in extremest famine, imparting its last morsel to a fellow-sufferer; a heart which, strong in friendship as in hate, thinks it not too much to lay down life for its chosen comrade; a soul true to its own idea of honour, and burning with an unquenchable thirst for greatness and renown.

The imprisoned lion in the showman's cage differs not more widely from the lord of the desert than the beggarly frequenter of frontier garrisons and

dramshops differs from the proud denizen of the woods. It is in his native wilds alone that the Indian must be seen and studied.

If, from the shades of rock and forest, the savage features should look too grimly forth, it is because the clouds of a tempestuous war have cast upon the picture their murky shadows and lurid fires.[dd]

THEODORE ROOSEVELT ON INDIAN WARFARE AND CRUELTY[1]

When the whites first landed, the superiority and, above all, the novelty of their arms gave them a very great advantage. But the Indians soon became accustomed to the new-comers' weapons and style of warfare. By the time the English had consolidated the Atlantic colonies under their rule, the Indians had become what they have remained ever since, the most formidable savage foes ever encountered by colonists of European stock.

Their presence has caused the process of settlement to go on at unequal rates of speed in different places; the flood has been hemmed in at one point, or has been forced to flow round an island of native population at another. Had the Indians been as helpless as the native Australians were, the continent of North America would have had an altogether different history. It would not only have been settled far more rapidly, but also on very different lines. Not only have the red men themselves kept back the settlements, but they have also had a very great effect upon the outcome of the struggles between the different intrusive European peoples. Had the original inhabitants of the Mississippi valley been as numerous and unwarlike as the Aztecs, Soto would have repeated the work of Cortes, and we would very possibly have been barred out of the greater portion of our present domain. Had it not been for their Indian allies, it would have been impossible for the French to prolong as they did their struggle with their much more numerous English neighbours.

The Indians were superb individual fighters, beautifully drilled in their own discipline; and they were favoured beyond measure by the nature of their ground, of which their whole system of warfare enabled them to take the utmost possible benefit. Much has been written and sung of the advantages possessed by the mountaineer when striving in his own home against invaders from the plains; but these advantages are as nothing when weighed with those which make the warlike dweller in forests unconquerable by men who have not his training. A hardy soldier, accustomed only to war in the open, will become a good cragsman in fewer weeks than it will take him years to learn to be so much as a fair woodsman; for it is beyond all comparison more difficult to attain proficiency in woodcraft than in mountaineering.

The Wyandots, and the Algonquins who surrounded them, dwelt in a region of sunless, tangled forests; and all the wars we waged for the possession of the country between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi were carried on in the never-ending stretches of gloomy woodland. It was not an open forest. The underbrush grew, dense and rank, between the boles of the tall trees, making a cover so thick that it was in many places impenetrable, so thick that it nowhere gave a chance for human eye to see even so far as a bow could carry. No horse could penetrate it save by following the game trails or paths chopped with the axe, and a stranger venturing a hundred yards from a beaten road would be so helplessly lost that he could not, except by the merest chance, even find his way back to the spot he had just left.

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Here and there it was broken by a rare hillside glade or by a meadow in a stream valley; but elsewhere a man might travel for weeks as if in a perpetual twilight, never once able to see the sun through the interlacing twigs that formed a dark canopy above his head.

This dense forest was to the Indians a home in which they had lived from childhood, and where they were as much at ease as a farmer on his own acres. To their keen eyes, trained for generations to more than a wild beast's watchfulness, the wilderness was an open book; nothing at rest or in motion escaped them. They had begun to track game as soon as they could walk; a scrape on a tree trunk, a bruised leaf, a faint indentation of the soil, which the eye of no white man could see all told them a tale as plainly as if it had been shouted in their ears.[1] With moccasined feet they trod among brittle twigs, dried leaves, and dead branches as silently as the cougar, and they equalled the great wood-cat in stealth and far surpassed it in cunning and ferocity. They could no more get lost in the trackless wilderness than a civilised man could get lost on a highway.

Moreover, no knight of the Middle Ages was so surely protected by his armour as they were by their skill in hiding; the whole forest was to the whites one vast ambush, and to them a sure and ever-present shield. Every tree trunk was a breastwork ready prepared for battle; every bush, every moss-covered boulder, was a defence against assault, from behind which, themselves unseen, they watched with fierce derision the movements of their clumsy white enemy. Lurking, skulking, travelling with noiseless rapidity, they left a trail that only a master in woodcraft could follow, while, on the other hand, they could dog a white man's footsteps as a hound runs a fox. Their silence, their cunning and stealth, their terrible prowess and merciless cruelty, makes it no figure of speech to call them the tigers of the human race.

Unlike the southern Indians, the villages of the northwestern tribes were usually far from the frontier. Tireless, and careless of all hardship, they came silently out of unknown forests, robbed and murdered, and then disappeared again into the fathomless depths of the woods. Half of the terror they caused was due to the extreme difficulty of following them, and the absolute impossibility of forecasting their attacks. Without warning, and unseen until the moment they dealt the death stroke, they emerged from the forest fastnesses, the horror they caused being heightened no less by the mystery that shrouded them than by the dreadful nature of their ravages. Wrapped in a mantle of the unknown, appalling by their craft, their ferocity, their fiendish cruelty, they seemed to the white settlers devils and not men; no one could say with certainty whence they came nor of what tribe they were; and when they had finished their dreadful work they retired into a wilderness that closed over their trail as the waves of the ocean close in the wake of a ship.

They were trained to the use of arms from their youth up, and war and hunting were their two chief occupations, the business as well as the pleasure of their lives. They were not as skilful as the white hunters with the rifle[2] — though more so than the average regular soldier — nor could they equal

[1] To this day the wild — not the half-tame — Indians remain unequalled as trackers. Even among the old hunters not one white in a hundred can come near them. In my experience I have known a very few whites who had spent all their lives in the wilderness who equalled the Indian average; but I never met any white who came up to the best Indian. But, because of their better shooting, their better nerve, the whites often make the better hunters.

[2] It is curious how to this day the wild Indians retain the same traits. I have seen and taken part in many matches between frontiersmen and the Sioux, Cheyennes, Grosventres, and Mandans, and the Indians were beaten in almost every one. On the other hand the Indians will stand fatigue, hunger, and privation better, but they seem more susceptible to cold.

the frontiersman in feats of physical prowess, such as boxing and wrestling; but their superior endurance and the ease with which they stood fatigue and exposure made amends for this. A white might outrun them for eight or ten miles; but on a long journey they could tire out any man, and any beast except a wolf. Like most barbarians they were fickle and inconstant, not to be relied on for pushing through a long campaign, and after a great victory apt to go off to their homes, because each man desired to secure his own plunder and tell his own tale of glory. They are often spoken of as undisciplined; but in reality their discipline in the battle itself was very high. They attacked, retreated, rallied, or repelled a charge at the signal of command; and they were able to fight in open order in thick covers without losing touch of each other — a feat that no European regiment was then able to perform.

On their own ground they were far more formidable than the best European troops. The British grenadiers throughout the eighteenth century showed themselves superior, in the actual shock of battle, to any infantry of continental Europe; if they ever met an over-match, it was when pitted against the Scotch Highlanders. Yet both grenadier and Highlander, the heroes of Minden, the heirs of the glory of Marlborough's campaigns, as well as the sinewy soldiers who shared in the charges of Prestonpans and Culloden, proved helpless when led against the dark tribesmen of the forest. On the march they could not be trusted thirty yards from the column without getting lost in the woods — the mountain training of the Highlanders apparently standing them in no stead whatever — and were only able to get around at all when convoyed by backwoodsmen.

In fight they fared even worse. The British regulars at Braddock's battle, and the Highlanders at Grant's defeat a few years later, suffered the same fate. Both battles were fair fights; neither was a surprise; yet the stubborn valour of the red-coated grenadier and the headlong courage of the kilted Scot proved of less than no avail. Not only were they utterly routed and destroyed in each case by an inferior force of Indians (the French taking little part in the conflict), but they were able to make no effective resistance whatever; it is to this day doubtful whether these superb regulars were able, in the battles where they were destroyed, to so much as kill one Indian for every hundred of their own men who fell. The provincials who were with the regulars were the only troops who caused any loss to the foe; and this was true in but a less degree of Bouquet's fight at Bushy Run. Here Bouquet, by a clever stratagem, gained the victory over an enemy inferior in numbers to himself; but only after a two days struggle in which he suffered a fourfold greater loss than he inflicted.[1]

When hemmed in so that they had no hope of escape, the Indians fought to the death; but when a way of retreat was open they would not stand cutting like British, French, or American regulars, and so, though with a nearly equal force, would retire if they were suffering heavily, even if they were causing their foes to suffer still more. This was not due to lack of courage; it was their system, for they were few in numbers, and they did not believe in losing their men.[2] The Wyandots were exceptions to this

[1] Bouquet, like so many of his predecessors and successors, greatly exaggerated the numbers and loss of the Indians in the fight. Smith,[ee] who derived his information both from the Indians and from the American rangers, states that but eighteen Indians were killed at Bushy Run.

[2] Most of the plains Indians feel in the same way at present. I was once hunting with a Sioux half-breed who illustrated the Indian view of the matter in a rather striking way, saying: "If there were a dozen of you white hunters and you found six or eight bears in a brush, and you knew you could go in and kill them all, but that in the fight you would certainly lose three

rule for with them it was a point of honour not to yield, and so they were of all the tribes the most dangerous in an actual pitched battle.[1] But making the attack, as they usually did, with the expectation of success, all were equally dangerous. If their foes were clustered together in a huddle they attacked them without hesitation, no matter what the difference in numbers, and shot them down as if they had been elk or buffalo, they themselves being almost absolutely safe from harm, as they flitted from cover to cover. It was this capacity for hiding, or taking advantage of cover, that gave them their great superiority; and it is because of this that the wood tribes were so much more formidable foes in actual battle than the horse Indians of the plains afterwards proved themselves. In dense woodland a body of regular soldiers are almost as useless against Indians as they would be if at night they had to fight foes who could see in the dark; it needs special and long-continued training to fit them in any degree for wood-fighting against such foes. Out on the plains the white hunter's skill with the rifle and his cool resolution give him an immense advantage; a few determined men can withstand a host of Indians in the open, although helpless if they meet them in thick cover: and our defeats by the Sioux and other plains tribes have generally taken the form of a small force being overwhelmed by a large one.



A Moqui Squaw

Not only were the Indians very terrible in battle but they were cruel beyond all belief in victory; and the gloomy annals of border warfare are stained with their darkest hues because it was a war in which helpless women and children suffered the same hideous fate that so often befell their husbands and fathers. It was a war waged by savages against armed settlers, whose families followed them into the wilderness. Such a war is inevitably bloody and cruel; but the inhuman love of cruelty for cruelty's sake,[2] which marks the red Indian above all other savages, rendered these wars more terrible than any others. For the hideous, unnamable, unthinkable tortures practised by the red men on their captured foes, and on their foes' tender women and helpless children, were such as we read of in no other struggle, hardly even in the revolting pages that tell the deeds of the Inquisition. It was inevitable — indeed it was in many instances proper — that such deeds should awake in the breasts of the whites the grimmest, wildest spirit of revenge and hatred.

The history of the border wars, both in the ways they were begun and in

or four men yourselves, you wouldn't go in, would you? You'd wait until you got a better chance, and could kill them without so much risk. Well, Indians feel the same way about attacking whites that you would feel about attacking those bears."

[1] All the authorities from Smith *ee* to Harrison *w* are unanimous on this point.

[2] Any one who has ever been in an encampment of wild Indians, and has had the misfortune to witness the delight the children take in torturing little animals, will admit that the Indian's love of cruelty for cruelty's sake cannot possibly be exaggerated. The young are so trained that when old they shall find their keenest pleasure in inflicting pain in its most appalling form. Among the most brutal white borderers a man would be instantly lynched if he practised on any creature the fiendish torture which in an Indian camp either attracts no notice at all, or else excites merely laughter.

the ways they were waged, makes a long tale of injuries inflicted, suffered, and mercilessly revenged. It could not be otherwise when brutal, reckless, lawless borderers, despising all men not of their own colour, were thrown in contact with savages who esteemed cruelty and treachery as the highest of virtues, and rapine and murder as the worthiest of pursuits. Moreover, it was sadly inevitable that the law-abiding borderer as well as the white ruffian, the peaceful Indian as well as the painted marauder, should be plunged into the struggle to suffer the punishment that should only have fallen on their evil-minded fellows.

Looking back, it is easy to say that much of the wrongdoing could have been prevented; but if we examine the facts to find out the truth, not to establish a theory, we are bound to admit that the struggle was really one that could not possibly have been avoided. The sentimental historians speak as if the blame had been all ours, and the wrong all done to our foes, and as if it would have been possible by any exercise of wisdom to reconcile claims that were in their very essence conflicting; but their utterances are as shallow as they are untruthful.

Unless we were willing that the whole continent west of the Alleghanies should remain an unpeopled waste, the hunting-ground of savages, war was inevitable; and even had we been willing, and had we refrained from encroaching on the Indians' lands, the war would have come nevertheless, for then the Indians themselves would have encroached on ours. Undoubtedly we have wronged many tribes; but equally undoubtedly our first definite knowledge of many others has been derived from their unprovoked outrages upon our people. The Chippewas [Ojibwas], Ottawas, and Pottawottomies furnished hundreds of young warriors to the parties that devastated our frontiers generations before we in any way encroached upon or wronged them.

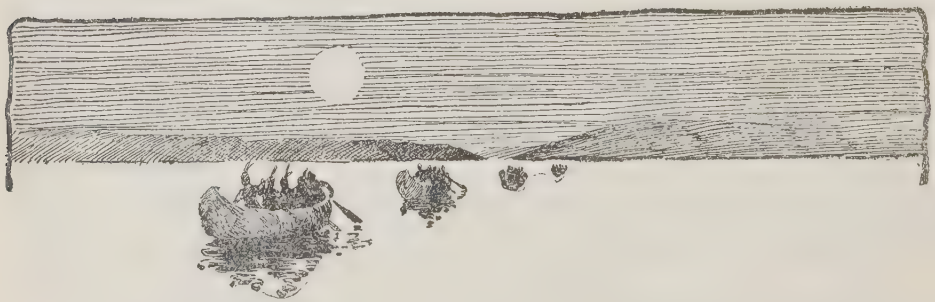
The excesses so often committed by the whites when, after many checks and failures, they at last grasped victory, are causes for shame and regret; yet it is only fair to keep in mind the terrible provocations they had endured. Mercy, pity, magnanimity to the fallen, could not be expected from the frontiersmen gathered together to war against an Indian tribe. Almost every man of such a band had bitter personal wrongs to avenge. He was not taking part in a war against a civilised foe; he was fighting in a contest where women and children suffered the fate of the strong men, and instead of enthusiasm for his country's flag and a general national animosity towards its enemies, he was actuated by a furious flame of hot anger, and was goaded on by memories of which merely to think was madness. His friends had been treacherously slain while on messages of peace; his house had been burned, his cattle driven off, and all he had in the world destroyed before he knew that war existed and when he felt quite guiltless of all offence; his sweetheart or wife had been carried off, ravished, and was at the moment the slave and concubine of some dirty and brutal Indian warrior; his son, the stay of his house, had been burned at the stake with torments too horrible to mention[1]; his sister, when ransomed and returned to him, had told of the weary journey through the woods, when she carried around her neck as a horrible necklace

[1] The expression "too horrible to mention" is to be taken literally, not figuratively. It applies equally to the fate that has befallen every white man or woman who has fallen into the power of hostile plains Indians during the last ten or fifteen years [from 1889.] The nature of the wild Indian has not changed. Not one man in a hundred, and not a single woman, escapes torments which a civilised man cannot look another in the face and so much as speak of. Impalement on charred stakes, finger-nails split off backwards, finger joints chewed off, eyes burned out — these tortures can be mentioned, but there are others equally normal and customary which cannot even be hinted at, especially when women are the victims.

the bloody scalps of her husband and children; seared into his eyeballs, into his very brain, he bore ever with him, waking or sleeping the sight of the skinned, mutilated, hideous body of the baby who had just grown old enough to recognise him and to crow and laugh when taken in his arms.

Such incidents as these were not exceptional; one or more, and often all of them, were the invariable attendants of every one of the countless Indian inroads that took place during the long generations of forest warfare. It was small wonder that men who had thus lost everything should sometimes be fairly crazed by their wrongs. Again and again on the frontier we hear of some such unfortunate who has devoted all the remainder of his wretched life to the one object of taking vengeance on the whole race of the men who had darkened his days forever. Too often the squaws and pappooses fell victims of the vengeance that should have come only on the warriors; for the whites regarded their foes as beasts rather than men, and knew that the squaws were more cruel than others in torturing the prisoner, and that the very children took their full part therein, being held up by their fathers to tomahawk the dying victims at the stake.

Thus it is that there are so many dark and bloody pages in the book of border warfare, that grim and iron-bound volume, wherein we read how our forefathers won the wide lands that we inherit. It contains many a tale of fierce heroism and adventurous ambition, of the daring and resolute courage of men and the patient endurance of women; it shows us a stern race of freemen who toiled hard, endured greatly, and fronted adversity bravely, who prized strength and courage and good faith, whose wives were chaste, who were generous and loyal to their friends. But it shows us also how they spurned at restraint and fretted under it, how they would brook no wrong to themselves, and yet too often inflicted wrong on others; their feats of terrible prowess are interspersed with deeds of the foulest and most wanton aggression, the darkest treachery, the most revolting cruelty; and though we meet with plenty of the rough, strong coarse virtues, we see but little of such qualities as mercy for the fallen, the weak, and the helpless, or pity for a gallant and vanquished foe.[b]





CHAPTER IV

THE FIRST COLONIES

It was Menendez who crushed French Protestantism in America. To plant religious freedom on this western soil was not the mission of France. It was for her to rear in northern forests the banner of absolutism and of Rome; while among the rocks of Massachusetts, England and Calvin fronted her in dogged opposition. Long before the ice-crusted pines of Plymouth had listened to the rugged psalmody of the Puritan, the solitudes of western New York and the stern wilderness of Lake Huron were trodden by the iron heel of the soldier and the sandalled foot of the Franciscan friar. France was the true pioneer of the Great West. They who bore the fleur-de-lis were always in the van, patient, daring, indomitable. And foremost on this bright roll of forest chivalry stands the half forgotten name of Samuel de Champlain.—FRANCIS PARKMAN.[b]

IT has seemed clearest and most logical to trace the story of American discovery from the beginning to the end, and to describe the natives by whom the land was pre-empted, before taking up the process of colonisation. But it must not be concluded that the colonists waited patiently until the discoverers had, by long groping, made out definitely the shape of the mysterious new world. On the contrary the colonists trod zealously on the very heels of the explorers; often the two classes were combined in one expedition.

The first colonies, as we have seen, were those planted by the Norsemen in Greenland. They have disappeared as completely as some of the later efforts — that which Raleigh planted on Roanoke Island, for example, and which was swallowed into oblivion as into a quicksand. The mistakes of the early colonists were as numerous as their excesses. For both they often made the atonement of vast hardship and death. Gold was, as ever, the first cry, and it rolled up its usual security of murder and crime. Agriculture, as always, was despised at first, and then became the chief reliance, the true mine of wealth. In the beginning, the colonists fought with nature, and the natives, and then they fell upon one another. Then they banded together to fight their mother countries, and we behold the thirteen colonies at war with

France, then with England; the South and Central Americans and the Island peoples shaking off the yokes of Spain and of France, and the great empire of Brazil overawing the mother monarchy of Portugal. Finally, we shall see the descendants of the colonists issuing a new bull of demarcation, called the Monroe Doctrine, and forbidding the European countries that settled the New World, to interfere further in its destinies or to hope for any future accession.

In the colonisation of America religion appears everywhere, now as the inspiration of unbounded heroism, endurance, and justice, now as the technical excuse for unlimited duplicity, ravage, and murder. It was "for the good of the Catholic cause" that Columbus and others advocated the enslaving and slaughter of the heathen; it was "for the good of the Catholic cause" that Las Casas advocated liberty, gentleness, and the importance of setting the unconverted a good example. It was "for the sake of Calvinism" that De Gourgues hanged the Spaniards left by Menendez. It was religious example that led the Puritans to forsake England for Holland, then Holland for America, and in the new home of religious liberty, to banish dissenters and to inflict heathenish cruelties upon the Quakers who had left the same country for the same religious liberty. It was religion that warmed them in the bleak wilderness; and upheld them through pestilence, starvation, and the dread of the stealthy and ghostly Indian enemy.

Of almost equal sustaining and enspiriting power has been the lust for wealth. In the creed of the early explorers God and gold were closely bracketed. No pilgrimage for a religious end has ever been more superbly achieved in the face of greater hardships than the march of Coronado; yet he frankly hunted only the seven golden cities of Cibola.

In the exploration of America, gold and the spices of India were the wills-o'-the-wisp that drew the unwilling victim through marsh and thicket and morass. The Spanish and the English made gold their first ambition. Consequently there was little but failure for their first efforts. The glory of the first successful, as of the first well-intentioned, colonisation belongs to the French, both Huguenot and Catholic. They had their failures as well as the others, but they came to cultivate and invest, to found a home. They treated the Indian neither with the mercilessness nor the condescension of the Spaniards and the English. The French and the Indians in general lived very amicably together, and intermarriage was the common thing. In consequence the French were the first to reach a *modus vivendi*, and easily made the Indians allies in their contests with the English. Yet by the irony of history, French institutions have had far less influence in the New World than either English, or Spanish, or even Dutch.

This chapter, devoted to early experiments in colonisation, shows how untrustworthy is ground that the prophet must always stand on unless he waits till after the event; for it shows the English and the Spanish failing and the French succeeding dramatically with picturesque ease. Before taking up these colonies let us glance at the nature of the territory they sought to make their own.[a]

R. G. THWAITES[1] ON THE PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF NORTH AMERICA

North America could not, in a primitive stage of the mechanic arts, have been developed by colonisation on any considerable scale from the west,

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except in the face of difficulties almost insuperable. The Pacific coast of the country is dangerous to approach; steep precipices frequently come down to the shore, and the land everywhere rises rapidly from the sea, until not far inland the broad and mighty wall of the Cordilleran mountain system extends from north to south. That formidable barrier was not scaled by civilised men until modern times, when European settlement had already reached the Mississippi from the east, and science had stepped in to assist the explorers. At San Diego and San Francisco are the only natural harbours, although Puget Sound can be entered from the extreme north, and skilful improvements have in our day made a good harbour at the mouth of Columbia river. The rivers of the Pacific slope for the most part come noisily tumbling down to the sea over great cliffs and through deep chasms, and cannot be utilised for progress far into the interior.

The Atlantic seaboard, upon the other hand, is broad and inviting. The Appalachian range lies for the most part nearly a hundred miles inland. The gently sloping coast abounds in indentations — safe harbours and generous land-locked bays, into which flow numerous rivers of considerable breadth and depth, by means of which the land can be explored for long distances from tide-water. By ascending the St. Lawrence and the chain of the Great Lakes, the interior of the continent is readily reached. Dragging his craft over any one of a half-dozen easy portages in Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, or Ohio, the canoe traveller can emerge into the Mississippi basin, by means of whose far-stretching waters he is enabled to explore the heart of the New World, from the Alleghanies to the Rockies, from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico. A carrying trail, at the headwaters of the Missouri, will lead him over to tributaries of the Columbia, whereby he gains access to the Pacific slope; while by another portage of a few miles in length, from Pigeon river to Rainy river, he is given command of the vast basin of Hudson Bay — a labyrinth of waterways extending northward to the Arctic Ocean, and connected by still other portages with the Pacific. The Hudson river and lakes George and Champlain form a natural highway from the St. Lawrence southward to the ocean. By the Mohawk and a short carrying-place, the Hudson was from early times connected with the Great Lakes. The Potomac, the Susquehanna, the Roanoke, and other southern rivers can be traced northwestward to their sources in the mountains; and hard by are the headwaters of west-flowing feeders of the Mississippi. The Appalachian mountains run for the most part in parallel ridges northeast and southwest; and their valley system, opening out through the Cumberland gap upon the Kentucky prairies and the valleys of the Ohio basin, also affords a comparatively easy highway from the Atlantic sea coast to the interior.

Thus with the entrance of North America facing the east, and with Europe lying but little more than one half the distance from Boston that Asia lies from San Francisco, it was in the order of things that from the east should have come the people who were to settle and civilise the New World. Colonists could on this side of the continent found new commonwealths, yet at the same time easily maintain their connection with the fatherland. The march of Aryan emigration has ever been on lines little diverging from due east or west. It is fortunate that the geographical conditions of North America were such as to make her an inviting field for the further migration of the race.

The Atlantic border may be considered as the threshold of the continent. It was among its dense, gloomy forests of hard wood and pine that European nations planted their colonies; here those colonies grew into states, which were the nucleus of the American Union. The Appalachians are not high enough

seriously to affect the climate or landscape of the region. Their flanks slope gradually down to the sea, furrowed by rivers which from the first gave character to the colonies. In New England, where there is an abundance of good harbours, the coast is narrow and the streams are short and rapid, with stretches of navigable water between the waterfalls which turn the wheels of industry for a busy, ingenious, and thrifty people. The long, broad rivers of the south, flowing lazily through a wide base-plain, the coast of which furnishes but little safe anchorage, served as avenues of traffic for the large, isolated colonial estates strung along their banks; the autocratic planters taking pleasure in having ports of entry at their doors. The Hudson and the Potomac lead far inland — paths to the waterways of the interior — and divide the Atlantic slope into three grand natural divisions, the New England, the Middle, and the Southern, in which grew up distinct groups of colonies, having quite a different origin, and for a time but few interests in common. The Appalachian mountains and their foot-hills abound in many places in iron and coal; works for the smelting of the former were erected near Jamestown, Virginia, as early as 1620, and early in the eighteenth century the industry began to be of considerable importance in parts of New England, New York, and New Jersey; but the mining of anthracite coal was not commenced until 1820. The soil of the Atlantic border varies greatly, being much less fertile in the north than in the south; but nearly everywhere it yields good returns for a proper expenditure of labour. The climate is subject to frequent and extreme changes. At about 30° latitude the mean temperature is similar to that on the opposite side of the Atlantic; but farther north the American climate, owing to the divergence of the Gulf Stream and the influence of the great continent to the west, is much colder than at corresponding points in Europe. The rainfall along the coast is everywhere sufficient.

Beyond the Appalachian mountain wall, the once heavily forested land dips gently to the Mississippi; then the land rises again, in a long, treeless swell, up to the foot of the giant and picturesque Cordilleras. The isothermal lines in this great central basin are nearly identical with those of the Atlantic coast. The soil east of the 105th meridian west from Greenwich is generally rich, sometimes extremely fertile; and it is now agreed that nearly all the vast arid plains to the west of that meridian, formerly set down as desert, need only irrigation to blossom as the rose. The Pacific slope, narrow and abrupt, abounds in fertile, pent-up valleys, with some of the finest scenery on the continent and a climate everywhere nearly equal at the same elevation; the isothermal lines here run north and south, the lofty mountain range materially influencing both climate and vegetation.

There is no fairer land for the building of a great nation. The region occupied by the United States is particularly available for such a purpose. It offers a wide range of diversity in climate and products, yet is traversed by noble rivers which intimately connect the north with the south, and have been made to bind the east with the west. It possesses in the Mississippi basin vast plains unsurpassed for health, fertility, and the capacity to support an enormous population, yet easily defended; for the great outlying mountain ranges, while readily penetrated by bands of adventurous pioneers, and though climbed by railway trains, might easily be made serious obstacles to invading armies. The natural resources of North America are apparently exhaustless; the United States commands nearly every North American seaport on both oceans, and withal is so isolated that there appears to be no necessity for "entangling alliances" with transatlantic powers. The United States seems permitted by nature to work out her own destiny unhampered by foreign

influence, secure in her position, rich in capabilities. Her land is doubtless destined to become the greatest stronghold of the Aryan race.c

H. H. BANCROFT[1] ON SPANISH ADMINISTRATION: THE REPARTIMIENTO SYSTEM

We have seen how it had been first of all agreed that Columbus should be sole ruler, under the crown, of such lands and seas as he might discover for Spain. We have seen how, under that rule, disruption and rebellion followed at the heels of mismanagement, until the restless colonists made *Española* [Hispaniola] an *angustiarum insula* to the worthy admiral, and until their majesties thought they saw in it decent excuse for taking the reins from the Genoese, and supplanting him by agents of their own choosing.

The first of these agents was Juan Aguado, who was merely a commissioner of inquiry. With him, it will be remembered, Columbus returned to Spain after his second voyage, leaving his brother Bartholomew in command. The admiral was permitted to try again; but on reaching the seat of his government he was unable to quiet the disturbances which had increased during his absence. Rebellion had almost reached the dignity of revolution. After another fair trial Columbus was obliged to give it up, and to see himself displaced by a person far worse than himself. Perhaps it is true that a knave was better for the office than an honest man.

Not that Francisco de Bobadilla may be lawfully accused of dishonesty; the sovereigns seemed competent to take care of themselves where their revenue was concerned. And yet he was certainly influenced in his conduct by no sense of right or of humanity. He was popular for a time with the colonists because he was like them, and because he reduced the royal share of the product of the mines from a third to an eleventh, and permitted the dissolute to idle their time and illtreat the natives; and because he released those whom the admiral had imprisoned, and compelled Columbus to pay his debts, for which last-mentioned measures we have no fault to find with him.

The enchaining of the illustrious discoverer by an infamous agent, and for no crime, excited universal disgust throughout Christendom; and yet their majesties seemed in no haste to depose him; for it was not until the 3rd of September, 1501, in answer to the persistent remonstrances of Columbus that a change was made, and the government given to Nicolas de Ovando.

Ample instructions, both written and verbal, were given him before sailing. The natives should be converted, but their bodies should not be enslaved or inhumanly treated. They must pay tribute, and gather gold, but for the latter they should be paid wages. Neither Jews nor Moors might go to the Indies, but negro slaves, born into the possession of Christians, were to be permitted passage. Columbus might always keep there an agent to collect his dues, and he was to be treated with consideration. The idle and profligate were to be returned to Spain. Except the provinces given to Ojeda and Pinzon, Ovando's jurisdiction was made to extend over all the Indies, that is to say, over all the New World dominions of Spain, islands and firm land, with the capital at Santo Domingo, and subordinate or municipal governments in the more important localities.

There were no less than thirty ships and twenty-five hundred persons comprising the expedition. There were seventy-three respectable married women, who had come with their husbands and children, and who were to salt society at their several points of distribution. It was evident as the new governor

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entered his capital, elegantly attired, with a bodyguard of sixty-two foot soldiers and ten horsemen, and a large and brilliant retinue, that the colonisation of the New World had now been assumed in earnest by the sovereigns of Spain. Nor was Ovando disposed to be dilatory in his duty. He at once announced the *residencia*[1] of Bobadilla, and put Roldan, eidevant rebel, and later chief judge, under arrest. He built in Hispaniola several towns to which arms and other privileges were given, founded a hospital, removed Santo Domingo to a more healthful site on the other side of the river, and established a colony at Puerto de Plata, on the north side of Hispaniola, near Isabella.

Distant eight leagues from Santo Domingo were the mines where the twenty-five hundred thought immediately to enrich themselves. For several days after landing the road was alive with eager gold hunters drawn from all classes of the community; cavalier, hidalgo, and labourer, priest and artisan, honest men and villains, whose cupidity had been fired by the display of precious metal lately gathered, and who were now hurrying forward with hard breath and anxious eyes under their bundle of necessities. But there was no happy fortune in store for these new-comers. The story then new has been oft repeated since: expecting to fill their sacks quickly and with ease, and finding that a very little gold was to be obtained only by very great labour, they were soon on their way back to the city, where many of them fell into poverty, half of them dying of fever.

Poor fools! they did not know; their countrymen, those that were left from former attempts, did not tell them, though Roldan's men, Bobadilla's men, knew well enough, and in truth the remnant of Ovando's men were not slow to learn, that the wise man, the wise and villainous man from Spain, did not work or die for gold, or for anything else, when there were unbelievers that might be pricked to it by the sword.

During this earliest period of Spanish domination in America, under successive viceroys and subordinate rulers, by far the most important matter which arose for consideration or action was the treatment of the aborigines.

The sovereigns of Spain now found themselves called upon to rule two races in the New World, the white and the red. It was natural and right that Spaniards should be masters in America. Their claim was twofold; as discoverers, and as propagandists. But in just what category to place the red man was a question almost as puzzling as to tell who he was, and whence he came. Several times the doctors sat to determine whether he had a soul, or a semi-soul, and whether the liquid so freely let by the conquerors was brute blood, or of as high proof as that which Christ shed on Calvary. The savages were to be governed, of course; but how, as subjects or as slaves? Columbus was strongly in favour of Indian slavery. He had participated in the Portuguese slave trade, and had found it profitable. Spaniards enslaved infidels, and why not heathens? Mahometans enslaved Christians, and Christians Mahometans. Likewise Christians enslaved Christians, white as well as black, though it began to be questioned in Spain whether it was quite proper to enslave white Christians.

The negro slave trade was at this time comparatively a new thing. It

[1] Residencia was the examination or account taken of the official acts of an executive or judicial officer, during the term of his residence within the province of his jurisdiction, and while in the exercise of the functions of his office. This was done at the expiration of the term of office, or at stated periods, or in case of malefeasance at any time. The person making the examination was appointed by the king, or in New World affairs by the *Consejo de Indias*, or by a viceroy, and was called a *juez de residencia*. Before this judge, within a given time, any one might appear and make complaint, and offer evidence against the retiring or suspended official, who might refute and rebut as in an ordinary tribunal.

was one of the proximate results of fifteenth century maritime discovery. The Portuguese were foremost in it, organising for the purpose a company at Lagos, and a factory at Arguin, about the middle of the century, Prince Henry receiving his fifth. Europe, however, offered no profitable field for African slave labour, and but for the discovery of America the traffic probably never would have assumed large proportions. Public sentiment was not in those days averse to slavery, particularly to the enslavement of the children of Ham. And yet neither Isabella nor Ferdinand was at all disposed in regard to their New World possessions, to follow the example of Portugal on the coast of Africa. They did not want these creatures in Spain, they had no use for them. In regard to the ancient custom of enslaving prisoners of war, particularly the detested and chronically hostile Moors, it was different. This New World had been given them for a higher purpose. Its natives were not the enemies of Spain; they were innocent of any offence against Spain. It was better, it was more glorious, there was higher and surer reward in it, to Christianise than to enslave. This the clergy constantly urged; so that in Spain the passion for propagandism was greater than the passion for enslaving.

Meanwhile Columbus launched boldly forth in the old way, not only making slaves of cannibals but of prisoners of war; and whenever slaves were needed, a pretence for war was not long wanting. Thereupon, with another shipment, the admiral grows jubilant, and swears by the holy Trinity that he can send to Spain as many slaves as can be sold, four thousand if necessary and enters upon the details of capture, carriage, sale, and return cargoes of goods, with all the enthusiasm of a sometime profitable experience in the business. Further than this he permits enforced labour where there had been failure to pay tribute, and finally gives to every one who comes an Indian for a slave.

Then the monarchs were angry. "What authority from me has the admiral to give to any one my vassals!" exclaimed the queen. All who had thus been stolen from home and country, among whom were pregnant women and babes newly born, were ordered to be returned. And from that moment the sovereigns of Spain were the friends of the Indians. Not Isabella alone, but Ferdinand, Charles, and Philip, and their successors for two hundred years, with scarcely an exceptional instance, stood manfully for the rights of the savages — always subordinate and determinately interposing their royal authority between the persistent wrong-doing of their Spanish subjects, and their defenceless subjects of the New World. Likewise the Catholic church is entitled to the highest praise for her influence in the direction of humanity, and for the unwearied efforts of her ministers in guarding from cruelty and injustice these poor creatures. Here and there we shall find a priest so fired by his fanaticism as to outdo a Pizarro in bloody-mindedness, and we shall find church men and church measures standing in the way of truth, liberty, intelligence; but though Spanish priests, like the Spanish adventurers, carried away by passion or a spirit of proselytism, committed much folly and unrighteousness, they also did great good.

After the first invasions, in various quarters, aggressive warfare on the natives, even on obdurate heathen nations, was prohibited. In the extension of dominion that followed, the very word "conquest" was forbidden to be employed, even though it were a conquest gained by fighting, and the milder term "pacification" was substituted. Likewise, after the first great land robberies had been committed, side by side with the minor seizures was in practice the regulation that enough of the ancient territory should be left each native community to support it comfortably in a fixed residence. Such

were the wishes of crown and clergy; for which both strove steadily though unsuccessfully until the object of their solicitude crumbled into earth.

For the soldier, the sailor, the cavalier, the vagabond, the governor, and all their subordinates and associates, all the New World rabble from viceroy to menial willed it otherwise. However omnipotent in Spain, there were some things in America that the sovereigns and their confessors could not do. They could not control the bad passions of their subjects when beyond the reach of rope and dungeon. The fact is that for every outrage by a subject in the far away Indies, there were ten, each of magnitude tenfold for evil, committed by the sovereigns in Spain; so that it was by no means wonderful that the Spaniards determined here to practise a little fiendishness for their own gratification, even though their preceptors did oppose wickedness which by reason of their absence they themselves could not enjoy.

Though the monarchs protested earnestly, honestly, and at the length of centuries, their subjects went their way and executed their will with the natives. Were we to tell a tenth of the atrocities perpetrated by Christian civilisation on the natives of America, we could tell nothing else. The catalogue of European crime, Spanish, English, French, is as long as it is revolting.

Passing the crimes of Columbus and Bobadilla, the sins of the two being, for biographical effect, usually placed upon the latter, let us look at the conduct of Ovando who, as Spanish provincial rulers went in those days, was an average man. He ruled with vigour: and as if to offset his strict dealings with offending Spaniards, unoffending Indians were treated with treachery and merciless brutality. Rumour reaching him that Anacaona, queen of Jaragua, meditated revolt, he marched thither at the head of two hundred foot soldiers and seventy horsemen. The queen came out to meet him, and escorted him with music and dancing to the great banqueting hall, and entertained him there for several days. Still assured by evil tongues that his hostess intended treachery, he determined to forestall her. On a Sunday afternoon, while a tilting match was in progress, Ovando gave the signal. He raised his hand and touched his Alcantara cross — a badge of honour it was called, which, had it been real, should have shrivelled the hand that for such a purpose touched it. On the instant Anacaona and her *caciques* were seized and a mock trial given them; after which the queen was hanged, the caciques tortured and burned, and the people of the province, men, women, and children ruthlessly and indiscriminately butchered. Those who escaped the massacre were afterwards enslaved. For intelligence, grace, and beauty Anacaona was the Isabella of the Indies, and there was no valid proof that she meditated the slightest injury to the Spaniards.

The natives of Saona and Higuey, in revenge for the death of a chief torn in pieces by a Spanish bloodhound, rose to arms, and slew a boat's crew of eight Spaniards. Juan de Esquivel with four hundred men was sent against them and the usual indiscriminate hanging and burning followed. It is stated that over six hundred were slaughtered at one time in one house. A peace was conquered, a fort built; fresh outrages provoked a fresh outbreak; and the horrors of the extermination that followed Las Casas[d] confessed himself unable to describe. A passion arose for mutilation, and for prolonging agony by new inventions for refining cruelty. And the irony of Christianity was reached when thirteen men were hanged side by side in honour of Christ and his apostles. Cotubano, the last of the five native kings of Hispaniola, was taken to Santo Domingo, and hanged by order of Ovando. In Higuey were then formed two settlements, Salvaleon and Santa Cruz.

To take the places in the Spanish service of the Indians thus slain in

Hispaniola, forty thousand natives of the Lucayas Islands were enticed thither upon the pretext of the captors that they were the Indians' dead ancestors come from heaven to take their loved ones back with them. Hispaniola was indeed their shortest way to heaven, though not the way they had been led to suppose. When tidings of Ovando's doings reached Spain, notably of his treatment of Anacaona, Queen Isabella was on her death bed; but raising herself as best she was able, she exclaimed to the president of the council, "I will have you take of him such a *residencia* as was never taken."

The colonists clamoured, and the crown was at a loss what to do. In her dilemma there is no wonder the queen appeared to equivocate; but when in December, 1503, she permitted Ovando to use force in bringing the natives to a sense of their duty, though they must be paid fair wages and made to work "as free persons, for so they are," she committed a fatal error. The least latitude was sure to be abused. Under royal permission of 1501, a few negro slaves from time to time were taken to the Indies. Las Casas urged the extension of this traffic in order to save the Indians. Ovando complained that the negroes fled and hid themselves among the natives, over whom they exercised an unwholesome influence; nevertheless in September, 1505, we find the king sending over more African slaves to work in the mines, this time about one hundred. From 1517, when importations from the Portuguese establishments on the Guinea coast were authorised by Charles V, the traffic increased, and under the English, particularly, assumed enormous proportions. This unhappy confusion of races led to a negro insurrection at Hispaniola in 1522.

We come now to some of the results of the temporising policy of Spain — always a bad one when the subject is beyond the reach of the ruling arm — in regard to the Indians. For out of a desire to avoid the odium of Indian slavery, and yet secure the benefits thereof, grew a system of servitude embodying all the worst features of absolute bondage, with none of its mitigations. It will be remembered that during his second voyage Columbus made war on the natives of Hispaniola, and after sending some as slaves to Spain, imposed a tribute on the rest; on some a bell-measure of gold, and on others an *arroba* (25 pounds) of cotton, every three months. So severe was this tax that many could not meet it, and in 1496 service was accepted in place of tribute. This was the beginning in the New World of the *repartimiento* ("distribution"), or as it shortly afterward became, the *encomienda* ("a giving in charge"), system, under which the natives of a conquered country were divided among the conquerors, recommended to their care, and made tributary to them.

The theory was that the Indians were the vassals of Spain, no more to be imposed upon than other Spanish subjects. The sovereigns wishing to stimulate discovery, pacification, and settlement, were willing to waive their right to the tribute due the crown in favour of enterprising and meritorious persons, who had taken upon themselves hardships incident to life in a new country. At first in certain instances, but later to an extent which became general, they settled this tribute upon worthy individuals among the conquerors and colonists and their descendants, on condition that those who thus directly received a portion of the royal revenue should act the part of royalty to the people placed temporarily in their care. They were to be as a sovereign lord and father, and not as a merciless or unjust taskmaster. They were to teach their wards the arts of civilisation, instruct them in the Christian doctrine, watch over and guide and guard them, and never to restrict them in the use of their liberties, nor impose burdens on them, nor in any way to injure or

permit injury to befall them. And for this protection they were neither to demand nor receive more than the legal tribute fixed by the royal officers, and always such as the natives could without distress or discomfort pay. What the system was in practice we shall have ample opportunity of judging as we proceed.

First, *repartimientos* of lands were authorised by the sovereigns. This was in 1497, and nothing was then said about the natives. But after dividing the land it was but a step to the dividing of the inhabitants. With the shipment of six hundred slaves in 1498, and an offer to their majesties of as many more as they could find sale for, Columbus wrote asking permission to enforce the services of the natives until settlement should be fairly begun, say for a year or two; but without waiting for a reply he at once began the practice, which introduced a new feature into repartimientos. Then to all who chose to take them, to Roldan and his followers, to the worst characters on the island, among whom were the late occupants of Spanish prisons, the vilest of humankind, was given absolute dominion over these helpless and innocent creatures. Having paid nothing for them, having no pecuniary interest in them, they had no object in caring whether they were fed or starved, whether they lived or died, for if they died there were more at hand upon the original terms.

Under Bobadilla the infamy assumed bolder proportions. Bobadilla not only permitted the exaction from the natives of mining and farming labour, but all restrictions were laid aside, and from working their own soil they became mere labour gangs to be driven anywhere. Before sailing for the New World, Ovando had been charged by the sovereigns with the exercise of extreme moderation in levying tributes and making repartimientos. Those who came with him not only failed in mining, but neglected to plant, as did likewise the natives, thinking thereby the quicker to rid themselves of the invaders. Hence famine, engendering new diseases, was at hand for both white and red. Then the Indians were systematically parcelled among the Spaniards to one fifty, to another one hundred, and the repartimiento unfolded into the encomienda.

A steadily growing character, impressing itself more and more upon the affairs of the Indies as time went by, was that of Bartolomé de las Casas. Born at Seville, in 1474, he conned his humanities at Salamanca, making little stir among the Gamaliels there, but taking the bachelor's degree in his eighteenth year. After a residence of about eight years in the Indies, having come with Ovando in 1502, he was admitted to priestly orders, from which time he takes his place in history. He was a man of very pronounced temperament and faculties, as much man of business as ecclesiastic, but more philanthropist than either; possessed of a burning enthusiasm, when once the fire of his conviction was fairly kindled, he gave rest neither to himself nor to his enemies. For every evil-minded man who came thither was his enemy, between whom and himself was a death-struggle. The Apostle of the Indies he was sometimes called, and the mission he took upon himself was to stand between the naked natives and their steel-clad tormentors. In this work he was ardent, ofttimes imprudent, always eloquent and truthful, and as impudently bold and brazen as any cavalier among them all. Nor was he by any means a discontented man. He sought nothing for himself; he had nothing that man could take from him except life, upon which he set no value, or except some of its comforts, which were too poor at best to trouble himself about. His cause, which was the right, gave breadth and volume to his boldness, beside which the courage of the hare-brained babbler was sounding brass.[e]

AN EYE-WITNESS' ACCOUNT OF SPANISH CRUELTIES TO THE NATIVES (LAS CASAS)[1]

These people are naturally simple, they know not what belongs to policy and address, to trick and artifice; but are very obedient and faithful to their rightful governors: They are humble, patient, and submissive, even to the Spaniards who have subdued and enslaved them: They are a weak, effeminate people, not capable of enduring great fatigues they care not to be exposed to toil and labour, and their life is of no long continuance; their constitution is so nice that a small fit of sickness carries them off.

The Almighty seems to have inspired these people with a meekness and softness of humour like that of lambs. The Spaniards who have given them so much trouble, and fallen upon them so fiercely, resemble savage tigers, wolves, and lions, when enraged with pressing hunger. They applied themselves forty years together wholly to the massacring the poor wretches that inhabitated the islands; putting them to all kinds of unheard of torments and punishments, insomuch that this island [Hispaniola] which before the arrival of the Europeans contained three millions of people, is now reduced to less than three hundred. The island of Cuba, the length of which is equal to the distance between Vallidolid and Rome, is entirely desert and destitute of its inhabitants, and nothing but ruins now to be seen in it. The islands of St. John and Jamaica have met with a like treatment, and were very fertile and populous, but are rendered desolate and waste by the like means. Above thirty isles near that of St. John were entirely depopulated, though of a vast extent, so that there is scarce an inhabitant to be found in them.

As for the continent it is certain, and what I myself know to be true, that the Spaniards have ruined ten kingdoms there, bigger than all Spain, by the commission of all sorts of barbarity and unheard of cruelties. They have driven away or killed all the inhabitants; so that all these kingdoms are desolate to this day, and reduced to a most deplorable condition.

The gold and silver these people had in their possession was the motive that violently prompted the Europeans to persecute and destroy them. They made so little account of the miserable inhabitants of these islands, that I may aver, without fear of being accused either of imposture, or of speaking inconsiderately since it is that of which I have been an eye-witness, that they valued them less, and treated them worse than beasts.

They had so little regard of the salvation of their souls that they would not give themselves the trouble so much as to speak of the Christian faith and sacraments to those numberless multitudes of men and women whom they sacrificed to their ambition and tyranny; and that which aggravates the enormity of their crimes, is that these poor Indians had offered them no injury, but on the contrary, gave them as much honour and respect as if they had been sent from heaven.

[1 It is hardly necessary to warn the reader against the manifest numerical exaggerations in the famous work of Las Casas.[a] They are so extravagant that they carry their own monition. It is rather necessary to warn the reader against discrediting his other statements. These seem to be based on irrefutable evidences and they can be corroborated from other eye-witnesses. Officially appointed "the Protector of the Indians," Las Casas gave his life to their defence, toiling in their behalf in the islands and in the court at Spain. In spite of him and others like him the depopulation of whole islands went on till slaves had to be stolen from Africa to replace those murdered in America. From his eloquence as an author, the unselfishness of his whole career, the bravery and the fervour of his lifelong battle for the oppressed, he has been accepted as one of the noblest figures in history. We quote from a translation published in 1699 of his tracts published in 1552 called *Brevissima relacion de la destruycion de las Indias.*]

The Spaniards arrived at Hispaniola in their first voyages, and here began to persecute and murder the Indians, taking away their wives and children, and using them, or rather abusing them at their pleasure. They devoured all that these poor creatures had amassed together for their subsistence with a great deal of care and labour. One Spaniard would consume in a day, that which would suffice three Indian families of ten persons each, for the space of a whole month. This ill treatment and spoil soon made the inhabitants of this island lose the esteem they had conceived of the Spaniards, whom they at first looked upon as messengers from heaven: so that at length they began to hide their wives and children, and whatever goods they had from them. Some retired into caves, others fled up into the mountains. The Spaniards did not content themselves to beat them, and to offer them many other indignities, but cut their throats in cold blood; and without any respect either to age or quality, put their princes and the governors of their cities to death. They came to that height of impudence and villany, that a Spanish captain had the insolence to abuse the wife of the greatest king of the island. This vile fact drove them quite to despair, so that from that time they sought means of driving the Spaniards out of their country; they betook themselves to arms, and did what they could to defend themselves against these tyrants: but the weapons they used were neither capable of defending them, nor of offending their enemies to any purpose; and were more like those that children use to play with, than such as are fit for soldiers to use in war.

The Spaniards, who were mounted on fine horses, and armed with lances and swords, looked upon enemies so meanly equipped with the greatest contempt and committed the most horrible slaughters with impunity. They passed through the several cities and towns, sparing neither age nor sex, but killed women and children as well as men. They ripped up women with child, that root and branch might be destroyed together. They laid wagers one with another, who should cleave a man with his sword most dexterously at one blow; or who should take his head from his shoulders most cleverly; or who should run a man through after the most artistic manner. They tore away children out of their mothers' arms, and dashed out their brains against the rocks, while others they threw into the river, diverting themselves with this brutish sport, and giving great shouts while they saw them in this misery; and to add insulting scoffs to their cruelty, they advised them to struggle in the water, and try if they could save themselves from drowning. They held up the bodies of mothers and children together upon their lances. They set up gibbets, and hanged up thirteen of these poor creatures in honour of Jesus Christ and his twelve apostles (as they blasphemously expressed themselves). They kindled a great fire under these gibbets, to burn those they had hanged upon them. They cut off the hands of those they saved alive, and sent them away in that miserable condition, bidding them carry the news of their calamities to those that were retired into the mountains to escape the Spaniards.

They erected a small scaffold, supported with forks and poles, upon which to execute their chiefs, and those of the most considerable quality among them. When they had laid them at length upon this scaffold, they kindled a gentle fire to make them feel themselves die gradually, till the poor wretches after the most exquisite pain and anguish, attended with horrible screeches and outcries, at length expired. I one day saw four or five of the highest rank in this island burned after this manner. But the dreadful cries this torment extorted from them, incommoding a Spanish captain, and hindering

his sleep, he commanded them to be presently strangled. But a certain officer whose name I know, and whose relations are well known at Seville, put gags into their mouths to hinder them from making a noise, that he might not be deprived of the brutish pleasure of broiling them gently till they breathe out their souls in this torment. I have been an eye witness of all these cruelties and an infinite number of others, which I pass over in silence.

And because the Indians after they had been provoked with so many unheard of injuries now and then killed one of them when they met with them straggling: the Spaniards made a law among themselves to massacre a hundred Indians for every Spaniard they should kill.

After this unjust war was ended with the destruction and massacre of the inhabitants of these countries, having reserved few besides the women and children, they divided these among themselves, keeping thirty of them; others forty; others one hundred, some two hundred, according to the interest they had in the tyrant of the island, whom they honoured with the title of governor. These (as might well have been expected) took no care to instruct them; but confined the men to the mines to get out gold with incredible toil and labour; they used the women for husbandry and tillage, though this last was a labour hard enough for men of the most robust and vigorous constitution.

They fed them only with herbs, or such like food, that had but little substance or nourishment in it: So that the milk dried up in the breasts of the women that gave suck and their children in a little time pined away and died with faintness and hunger. The men having no conversation with the women, but dwelling in separate houses, there could be no farther propagation of children by them. Thus at length the men perished in the mines with hunger and labour, the women died under the pressure of their servitude in the fields; so that all the inhabitants of this populous island were exterminated in a short time. And indeed if the same course were taken everywhere else, all mankind would be destroyed in the space of a few years. The Spaniards obliged these poor creatures to carry burdens of fourscore or a hundred pound weight for one hundred or two hundred leagues. And that they might travel the more at ease, they would make these Indians carry them in chairs and horse-litters on their shoulders. But it would be endless to describe all the miseries these unfortunate people were made to suffer; it would require whole volumes and the reading of so deplorable a story would deeply affect and soften every mind not quite divested of humanity.

A rich and potent cacique named Hathuey was retired into the isle of Cuba to avoid that slavery and death with which the Spaniards menaced him; and being informed that his persecutors were upon the point of landing in this island, he assembled all his subjects and domestics together and made a speech to them after this manner: "You know the report that is spread abroad, that the Spaniards are ready to invade this island; and you are not ignorant of the ill usage our friends and countrymen have met with at their hands, and the cruelties they have committed at Hayei (so Hispaniola is called in their language), they are now coming hither with a design to exercise the same outrages and persecutions upon us. Are you ignorant of the ill intentions of the people of whom I am speaking? I'll tell you then that these Europeans worship a very covetous sort of God, so that it is difficult to satisfy him; and to perform the worship they render to this idol, they'll exact immense treasures of us, and will use their utmost endeavour to reduce us to a miserable state of slavery or else to put us to death." Upon which he took a box of gold and valuable jewels which he had with him, and exposing it to their view: "Here

is (says he) the God of the Spaniards whom we must honour with our sports and dances, to see if we can appease him, and render him propitious to us; that so he may command the Spaniards not to offer us any injury." They all applauded this speech, and fell a leaping and dancing round the box, till they had quite tired and spent themselves. After which the cacique Hathuey resuming his discourse, continued to speak to them: "If we keep this God (says he) till he is taken away from us, he'll certainly cause our lives to be taken from us; and therefore I am of opinion it will be the best way to cast him into the river." They all approved of this advice, and went all together with one accord to throw this pretended God into the river.

The Spaniards were no sooner arrived in the isle of Cuba but this cacique unfortunately fell into their hands: and because he had taken all the precautions he could to avoid the persecutions of so cruel and impious a people, and had taken arms to defend his own life, as well as the lives of his subjects; this was made a capital crime in him, for which he was burned alive. While he was in the midst of the flames, tied to a stake, a certain Franciscan friar of great piety and virtue, took upon him to speak to him of God and our religion, and to explain to him some articles of the Catholic faith, of which he had never heard a word before, promising him eternal life, if he would believe, and threatening him with eternal torment, if he continued obstinate in his infidelity.

Hathuey reflecting on the matter, as much as the place and condition in which he was would permit, asked the friar that instructed him whether the gate of heaven was open to the Spaniards; and being answered that such of them as were good men might hope for entrance there. The cacique, without any further deliberation, told him, he had no mind to go to heaven for fear of meeting with such cruel and wicked company as they were; but would much rather choose to go to hell, where he might be delivered from the troublesome sight of such kind of people. To so great a degree have the wicked actions and cruelties of the Spaniards dishonoured God and His religion in the minds of the Americans.

One day there came to us a great number of the inhabitants of a famous city, situated above ten leagues from the place where we lodged, to compliment us, and bring us all sorts of provisions and refreshments, which they presented us with great marks of joy, caressing us after the most obliging manner they could. But that evil spirit that possessed the Spaniards put them into such a sudden fury against them, that they fell upon them and massacred above three thousand of them, both men and women, upon the spot, without having received the least offence or provocation from them. I was an eye-witness of this barbarity; and whatever endeavours were used to appease these inhuman creatures, it was impossible to reduce them to reason; so resolutely were they bent to satiate their brutal rage by this barbarous action.

The Indians of Havana seeing themselves reduced to a state of severe slavery, that there was no remedy left, and that they were irrecoverably undone, began to seek refuge in the deserts and mountains, to secure themselves if possible from death. Some strangled themselves in despair; parents hanged themselves, together with their children, to put the speedier end to their miseries by death.

I saw with my own eyes above six thousand children die in the space of three or four months, their parents being forced to abandon them, being condemned to the mines. After this, the Spaniards took up a resolution to pursue those Indians that were retired into the mountains, and massacred

multitudes of them; so that this island was depopulated and laid waste in a very little time. And it is a most lamentable spectacle to see so fine a country thus miserably ruined and unpeopled.

They massacred such as made a shift to escape the fire, or kept them for slaves; they used tortures to force them to tell where they had hid their gold. They printed marks on their bodies with red hot branding-irons, and after all these cruelties, used their utmost diligence to make a strict search for the gold of these miserable people, of which they got vast quantities together, besides pearls and diamonds which the Indians gave them to avoid their fury. All the Spaniards who had any office or place of trust, committed the same rapine, everyone sent as many soldiers as he could to make their progresses, and ravage all the country. The first bishop that was sent into America imitated the conduct of the covetous governors, and made use of his servants to procure himself a share of the spoil. That which contributed yet farther to unpeople the provinces was the liberty the Spaniards took to exact of the caciques, and richest Indians, a great number of slaves. This kind of tribute was authorised by the governor, and levied with a great deal of severity; for he threatened to burn them alive if they failed to send him a recruit of fifty slaves every three months, or as often as he should give order; though the Indians have no great number of slaves ordinarily, and it is much if a cacique has three or four among his other domestics. If a father had two children, the Spaniards would take away one of them, or two if he had three. The parent must submit, with how great reluctancy soever; but their children were not ravished from them without abundance of tears and dolorous complaints, for they have a very tender affection to their offspring, and breed them up with abundance of care. This kind of tribute being often extorted, all this kingdom was in a few years depopulated. There arrived five or six ships here every year which were laden with slaves, whom they transported into Peru and Panama, and there sold them, where they died in a little time; for it has been confirmed by many experiments that those Indians that are transported from their native country into other climates, seldom live long, and that which contributed to kill them the sooner was the neglect of supplying them with sufficient sustenance, and the excessive labour with which they were over-charged.

These inhuman creatures were wont when they declared war against any city or province, to bring with them as many of the conquered Indians as they could, to make them fight against their countrymen; sometimes they had fifteen or twenty thousand of those men subjects among them. But because they were not able to furnish them with all necessary provisions, they allowed them to eat those other Indians whom they took in war, so that in their camp they had shambles stored with human flesh. Infants were killed, and then broiled and eaten: men were slaughtered like beasts, and their legs and arms dressed for food; for the Indians like the taste of those parts better than others. The news of these terrible practices soon alarmed the neighbouring countries, and filled them with terror and consternation.

Many of the Indians were worn out with carrying the tackle of the Spanish ships which they would needs have brought from the north to the south sea, which are 130 leagues distant. They made them carry anchors of a great weight all this long way. They laid great guns upon the naked backs of these poor creatures, under the weight of which they were not able to stand; so that the greater part of them died by the way, not being able to endure these fatigues. To increase their misery, they divided their families, taking husbands from their wives, and wives from their husbands; their daughters were

taken from them, and given to the seamen and soldiers to satisfy their lust and to appease their murmuring. They filled the ships with Indians, and suffered them to perish with hunger and thirst because they would take no care to furnish them with necessaries.

The Spaniards had two powerful fleets destined to the same purpose of destroying the poor Indians. How many parents have they bereaved of their children! How many children of their parents! Of how many adulteries and other infamous practices have they been the causes, the actors, and accomplices! How many people have they enslaved! What miseries and calamities have they not brought upon this new world! What fountains of tears have they opened! What rivers of blood have they poured out! How many lives have they taken away after such a manner as might render them yet more miserable in the other world! It is a melancholy reflection both in regard to the Indians who have suffered so many cruelties, and to the Spaniards who have been the authors of so much mischief and villany.

The Spaniards might have built great and flourishing cities in so pleasant and commodious a country, where they might have lived in the midst of pleasure and plenty as it were in another earthly paradise; but their stupidity, their avarice, and the enormous crimes they have committed in America rendered them unworthy of these advantages. These covetous wretches esteemed gold more than souls which were purchased by the blood of Jesus Christ, they made slaves of those whom they saved alive, and filled the ships they had brought to the coasts of the kingdom of Yucatan with them and so exchanged them for wine, oil, vinegar, salt pork, horses, and all other necessaries. They would give fifty or a hundred young girls for a measure of wine, oil, or vinegar, and would sell a hundred or two hundred lusty well-made young men at the same rate. They exchanged a prince's son for a cheese, and a hundred persons of eminency for a horse. They continued in this country till they heard of the riches of Peru, the news of which made them leave it immediately, and thus their persecutions ended in the kingdom of Yucatan. However, before they went they committed all the excesses and disorders that can be imagined against both God and man; so that those three hundred leagues of one of the finest countries in the world that was very rich and full of people before their arrival, were in a little time reduced to a vast desert. A certain pilot told me that in a voyage he once made from the Lucay Islands to Hispaniola, which is about seventy leagues, he had no need either of a compass, or the observation of the stars to guide his vessel; for he assured me the floating bodies of the Indians that had been thrown into the sea, served for his guide throughout this passage, and conducted him straight to the port to which he was bound.

The Spaniards feed their fierce dogs with human flesh on purpose to accustom them to tear men in pieces, and devour them. They carry these dogs with them wherever they go, and barbarously murder the poor Indians to feed these savage curs with their flesh. They say one to another, Give me a quarter of that Indian to make my dog a feast; and when I kill one I will pay you again. They commonly hunt in the morning with these dogs, and when asked by their fellows what luck they have had, they answer according to their success. Sometimes one will say I am content, my dogs have killed about a score of them; so that one would think they were speaking of wolves or wild boars. Can any thing be imagined that exceeds such horrible cruelty as this? And all these barbarities have been proved and averred by strict examinations made and produced before the Council of the Indies.

As for your majesty, they think you are the most cruel and impious prince

in the world, while they see the cruelty and impiety your subjects so insolently commit; and they verily believe your majesty lives upon nothing but human flesh and blood. Probably this account may very much surprise your majesty, who perhaps have not yet received sufficient information about these matters; but this opinion is of long standing, and become inveterate among them. I could produce a great many instances of which I have been an eye-witness, to convince you of the truth of it; but I am afraid of making your majesty too uneasy and of filling the reader's mind with too much horror, by reciting such extraordinary and unparalleled stories, which may give a just occasion of wonder, that God has so long deferred to inflict some exemplary and terrible judgment upon Spain, to punish all the abominations the Spaniards have committed in the Indies.[d]

THE COLLISION OF SPANISH COLONISTS WITH FRENCH IN FLORIDA

While the Castilians were everywhere else victorious, Florida was wet with the blood of the invaders, who had still been unable to possess themselves of her soil. The coast of the Gulf of Mexico was not at this time, disputed by any other nation with Spain; while that power claimed, under the name of Florida, the whole seacoast as far as Newfoundland, and even to the remotest north. In Spanish geography, Canada was a part of Florida. Yet within that whole extent, not a Spanish fort was erected, not a harbour was occupied, not one settlement was planned. The first permanent establishment of the Spaniards in Florida was the result of jealous bigotry.[f]

Meanwhile a great religious revolution had occurred which divided western Europe into the two hostile and violent parties of Protestants and Catholics, a revolution not without very important influences on the colonisation of North America. The first attempt at a lodgment within the limits of what are now the United States, with colonisation, not conquest, as its principal object, was made by French Protestants called Huguenots, who constituted at that time a formidable party, embracing, besides a large body of the nobility, no small portion of the intelligent and industrious class, especially in the south of France.

The plan of an American settlement was patronised by Admiral de Coligny, celebrated in French history as one of the ablest leaders of the Protestants. An attempted settlement in Brazil having proved a failure, Jacques Ribault of Dieppe, was sent in 1562, with two ships on a voyage of exploration to Florida. He discovered the river St. John's, May, 1562, which he named the river of May[1]; and, following the coast toward the north, entered a spacious inlet, which he called Port Royal, a name it has ever since retained. On an island in this harbour he built a fort called Carolina, after Charles IX, then king of France — a name extended afterward to the circumjacent territory, and still retained by two of the United States.

The twenty-six men left by Ribault, while he returned for supplies, lonely tenants of a desolate coast, became discontented and uneasy, notwithstanding the hospitality of the neighbouring Indians. The attempt of the commandant to repress this feeling provoked a mutiny, in which he was killed. With such materials as they had, the home-sick colonists built and rigged a small bark, in which they set sail for France. But their provisions failed, and they were

[1] It is the St. Matheo of the Spaniards. The forests of mulberries were admired, and caterpillars readily mistaken for silkworms. The cape received a French name; as the ships sailed along the coast, the numerous streams were called after the rivers of France; and America, for a while, had its Seine, its Loire, and its Garonne. — BANCROFT.[f]

reduced to the terrible expedient of feeding on the flesh of one of their companions. At length they were picked up by an English vessel, some of them landed on the coast of France, and the others carried to England.

Ribault, on his return to France, had found that kingdom distracted and attention occupied by civil war, then first breaking out between the Huguenots and the Catholics. Peace was presently patched up, and two years after the scheme of settlement was renewed. Three ships, furnished by the French government, were placed under the command of Laudonnière, one of Ribault's companions in the former voyage. Le Moyne or De Morgues, a draughtsman and painter, whose sketches, made upon the spot, were afterward engraved and published, accompanied the expedition. Laudonnière landed his people at the river of May, where he built a fort, called, also, Carolina. (June 22nd, 1564). But these colonists, like their predecessors, were an unruly set. Under pretence of searching for provisions, some of them seized two small vessels belonging to the colony, with which they sailed to cruise against the Spaniards, whose ships from Mexico and the West Indies offered tempting prizes[1] to freebooters. They took two or three small Spanish vessels, but escaped with difficulty from a superior force at Jamaica, and returned to Fort Carolina, where the ringleaders were tried and executed. In distress for food, of which their store was consumed, the colonists had made up their minds to abandon the settlement, when they were visited, August 3rd, 1564, by Sir John Hawkins, an English adventurer, on his way home from the Spanish West Indies, where he had just sold, at a great profit, a second cargo of slaves, kidnapped on the coast of Africa. Hawkins appears to have been the first Englishman who engaged in this detestable traffic. Moved by religious sympathy, he supplied the French colonists with provisions, and even gave them a vessel, in which they were just about to embark for France, when Ribault arrived, bringing with him a recruit of colonists, men, women, and children, abundance of provisions, and a supply of tools, seeds, and other necessaries.*g*

The French, now wild with joy, seemed about to acquire a home, and Calvinism to become fixed in the inviting regions of Florida. But Spain had never relinquished her claim to that territory; where, if she had not planted colonies, she had buried many hundreds of her bravest sons. Should the proud Philip II abandon a part of his dominions to France? Should he suffer his commercial monopoly to be endangered by a rival settlement in the vicinity of the West Indies? Should the Romanist permit the heresy of Calvinism to be planted in the neighbourhood of his Catholic provinces? There had appeared at the Spanish court a bold commander, well fitted for acts of reckless hostility. Pedro Menendez [or Melendez] de Avilès had, in a long career of military service, become accustomed to scenes of blood; and his natural ferocity had been confirmed by his course of life. The wars against the Protestants of Holland had nourished his bigotry; and, as a naval commander, often encountering pirates, whom the laws of nations exclude from mercy, he had become inured to acts of prompt and unsparing vengeance. He had acquired wealth in Spanish America, which was no school of benevolence; and his conduct there had provoked an inquiry, which, after a long arrest, ended in his conviction. The nature of his offences is not apparent; the justice of the sentence is confirmed, for the king, who knew him well, esteemed his bravery, and received him again into his service, remitted only a moiety of his fine. The heir of Menendez had been shipwrecked among the

[1 Thus the French were the aggressors in the first act of hostility in the new world, an act of crime and temerity, which was soon avenged.—BANCROFT.*f*]

Bermudas; the father desired to return and search among the islands for tidings of his only son. Philip II suggested the conquest and colonisation of Florida; and a compact was soon framed and confirmed, March 20th, 1565, by which Menendez,[1] who desired an opportunity to retrieve his honour, was constituted the hereditary governor of a territory of almost unlimited extent.

The terms of the compact are curious. Menendez, on his part, promised, at his own cost, in the following May, to invade Florida with at least five hundred men; to complete its conquest within three years; to explore its currents and channels, the dangers of its coasts, and the depth of its havens; to establish a colony of at least five hundred persons, of whom one hundred should be married men; to introduce at least twelve ecclesiastics, besides four Jesuits. It was further stipulated, that he should transport to his province all kinds of domestic animals. Philip II had no scruples respecting slavery; Menendez contracted to import into Florida five hundred negro slaves. The sugar cane was to become a staple of the country.

The king, in return, promised the adventurer various commercial immunities; the office of governor for life, with the right of naming his son-in-law as his successor; an estate of twenty-five square leagues in the immediate vicinity of the settlement; a salary of two thousand ducats, chargeable on the revenues of the province; and a fifteenth part of all royal perquisites.

Meantime, news arrived, as the French writers assert, through the treachery of the court of France, that the Huguenots had made a plantation in Florida, and that Ribault was preparing to set sail with reinforcements. The cry was raised, that the heretics must be extirpated; the enthusiasm of fanaticism was kindled, and Menendez readily obtained all the forces which he required. More than twenty-five hundred persons — soldiers, sailors, priests, Jesuits, married men with their families, labourers, and mechanics, and, with the exception of three hundred soldiers, all at the cost of Menendez — engaged in the invasion. After delays occasioned by a storm, the expedition set sail; and the trade-winds soon bore them rapidly across the Atlantic. A tempest scattered the fleet on its passage; it was with only one third part of his forces that Menendez arrived at the harbour of St. John in Porto Rico (August 9th). But he esteemed celerity the secret of success; and, refusing to await the arrival of the rest of his squadron, he sailed for Florida. It had ever been his design to explore the coast; to select a favourable site for a fort or a settlement; and, after the construction of fortifications, to attack the French. It was on the day (August 28th) which the customs of Rome have consecrated to the memory of one of the most eloquent sons of Africa, and one of the most venerated of the fathers of the church [St. Augustine], that he came in sight of Florida. For four days he sailed along the coast, uncertain where the French were established; on the fifth day, he landed, and gathered from the Indians accounts of the Huguenots. At the same time [Sept. 2nd] he discovered a fine haven and beautiful river; and, remembering the saint, on whose day he came upon the coast, he gave to the harbour and to the stream the name of St. Augustine. Sailing, then, to the north, he discovered a portion of the French fleet, and observed the nature of the road where they were anchored. The French demanded his name and objects. "I am Menendez of Spain," replied he; "sent with strict orders from my king to gibbet and behead all the Protestants in these regions. The Frenchman who is a Catholic, I will spare; every heretic shall die." The French fleet, unpre-

[1 Parkman[b] says of Menendez and Ribault: "Menendez was a leader fit to stand with Cortes and Pizarro; but he was matched with a man as cool, skilful, prompt, and daring as himself."]

pared for action, cut its cables; the Spaniards, for some time, continued an ineffectual chase.

It was at the hour of vespers, on the evening preceding the festival of the nativity of Mary, that the Spaniards returned to the harbour of St. Augustine. At noonday of the festival itself, the governor went on shore, to take possession of the continent in the name of his King. Philip II was proclaimed monarch of all North America. The solemn mass of Our Lady was performed, and the foundation of St. Augustine was immediately laid, Sept. 8th, 1565. It is, by more than forty years, the oldest town in the United States. Houses in it are yet standing, which are said to have been built many years before Virginia was colonised.

By the French it was debated, whether they should improve their fortifications, and await the approach of the Spaniards, or proceed to sea, and attack their enemy. Against the advice of his officers, Ribault resolved upon the latter course. Hardly had he left the harbour for the open sea, before there arose a fearful storm, which continued till October, and wrecked every ship of the French fleet on the Florida coast. The vessels were dashed against the rocks about fifty leagues south of Fort Carolina; most of the men escaped with their lives.

The Spanish ships also suffered, but not so severely; and the troops at St. Augustine were entirely safe. They knew that the French settlement was left in a defenceless state: with a fanatical indifference to toil Menendez led his men through the lakes, and marshes, and forests, that divided the St. Augustine from the St. John's, and, on September 21st, with a furious onset, surprised the weak garrison, who had looked only towards the sea for the approach of danger. After a short contest, the Spaniards were masters of the fort. A scene of carnage ensued; soldiers, women, children, the aged, the sick, were alike massacred. The Spanish account of Barcia[h] asserts, that Menendez ordered women and young children to be spared; yet not till after the havoc had long been raging.

Nearly two hundred persons were killed. A few escaped into the woods, among them Laudonnière,[i] Challus,[j] and Le Moyne,[k] who have related the horrors of the scene. But whither should they fly? Death met them in the woods; and the heavens, the earth, the sea, and men, all seemed conspired against them. Should they surrender, appealing to the sympathy of their conquerors? "Let us," said Challus, "trust in the mercy of God, rather than of these men." A few gave themselves up, and were immediately murdered. The others, after the severest sufferings, found their way to the sea-side, and were received on board two small French vessels which had remained in the harbour. The Spaniards, angry that any should have escaped, insulted the corpses of the dead with wanton barbarity.[1]

The victory had been gained on the festival of St. Matthew; and hence the Spanish name of the river May. After the carnage was completed, mass was said; a cross was raised; and the site for a church selected, on ground still smoking with the blood of a peaceful colony.

The shipwrecked men were, in their turn, soon discovered. They were in a state of helpless weakness, wasted by their fatigues at sea, half famished, destitute of water and of food. Should they surrender to the Spaniards? Menendez invited them to rely on his compassion; the French capitulated, and were received among the Spaniards in such successive divisions as a boat could at once ferry across the intervening river. As the captives stepped upon

[1 Such as tearing out the eyes and flicking them from the points of their daggers at the French ships.]

the bank which their enemies occupied, their hands were tied behind them; and in this way they were marched towards St. Augustine, like a flock of sheep driven to the slaughter-house. As they approached the fort, a signal was given; and, amidst the sound of trumpets and drums, the Spaniards fell upon the unhappy men, who had confided in their humanity, and who could offer no resistance. A few Catholics were spared; some mechanics were reserved as slaves; the rest were massacred, "not as Frenchmen, but as Calvinists."[1] The whole number of the victims of bigotry, here and at the fort, is said, by the French, to have been about nine hundred; the Spanish accounts diminish the number of the slain, but not the atrocity of the deed. Menendez returned to Spain, impoverished, but triumphant. The French government heard of the outrage with apathy, and made not even a remonstrance on the ruin of a colony, which, if it had been protected, would have given to its country a flourishing empire in the south, before England had planted a single spot on the new continent. History has been more faithful, and has assisted humanity by giving to the crime of Menendez an infamous notoriety. The first town in the United States sprung from the unrelenting bigotry of the Spanish king. Its origin should be carefully remembered, for it is a fixed point, from which to measure the liberal influence of time; the progress of modern civilisation; the victories of the American mind, in its contests for the interests of humanity.[2]

The Huguenots and the French nation did not share in the apathy of the court. Dominique de Gourgues — a bold soldier of Gascony, whose life had been a series of adventures, now employed in the army against Spain, now a prisoner and a galley-slave among the Spaniards, taken by the Turks with the vessel in which he rowed, and redeemed by the commander of the knights of Malta — burned with a desire to avenge his own wrongs and the honour of his country. The sale of his property, and the contributions of his friends, furnished the means of equipping three ships, in which, with one hundred and fifty men, he embarked (August 22nd, 1567), for Florida. His strength was not sufficient to occupy the country permanently; he desired only to destroy and revenge. He was able to surprise two forts near the mouth of the St. Matheo; and, as terror magnified the number of his followers, the consternation of the Spaniards enabled him to gain possession of the larger fort, near the spot which the French colony had fortified. But he was not strong enough to maintain his position; he, therefore, hastily retreated, and sailed to Europe, having first hanged his prisoners upon the trees, and placed over them the inscription, "I do not this as unto Spaniards or mariners, but as unto traitors, robbers, and murderers." The natives, who had been ill-treated both by the Spaniards and the French, enjoyed the savage consolation of seeing their enemies butcher one another.

The attack of the fiery Gascon was but a passing storm. France disavowed the expedition, and relinquished all pretension to Florida. Spain grasped at it, as a portion of her dominions; and, if discovery could confer a right, her claim was founded in justice. Cuba now formed the centre of her West

[1 The statement that Menendez hung such a legend round the necks of the hanged does not appear in the earliest accounts, and is doubted by some historians, as being a mere replica of the expression used later by De Gourgues. Of the killing of his prisoners, Menendez[l] says in his own letter to Philip II: "It appeared to me that to chastise them in this manner was a service to God our Lord and your Majesty (*Dios, Nuestro Señor y V. Mag^d*) by which means we were left freed of this wicked sect for the planting of the gospel in these regions."]

[2 As J. G. Shea[m] points out, a French expedition under Jacques de Sorie had captured Havana, in 1555, and in spite of promises to spare those who surrendered, put the prisoners to death. In 1570 the French captured a Portuguese ship with forty Jesuit missionaries on board, all of whom were put to death. Shea adds: "In all my reading I find no case where the French in Spanish waters then gave quarter to Spaniards, except in hope of large ransom."]

Indian possessions, and everything around it was included within her empire. Sovereignty was asserted, not only over the archipelagoes within the tropics, but over the whole continent round the inner seas. From the remotest south-eastern cape of the Caribbean, along the whole shore to the Cape of Florida and beyond it, all was hers. The Gulf of Mexico lay embosomed within her territories.*f*

H. H. BANCROFT'S[1] ACCOUNT OF THE SPANISH IN NEW MEXICO

New Mexico was revisited and finally occupied before 1600. In 1581 Rodriguez, with two other Franciscans and a few soldiers, went from San Bartolomé down the Conchos and up the Rio del Norte to the land of the Tiguas, Coronado's Tiguex. The soldiers soon returned, but the friars remained to be killed. In 1582–3, Espejo with a strong force went in search of Rodriguez, learning at Puara, near Sandia, of the friars' fate and of Coronado's former ravages in that region. Espejo explored eastward to the Buffalo plains, northward to Cia and Galisteo, and westward to Zuñi and the region of the modern Prescott, returning by way of the Rio Pecos. In 1590–1 Castaño de Sosa went up the Pecos and across to the Pueblo towns of the Rio Grande with a colony of one hundred and seventy men, women, and children. After receiving the submission of thirty-three towns, he was carried back to Mexico in chains by Captain Morlete, on the charge of having made an illegal *entrada*, or expedition. About 1595, Bonilla and Humaña, sent out against rebellious Indians, marched without licence to New Mexico and sought Quivira in the northeastern plains. Humaña murdered his chief, and was himself killed with most of his party by the natives. In 1595, the viceroy made a contract for the conquest of New Mexico with Oñate, who, as governor and captain-general left Mexico with a large force of soldiers and colonists in 1596. Vexatious complications hindered Oñate's progress and exhausted his funds, so that it was not until 1598 that he entered the promised land. San Juan was made the capital; all the towns submitted; the Franciscans were stationed in six nations; Oñate visited Zuñi; and the rebellious warriors of the Acoma peñol were conquered in a series of hard-fought battles, all before the summer of 1599.

Prosperity ceased for a long time on account of controversies between Oñate, the colonists, and the Franciscan friars. The latter abandoned the province in 1601, but were sent back to reoccupy the missions. Oñate made some explorations; Santa Fé was founded and became the capital; and in 1608 eight padres were at work, having baptised eight thousand natives. Thirty new friars came in 1629, and the next year fifty missionaries were serving sixty thousand converts in ninety pueblos. This was the date of New Mexico's highest prosperity, though the decline was very slight for fifty years, a period whose history offers nothing but petty local happenings. But in 1680 a general revolt occurred, in which four hundred Spaniards, including twenty-one friars, were killed and the survivors driven out of the country. While the refugees founded El Paso and did some missionary work in that region, the New Mexicans fought among themselves and threw away their chances for continued independence. After several unsuccessful efforts by different leaders, Governor Vargas reconquered the province after many a hard-fought battle in 1693–4; but two years later a new revolt occurred, in which five missionaries and twenty other Spaniards were killed, and the year 1696 may

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be regarded as the date of New Mexico's permanent submission to Spanish authority.[e]

CARTIER AT MONTREAL

The description which Cartier had given of the country bordering on the St. Lawrence, furnished arguments against attempting a colony. The intense severity of the climate terrified even the inhabitants of the north of France; and no mines of silver and gold, no veins abounding in diamonds and precious stones, had been promised by the faithful narrative of the voyage. Three or four years, therefore, elapsed, before plans of colonisation were renewed. Yet imagination did not fail to anticipate the establishment of a state upon the fertile banks of a river, which surpassed all the streams of Europe in grandeur, and flowed through a country situated between nearly the same parallels as France.

Soon after a short peace had terminated the third desperate struggle between Francis I and Charles V, attention to America was again awakened; there were not wanting men at court, who deemed it unworthy a gallant nation to abandon the enterprise; and a nobleman of Picardy, Francis de la Roque [or Roche], lord of Roberval, a man of considerable provincial distinction, sought and obtained a commission (January 15th, 1540). It was easy to confer provinces and plant colonies upon parchment; Roberval could congratulate himself on being the acknowledged lord of the unknown "Norumbega,"[1] and viceroy, with full regal authority, over the immense territories and islands which lie near the gulf or along the river St. Lawrence. But the ambitious nobleman could not dispense with the services of the former naval commander, who possessed the confidence of the king; and Cartier also received a commission. Its terms merit consideration. He was appointed captain-general and chief pilot of the expedition (October 17th, 1540); he was directed to take with him persons of every trade and art; to repair to the newly discovered territory; and to dwell there with the natives. But where were the honest tradesmen and industrious mechanics to be found, who would repair to this New World? The commission gave Cartier full authority to ransack the prisons; to rescue the unfortunate and the criminal; and to make up the complement of his men from their number. Thieves or homicides, the spendthrift or the fraudulent bankrupt, the debtors to justice or its victims, prisoners rightfully or wrongfully detained, excepting only those arrested for treason or counterfeiting money — these were the people by whom the colony was, in part, to be established.

The division of authority between Cartier and Roberval of itself defeated the enterprise. Roberval was ambitious of power; and Cartier desired the exclusive honour of discovery. They neither embarked in company, nor acted in concert. Cartier sailed (May 23rd, 1541) from St. Malo the next spring after the date of his commission; he arrived at the scene of his former adventures, ascended the St. Lawrence, and, near the site of Quebec, built a fort for the security of his party; but no considerable advances in geographical knowledge appear to have been made. The winter passed in sullenness and gloom. In June of the following year, he and his ships stole away and returned

[1 Norumbega is a name that attained an almost mystic significance. In 1529, on a map of Hieronymus da Verrazano, it appeared as Aranbaga. In 1539 it is called a region of untold wealth stretching between the capes of Breton and Florida. The name became gradually restricted to New England and part of Canada. The name probably came from a considerable Indian settlement that later disappeared.]

to France, just as Roberval arrived with a considerable reinforcement. Unsustained by Cartier, Roberval accomplished no more than a verification of previous discoveries. Remaining about a year in America, he abandoned his immense viceroyalty. Estates in Picardy were better than titles in Norumbega. His subjects must have been a sad company; during the winter, one was hanged for theft; several were put in irons; and "divers persons, as well women as men," were whipped. By these means quiet was preserved. Perhaps the expedition on its return entered the bay of Massachusetts; the French diplomatists always remembered, that Boston was built within the original limits of New France. The commission of Roberval was followed by no permanent results. It is confidently said, that, at a later date (1549), he again embarked for his viceroyalty, accompanied by a numerous train of adventurers; and, as he was never more heard of, he may have perished at sea.

Can it be a matter of surprise, that, for the next fifty years, no further discoveries were attempted by the government of a nation, which had become involved in the final struggle of feudalism against the central power of the monarch, of Calvinism against the ancient religion of France? The colony of Huguenots at the south sprung from private enterprise; a government which could devise the massacre of St. Bartholomew, was neither worthy nor able to found new states.

At length, under the mild and tolerant reign of Henry IV, the star of France emerged from the clouds of blood, treachery, and civil war, which had so long eclipsed her glory. The number and importance of the fishing stages had increased; in 1578 there were one hundred and fifty French vessels at Newfoundland, and regular voyages, for traffic with the natives, began to be successfully made. One French mariner, before 1609, had made more than forty voyages to the American coast. The purpose of founding a French Empire in America was renewed in 1598, and an ample commission was issued to the marquis de la Roche, a nobleman of Brittany. Yet his enterprise entirely failed. Sweeping the prisons of France, he established their tenants on the desolate Isle of Sable; and the wretched exiles sighed for their dungeons. After some years, the few survivors received a pardon. The temporary residence in America was deemed a sufficient commutation for a long imprisonment.

The prospect of gain prompted the next enterprise. A monopoly of the fur trade, with an ample patent, was obtained by Chauvin in 1600; and Pontgravé, a merchant of St. Malo, shared the traffic. The voyage was repeated, for it was lucrative. The death of Chauvin prevented his settling a colony.

CHAMPLAIN: NEW FRANCE: ACADIA

A firmer hope of success was entertained, when a company of merchants of Rouen was formed by the governor of Dieppe in 1603; and Samuel de Champlain, of Brouage, an able marine officer and a man of science, was appointed to direct the expedition. By his natural disposition, "delighting marvellously in these enterprises," Champlain became the father of the French settlements in Canada. He possessed a clear and penetrating understanding, with a spirit of cautious inquiry; untiring perseverance, with great mobility; indefatigable activity, with fearless courage. The account of his first expedition gives proof of sound judgment, accurate observation, and historical fidelity. It is full of exact details on the manners of the savage tribes, not less than the geography of the country; and Quebec was already selected as the appropriate site for a fort

Champlain returned to France (November 8th, 1603), just before an exclusive patent had been issued to a Calvinist, the able, patriotic, and honest De Monts. The sovereignty of Acadia and its confines, from the fortieth to the forty-sixth degree of latitude, that is, from Philadelphia to beyond Montreal; a still wider monopoly of the fur trade; the exclusive control of the soil, government, and trade; freedom of religion for Huguenot emigrants — these were the privileges which the charter conceded. Idlers, and men without a profession, and all banished men, were doomed to lend him aid. A lucrative monopoly was added to the honours of territorial jurisdiction. Wealth and glory were alike expected.

An expedition was prepared without delay, and left the shores of France (March 7th, 1604), not to return till a permanent French settlement should be made in America. All New France was now contained in two ships, which followed the well-known path to Nova Scotia. The summer glided away, while the emigrants trafficked with the natives and explored the coasts. The harbour called Annapolis after the conquest of Acadia by Queen Anne, an excellent harbour, though difficult of access, possessing a small but navigable river, which abounded in fish, and is bordered by beautiful meadows, so pleased the imagination of Poutrincourt, a leader in the enterprise, that he sued for a grant of it from De Monts, and, naming it Port Royal, determined to reside there with his family. The company of De Monts made their first attempt at a settlement on the island of St. Croix, in 1604, at the mouth of the river of the same name. The remains of their fortifications were still visible in 1798. Yet the island was so ill suited to their purposes, that, in the following spring, they removed to Port Royal.

For an agricultural colony, a milder climate was more desirable; in view of a settlement at the south, De Monts explored and claimed for France the rivers, the coasts and the bays of New England, as far, at least, as Cape Cod. The numbers and hostility of the savages led him to delay a removal, since his colonists were so few. Yet the purpose remained. Thrice in the spring of the following year, did Dupont, his lieutenant, attempt to complete the discovery. Twice he was driven back by adverse winds; and at the third attempt, his vessel was wrecked (August 28th, 1606). Poutrincourt, who had visited France, and was now returned with supplies, himself renewed the design; but, meeting with disasters among the shoals of Cape Cod (November 14th, 1605), he, too, returned to Port Royal. There the first French settlement on the American continent had been made; two years before the James river was discovered and three years before a cabin had been raised in Canada.

The possessions of Poutrincourt were confirmed by Henry IV, in 1607; the apostolic benediction of the Roman pontiff was solicited on families which exiled themselves to evangelise infidels; Mary of Medici herself contributed money to support the missions, which the marchioness de Guercheville protected; and by a compact with De Biencourt, the proprietary's son, the order of the Jesuits was enriched, in 1610, by an imposition on the fisheries and fur trade.

The arrival of Jesuit priests was signalised by conversions among the natives. In the following year, De Biencourt and Father Biart explored the coast as far as the Kennebec, and ascended that river. The Canibas, Algonquins of the Abenaki nations, touched by the confiding humanity of the French, listened reverently to the message of redemption; and, already hostile towards the English who had visited their coast, the tribes between the Penobscot and the Kennebec became the allies of France, and were cherished as a barrier against danger from English encroachments.

A French colony within the United States followed (1613), under the auspices of De Guercheville and Mary of Medici; the rude intrenchments of St. Sauveur were raised by De Saussaye on the northern bank of the Penobscot. The conversion of the heathen was the motive to the settlement; the natives venerated Biart as a messenger from heaven; and under the summer sky, round a cross in the centre of the hamlet, matins and vespers were regularly chanted. France and the Roman religion had appropriated the soil of Maine.

Meantime the remonstrances of French merchants had effected the revocation of the monopoly of De Monts, and a company of merchants of Dieppe and St. Malo had founded Quebec (July 3rd, 1608). The design was executed by Champlain, who aimed not at the profits of trade, but at the glory of founding a state. The city of Quebec was begun; that is to say, rude cottages were framed, a few fields were cleared, and one or two gardens planted. The next year, that singularly bold adventurer, attended but by two Europeans, joined a mixed party of Hurons from Montreal, and Algonquins from Quebec, in an expedition against the Iroquois, or Five Nations, in the north of New York. He ascended the Sorel, and explored the lake which bears his name, and perpetuates his memory.

The Huguenots had been active in plans of colonisation. The death of Henry IV, in 1610, deprived them of their powerful protector. Yet the zeal of De Monts survived, and he quickened the courage of Champlain. After the short supremacy of Charles de Bourbon, the prince of Condé, an avowed protector of the Calvinists, became viceroy of New France; through his intercession, merchants of St. Malo, Rouen, and La Rochelle, obtained a colonial patent from the king, in 1615; and Champlain, now sure of success, embarked once more for the New World, accompanied by monks of the order of St. Francis. Again he invades the territory of the Iroquois in New York. Wounded, and repulsed, and destitute of guides, he spends the first winter after his return to America in the country of the Hurons; and a knight errant among the forests carries his language, religion, and influence, even to the hamlets of Algonquins, near Lake Nipissing.

Religious disputes combined with commercial jealousies to check the progress of the colony; yet in the summer of 1620, when the Pilgrims were leaving Leyden, in obedience to the wishes of the unhappy Montmorenci, the new viceroy, Champlain, began a fort. The merchants grudged the expense. "It is not best to yield to the passions of men," was his reply; "they sway but for a season; it is a duty to respect the future"; and in 1624 the castle St. Louis, so long the place of council against the Iroquois and against New England, was durably founded on "a commanding cliff."

In the same year, the viceroyalty was transferred to the religious enthusiast Henri de Levi; and through his influence, in 1625, just a year after Jesuits had reached the sources of the Ganges and Thibet, the banks of the St. Lawrence received priests of the order which was destined to carry the cross to Lake Superior and the west.

The presence of Jesuits and Calvinists led to dissensions. The savages caused disquiet. But the persevering founder of Quebec appealed to the royal council and to Richelieu; and though disasters intervened, Champlain successfully established the authority of the French on the banks of the St. Lawrence, in the territory which became his country in 1627. "The father of New France" [dying December 25th, 1635], lies buried in the land which he colonised. Thus the humble industry of the fishermen of Normandy and Brittany promised their country the acquisition of an empire.

RALEIGH'S ATTEMPTS AT ENGLISH COLONISATION

The attempts of the French to colonise Florida, though unprotected and unsuccessful, were not without an important influence on succeeding events. About the time of the return of De Gourgues, Walter Raleigh, a young Englishman, had abruptly left the University of Oxford, to take part in the civil contests between the Huguenots and the Catholics in France, and with the prince of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV, was learning the art of war under the veteran Coligny. The Protestant party was, at that time, strongly excited with indignation at the massacre which De Gourgues had avenged; and Raleigh could not but gather from his associates and his commander intelligence respecting Florida and the navigation to those regions. Some of the miserable men who escaped from the first expedition, had been conducted to Elizabeth, and had kindled in the public mind in England a desire for the possession of the southern coast of North America; the reports of Hawkins, who had been the benefactor of the French on the river May, increased the national excitement; and De Morgues, the painter, who had sketched in Florida the most remarkable appearances of nature, ultimately found the opportunity of finishing his designs, through the munificence of Raleigh.

The bold spirit of Raleigh was not disheartened by the sad fate of his step-brother [Sir Humphrey Gilbert, whose voyages, in one of which Raleigh took part, we have already described]. He was determined to secure to England those delightful countries from which the Protestants of France had been expelled. Having presented a memorial, he readily obtained from Elizabeth a patent (March 25th, 1584), as ample as that which had been conferred on Gilbert. Two vessels, well laden with men and provisions, under the command of Philip Amidas [or Amadas] and Arthur Barlow, set sail for the New World (April 27th). They pursued the circuitous route by the Canaries and the islands of the West Indies; after a short stay in those islands, they sailed for the north, and were soon opposite the shores of Carolina. As they drew near land (July 2nd), the fragrance was "as if they had been in the midst of some delicate garden, abounding with all kinds of odoriferous flowers." They ranged the coast for a distance of one hundred and twenty miles, in search of a convenient harbour; they entered the first haven which offered, and, after thanks to God for their safe arrival, they landed (July 13th) to take possession of the country for the queen of England.

The spot on which this ceremony was performed, was in the island of Wocoken, the southernmost of the islands forming Ocracock inlet. The desire of traffic overcame the timidity of the natives, and the English received a friendly welcome. On the island of Roanoke, they were entertained by the wife of Granganimeo, father of Wingina, the king, with the refinements of Arcadian hospitality. "The people were most gentle, loving and faithful, void of all guile and treason, and such as lived after the manner of the golden age," says Barlow.[n] And yet it was added, with singular want of comparison, that the wars of these guileless men were cruel and bloody; that domestic dissensions had almost exterminated whole tribes; that they employed the basest stratagems against their enemies; and that the practice of inviting men to a feast, that they might be murdered in the hour of confidence, was not merely a device of European bigots, but was known to the natives of Secotan. The English, too, were solicited to engage in a similar enterprise, under promise of lucrative booty.

The adventurers were satisfied with observing the general aspect of the New World; no extensive examination of the coast was undertaken; Pamlico

and Albemarle sounds and Roanoke Island were explored, and some information gathered by inquiries from the Indians; the commanders had not the courage or the activity to survey the country with exactness. Having made but a short stay in America, they arrived in September in the west of England, accompanied by Manteo and Wanchese, two natives of the wilderness; and the returning voyagers gave such glowing descriptions of their discoveries, as might be expected from men who had done no more than sail over the smooth waters of a summer's sea, among "the hundred islands" of North Carolina. Elizabeth, as she heard their reports, esteemed her reign signalised by the discovery of the enchanting regions, and, as a memorial of her state of life, named them Virginia.

Nor was it long before Raleigh, elected to represent in parliament the county of Devon, obtained a bill confirming his patent of discovery; and while he received the honour of knighthood, as the reward of his valour, he also acquired a lucrative monopoly of wines, which enabled him to continue with vigour his schemes of colonisation. While a new patent was issued to his friend, for the discovery of the northwestern passage, and the well-known voyages of Davis, sustained, in part, by the contributions of Raleigh himself, were increasing the acquaintance of Europe with the Arctic sea, the plan of colonising Virginia was earnestly and steadily pursued.

The new expedition was composed of seven vessels, and carried one hundred and eight colonists to the shores of Carolina. Ralph Lane, a man of considerable distinction, and so much esteemed for his services as a soldier, that he was afterwards knighted by Queen Elizabeth, was willing to act for Raleigh as governor of the colony. Sir Richard Grenville, the most able and celebrated of Raleigh's associates, distinguished for bravery among the gallant spirits of a gallant age, assumed the command of the fleet. It sailed (April 9th, 1585) from Plymouth, accompanied by several men of merit, whom the world remembers — by Cavendish, who soon after circumnavigated the globe; Hariot, the inventor of the system of notation in modern algebra, the historian of the expedition; and With, an ingenious painter, whose sketches of the natives, their habits, and modes of life, were taken with beauty and exactness, and were the means of encouraging an interest in Virginia, by diffusing a knowledge of its productions.

To sail by the Canaries and the West Indies, to conduct a gainful commerce with the Spanish ports by intimidation; to capture Spanish vessels — these were but the expected preliminaries of a voyage to Virginia. At length the fleet fell in with the main land of Florida; it was in great danger of being wrecked on the cape which was then first called the Cape of Fear; and two days after, on June 26th, it came to anchor at Wocoken. It was through Ocracock inlet that the fleet made its way to Roanoke.

THE LOST COLONY OF ROANOKE

But the fate of this colony was destined to be influenced by the character of the natives. Manteo, the friend of the English, and who returned with the fleet from a visit to England, was sent to the main to announce their arrival. Grenville, accompanied by Lane, Hariot, Cavendish, and others, in an excursion of eight days, explored the coast as far as Secotan, and, as they relate, were well entertained by the savages. At one of the Indian towns, a silver cup had been stolen; its restoration was delayed; with hasty cruelty, Grenville ordered the village to be burned and the standing corn to be destroyed. Not long after this action of inconsiderate revenge, the ships having landed the colony,

[1585 A.D.]

sailed for England; a rich Spanish prize, made by Grenville on the return voyage, secured him a courteous welcome as he entered the harbour of Plymouth. The transport ships of the colony were at the same time privateers.

The employments of Lane and his colonists, after the departure of Sir Richard Grenville, could be none other than to explore the country; and in a letter, which he wrote while his impressions were yet fresh, Lane [o] expressed himself in language of enthusiastic admiration. "It is the goodliest soil under the cope of heaven; the most pleasing territory of the world; the continent is of a huge and unknown greatness, and very well peopled and towned, though savagely. The climate is so wholesome, that we have not one sick, since we touched the land. If Virginia had but horses and kine, and were inhabited with English, no realm in Christendom were comparable to it."



Sir Walter Raleigh
(From an old print)
(1552–1618)

The keenest observer was Hariot [p]; and he was often employed in dealing with "the natural inhabitants." He carefully examined the productions of the country, those which would furnish commodities for commerce, and those which were in esteem among the natives. He observed the culture of tobacco; accustomed himself to its use, and was a firm believer in its healing virtues. The culture of maize, and the extraordinary productiveness of that grain, especially attracted his admiration; and the tuberous roots of the potato, when boiled, were found to be very good food. The inhabitants are described as too feeble to inspire terror. The country which Hariot explored was on the boundary of the Algonquin race, where the Lenni Lenape tribes melted into the widely-differing nations of the south. In every town which Hariot entered, he displayed the Bible, and explained its truths; the Indians revered the volume rather than its doctrines; and, with a fond superstition, they embraced the book, kissed it, and held it to their breasts and heads, as if it had been an amulet. As the colonists enjoyed uniform health, and had no women with them, there were some among the Indians who imagined the English were not born of woman, and therefore not mortal; that they were men of an old generation, risen to immortality. The terrors of fire-arms the natives could neither comprehend nor resist; every sickness which now prevailed among them, was attributed to wounds from invisible bullets, discharged by unseen agents, with whom the air was supposed to be peopled.

Was it strange, then, that the natives desired to be delivered from the presence of guests by whom they feared to be supplanted? The colonists were mad with the passion for gold; and a wily savage invented, respecting the river Roanoke and its banks, extravagant tales, which nothing but cupidity could have credited. The river, it was said, gushed forth from a rock, so near the Pacific Ocean, that the surge of the sea sometimes dashed into its fountain; its banks were inhabited by a nation skilled in the art of refining the rich ore in which the country abounded. The walls of the city were described as glittering from the abundance of pearls. Lane was so credulous, that he

attempted to ascend the rapid current of the Roanoke; and his followers, infatuated with greedy avarice, would not return till their stores of provisions were exhausted, and they had killed and eaten the very dogs which bore them company. On this attempt to explore the interior, the English hardly advanced higher up the river than some point near the present Williamstown.

The Indians had hoped to destroy the English by thus dividing them; but the prompt return of Lane prevented open hostilities. The English believed that a general conspiracy was preparing; it is certain that, in the contest of dissimulation, they proved themselves the more successful adepts. Desiring an audience of Wingina, the most active among the native chiefs, Lane and his attendants were quickly admitted to his presence (June 1st, 1586). A preconcerted watchword was given; and the Christians, falling upon the unhappy king and his principal followers, put them without mercy to death.

It was evident that Lane did not possess the qualities suited to his station. Yet some general results of importance were obtained. The climate was found to be salubrious; during the year not more than four men had died, and of these, three brought the seeds of their disease from Europe. The hope of finding better harbours at the north was confirmed; and the Bay of Chesapeake was already regarded as the fit theatre for early colonisation. But in the island of Roanoke, the men began to despond; they looked in vain towards the ocean for supplies from England; they were sighing for the luxuries of the cities in their native land; when of a sudden it was rumoured, that the sea was white with the sails of three-and-twenty ships; and (June 8th) Sir Francis Drake had anchored his fleet at sea outside of Roanoke inlet, in "the wild road of their bad harbour."

He had come, on his way from the West Indies to England, to visit the domain of his friend. With the celerity of genius, he discovered the measures which the exigency of the case required, and supplied the wants of Lane to the uttermost; but Lane shared the despondency of his men; and Drake yielded to their unanimous desire of permission to embark in his ships for England (June 19th). Thus ended the first actual settlement of the English in America. The exiles of a year had grown familiar with the favourite amusement of the lethargic Indians; and they introduced into England the general use of tobacco.

The return of Lane was a precipitate desertion; a little delay would have furnished the colony with ample supplies. A few days after its departure, a ship arrived, laden with all stores needed by the infant settlement. It had been despatched by Raleigh; but finding "the paradise of the world" deserted, it could only return to England. Another fortnight had hardly elapsed, when Sir Richard Grenville appeared off the coast with three well-furnished ships, and renewed the vain search for the departed colony. Unwilling that the English should lose possession of the country, he left fifteen men on the island of Roanoke, to be the guardians of English rights.

Raleigh was not dismayed by ill success, nor borne down by losses. The enthusiasm of the people of England was diminished by the reports of the unsuccessful company of Lane; but the decisive testimony of Hariot to the excellence of the country still rendered it easy to collect a new colony for America. The wisdom of Raleigh was particularly displayed in the policy which he now adopted. He determined to plant an agricultural state; to send emigrants with wives and families, who should at once make their homes in the New World; and, that life and property might be secured, he granted a charter of incorporation (January 7th, 1587) for the settlement, and established a municipal government for "the city of Raleigh." John White was

appointed its governor; and to him, with eleven assistants, the administration of the colony was intrusted. A fleet of transport ships was prepared at the expense of the proprietary; "Queen Elizabeth, the godmother of Virginia," declined contributing "to its education." The company as it embarked April 26th), was cheered by the presence of women; and an ample provision of the implements of husbandry gave a pledge for successful industry. In July, they arrived on the coast of North Carolina; they were saved from the dangers of Cape Fear; and, passing Cape Hatteras, they hastened to the isle of Roanoke, to search for the handful of men whom Grenville had left there as a garrison. They found the tenements deserted and overgrown with weeds; human bones lay scattered on the field; wild deer were reposing in the untenanted houses, and were feeding on the productions which a rank vegetation still forced from the gardens. The fort was in ruins. No vestige of surviving life appeared. The miserable men whom Grenville had left, had been murdered by the Indians.

The fort of Governor Lane, "with sundry decent dwelling-houses," had been built at the northern extremity of the island; it was there that the foundations of the city of Raleigh were laid (July 23rd). The island of Roanoke is now almost uninhabited; commerce has selected securer harbours for its pursuits; the inquisitive stranger may yet discern the ruins of the fort, round which the cottages of the new settlement were erected.

But disasters thickened. A tribe of savages displayed implacable jealousy, and murdered one of the assistants. The mother and the kindred of Manteo welcomed the English to the island of Croatan; and a mutual friendship was continued. But even this alliance was not unclouded. A detachment of the English, discovering a company of the natives whom they esteemed their enemies, fell upon them by night, as the harmless men were sitting fearlessly by their fires; and the havoc was begun, before it was perceived that these were friendly Indians.

The vanities of life were not forgotten in the New World: and Manteo, the faithful Indian chief, "by the commandment of Sir Walter Raleigh," received Christian baptism, and was invested with the rank of a feudal baron, as the lord of Roanoke. It was the first peerage erected by the English in America, and remained a solitary dignity, till Locke and Shaftesbury suggested the establishment of palatinates in Carolina, and Manteo shared his honours with the admired philosopher of his age. As the time for the departure of the ship for England drew near, the emigrants became gloomy with apprehensions; they were conscious of their dependence on Europe; and they, with one voice, women as well as men, urged the governor to return and use his vigorous intercession for the prompt despatch of reinforcements and supplies. It was in vain that he pleaded a sense of honour, which called upon him to remain and share in person the perils of the colony, which he was appointed to govern. He was forced to yield to the general importunity.

Yet, previous to his departure, his daughter, Eleanor Dare, the wife of one of the assistants, gave birth (August 18th) to a female child, the first offspring of English parents on the soil of the United States. The infant was named from the place of its birth. The colony, now composed of eighty-nine men, seventeen women, and two children, whose names are all preserved, might reasonably hope for the speedy return of the governor, who, as he sailed for England, left with them, as hostages, his daughter and his grandchild, Virginia Dare.

And yet even those ties were insufficient. The colony received no seasonable relief; and the further history of this neglected plantation is involved in

gloomy uncertainty. The inhabitants of the city of Raleigh, the emigrants from England and the first-born of America, failed, like their predecessors, in establishing an enduring settlement; but, unlike their predecessors, they awaited death in the land of their adoption. If America had no English towns, it soon had English graves.

For when White reached England, he found its whole attention absorbed by the threats of an invasion from Spain; and Grenville, Raleigh, and Lane, not less than Frobisher, Drake, and Hawkins, were engaged in planning measures of resistance. Yet Raleigh, whose patriotism did not diminish his generosity, found means to despatch White with supplies in two vessels (April 22nd, 1588). But the company, desiring a gainful voyage rather than a safe one, ran in chase of prizes; till, at last, one of them fell in with men-of-war from Rochelle, and, after a bloody fight, was boarded and rifled. Both ships were compelled to return immediately to England, to the ruin of the colony and the displeasure of its author. The delay was fatal; the independence of the English kingdom, and the security of the Protestant reformation, were in danger; nor could the poor colonists of Roanoke be again remembered, till after the discomfiture of the invincible armada.

Even when complete success against the Spanish fleet had crowned the arms of England, Sir Walter Raleigh, who had already incurred a fruitless expense of forty thousand pounds, found himself unable to continue the attempts at colonising Virginia. Yet he did not despair of ultimate success; and as his fortune did not permit him to renew his exertions, he used the privilege of his patent to form a company of merchants and adventurers, who were endowed by his liberality with large concessions, and who, it was hoped, would replenish Virginia with settlers. Among the men who thus obtained an assignment of the proprietary's rights in Virginia, is found the name of Richard Hakluyt; it is the connecting link between the first efforts of England in North Carolina and the final colonisation of Virginia. The colonists at Roanoke had emigrated with a charter; the new instrument (March 7th, 1589) was not an assignment of Raleigh's patent, but extended a grant, already held under its sanction, by increasing the number to whom the rights of that charter belonged.

Yet the enterprise of the adventurers languished, for it was no longer encouraged by the profuse liberality of Raleigh. More than another year elapsed, before White could return to search for his colony and his daughter; and then the island of Roanoke was a desert. An inscription on the bark of a tree pointed to Croatan; but the season of the year and the dangers from storms were pleaded as an excuse for an immediate return. Had the emigrants already perished? or had they escaped with their lives to Croatan, and, through the friendship of Manteo, become familiar with the Indians? The conjecture has been hazarded, that the deserted colony, neglected by their own countrymen, were hospitably adopted into the tribe of Hatteras Indians, and became amalgamated with the sons of the forest. This was the tradition of the natives at a later day, and was thought to be confirmed by the physical character of the tribe, in which the English and the Indian race seemed to have been blended. Raleigh long cherished the hope of discovering some vestiges of their existence; and though he had abandoned the design of colonising Virginia, he yet sent at his own charge, and, it is said, at five several times, to search for his liege-men.[1] But it was all in vain; imagination received no help in its attempts to trace the fate of the colony of Roanoke.*f*

[1 In 1602, Raleigh made his fifth effort to afford them help by sending them Captain Mace, a mariner of experience, with instructions to search for them. Mace returned without executing his orders, and Raleigh wrote to Sir Robert Cecil on the 21st of August that he would

[1588–1589 A.D.]

After the founding of Jamestown, according to Strachey,[q] the English were told by the Indians that the Roanoke settlers had finally intermingled with the natives and had been massacred at the command of Powhatan and his priests just about the time when the English reached Jamestown. One chief had saved the lives of four men, two boys, and a girl, and from their intermarriage came the so-called Hatteras Indians found near Roanoke Island early in the eighteenth century, and notable for their grey eyes, and their traditions of white ancestry.[a]

GEORGE BANCROFT'S ESTIMATE OF RALEIGH

The name of Raleigh stands highest among the statesmen of England, who advanced the colonisation of the United States; and his fame belongs to American history. No Englishman of his age possessed so various or so extraordinary qualities. Courage which was never daunted, mild self-possession, and fertility of invention, insured him glory in his profession of arms; and his services in the conquest of Cadiz, or the capture of Fayal, were alone sufficient to establish his fame as a gallant and successful commander. In every danger, his life was distinguished by valour, and his death was ennobled by true magnanimity.

He was not only admirable in active life as a soldier; he was an accomplished scholar. No statesman in retirement ever expressed the charms of tranquil leisure more beautifully than Raleigh; and it was not entirely with the language of grateful friendship, that Spenser described his "sweet verse as sprinkled with nectar," and rivalling the melodies of "the summer's nightingale." When an unjust verdict, contrary to probability and the evidence, "against law and against equity," on a charge which seems to have been a pure invention, left him to languish for years in prison, with the sentence of death suspended over his head, his active genius plunged into the depths of erudition; and he who had been a soldier, a courtier, and a seaman, now became the elaborate author of a learned *History of the World.*

His career as a statesman was honourable to the pupil of Coligny and the contemporary of L'Hopital. In his public policy, he was thoroughly an English patriot; jealous of the honour, the prosperity, and the advancement of his country; the inexorable antagonist of the pretensions of Spain. In parliament, he defended the freedom of domestic industry. When, by the operation of unequal laws, taxation was a burden upon industry rather than wealth, he argued for a change: himself possessed of a lucrative monopoly, he gave his voice for the repeal of all monopolies; and, while he pertinaciously used his influence with his sovereign to mitigate the severity of the judgments against the non-conformists, as a legislator he resisted the sweeping enactment of persecuting laws.

In the career of discovery, his perseverance was never baffled by losses. He joined in the risks of Gilbert's expedition; contributed to the discoveries of Davis in the northwest; and himself personally explored "the insular regions and broken world" of Guiana. The sincerity of his belief in the wealth of the latter country has been unreasonably questioned. If Elizabeth had hoped for a hyperborean Peru in the Arctic seas of America, why might not Raleigh expect to find the city of gold on the banks of the Orinoco? His lavish efforts in colonising the soil of America, his sagacity which enjoined a

send Mace back, and expressed his faith in the colonisation of Virginia in these words: "I shall yet live to see it an English nation." He lived, indeed, to see his prediction verified, but not until he was immured in the Tower of London.—WM. WIRT HENRY.[r]]

settlement within the Chesapeake Bay, the publications of Hariot,[p] and Hakluyt,[s] which he countenanced, if followed by losses to himself, diffused over England a knowledge of America, as well as an interest in its destinies, and sowed the seeds, of which the fruits were to ripen during his lifetime, though not for him.

Raleigh had suffered from palsy before his last expedition. He returned broken hearted by the defeat of his hopes, by the decay of his health, and by the death of his eldest son. What shall be said of King James, who would open to an aged paralytic no other hope of liberty but through success in the discovery of mines in Guiana? What shall be said of a monarch who could, at that time, under a sentence which was originally unjust, and which had slumbered for fifteen years, order the execution (in 1618) of the decrepit man, whose genius and valour shone brilliantly through the ravages of physical decay, and whose English heart, within a palsied frame, still beat with an undying love for his country?

The judgments of the tribunals of the Old World are often reversed at the bar of public opinion in the New. The family of the chief author of early colonisation in the United States was reduced to beggary by the government of England, and he himself was beheaded. After a lapse of nearly two centuries, the state of North Carolina, in 1792, by a solemn act of legislation, revived in its capital the city of Raleigh, and thus expressed its confidence in the integrity, and a grateful respect for the memory, of the extraordinary man, who united in himself as many kinds of glory as were ever combined in an individual, and whose name is indissolubly connected with the early period of American history.

VOYAGES OF GOSNOLD AND PRING

Some traffic with Virginia may perhaps have been continued. But at the north, the connection of the English merchants was become so intimate, that, in 1593, Sir Walter Raleigh in the house of commons had declared the fishing of Newfoundland to be the stay of the west countries. These voyages, and the previous exertions of Raleigh, had trained men for the career of discovery; and Bartholomew Gosnold, who, perhaps, had already sailed to Virginia, in the usual route, by the Canaries and West Indies, now conceived the idea of a direct voyage to America, and, with the concurrence of Raleigh, had well nigh secured to New England the honour of the first permanent English colony. Steering, in a small bark, directly across the Atlantic, in seven weeks he reached (March 26th, 1602) the continent of America in the bay of Massachusetts, not far to the north of Nahant. He failed to observe a good harbour, and, standing for the south, discovered (May 14th, 1602) the promontory which he called Cape Cod — a name which would not yield to that of the next monarch of England. Here he and four of his men landed; Cape Cod was the first spot in New England ever trod by Englishmen. Doubling the cape, and passing Nantucket, they again landed on a little island, now called No Man's land, and afterwards passed round the promontory of Gay Head, naming it Dover Cliff. At length they entered Buzzard's Bay — a stately sound, which they called Gosnold's Hope. The westernmost of the islands was named Elizabeth, from the queen — a name which has been transferred to the whole group. There is on the island a pond, and within it lies a rocky islet; this was the position which the adventurers selected for their residence. Here they built their storehouse and their fort; and here the foundations of the first New England colony were to be laid.

A traffic with the natives on the main land, soon enabled Gosnold to complete his freight, which consisted chiefly of sassafras root, then greatly esteemed in pharmacy as a sovereign panacea. The little band, which was to have nestled on the Elizabeth Islands, finding their friends about to embark for Europe, despaired of obtaining seasonable supplies of food, and determined not to remain. Fear of an assault from the Indians, who had ceased to be friendly, the want of provision, and jealousy respecting the distribution of the risks and profits, defeated the design. The whole party soon set sail and bore for England. The return voyage lasted but five weeks; and the expedition was completed in less than four months, during which entire health had prevailed.

Gosnold and his companions spread the most favourable reports of the regions which he had visited. The merchants of Bristol, with the ready assent of Raleigh, and at the instance of Richard Hakluyt, determined to pursue the career of investigation. The *Speedwell*, a small ship of fifty tons and thirty men, and the *Discoverer*, a bark of twenty-six tons and thirteen men, under the command of Martin Pring, set sail for America (April 10th, 1603) a few days after the death of the queen. It was a private undertaking, and therefore not retarded by that event. It reached the American coast among the islands which skirt the harbours of Maine. The mouth of the Penobscot offered good anchorage and fishing. Pring made a discovery of the eastern rivers and harbours — the Saco, the Kennebunk, and the York; and the channel of the Piscataqua was examined for three or four leagues. Finding no sassafras, he steered for the south; doubled Cape Ann; and went on shore in Massachusetts; but, being still unsuccessful, he again pursued a southerly track, and finally anchored in Old Town harbour, on Martha's Vineyard. The whole absence lasted about six months, and was completed without disaster or danger. Pring, a few years later, in 1606, repeated his voyage, and made a more accurate survey of Maine.

Enterprises for discovery were now continuous. Bartholomew Gilbert, returning from the West Indies, made an unavailing search for the colony of Raleigh. It was the last attempt to trace the remains of those unfortunate men. But as the testimony of Pring had confirmed the reports of Gosnold, the career of navigation was vigorously pursued. An expedition, in 1605, promoted by the earl of Southampton and Lord Arundel, of Wardour, and commanded by George Weymouth, who, in attempting a northwest passage, had already explored the coast of Labrador, now discovered the Penobscot river. Weymouth left England in March, and, in about six weeks, came in sight of the American continent near Cape Cod. Turning to the north, he approached the coast of Maine, and ascended the western branch of the Penobscot beyond Belfast Bay. Five natives were decoyed on board the ship, and Weymouth, returning to England, gave three of them to Sir Ferdinand Gorges, a friend of Raleigh, and governor of Plymouth.

Such were the voyages which led the way to the colonisation of the United States. The daring and skill of these earliest adventurers upon the ocean deserve the highest admiration. The difficulties of crossing the Atlantic were new, and it required great courage to encounter hazards which ignorance exaggerated. The character of the prevalent winds and currents was unknown. The possibility of making a direct passage was but gradually discovered. The imagined dangers were infinite; the real dangers, exceedingly great. The ships at first employed for discovery were generally of less than one hundred tons burthen: Frobisher sailed in a vessel of but twenty-five tons; two of those of Columbus were without a deck; and so perilous were the voyages

deemed, that the sailors were accustomed, before embarking, to perform solemn acts of devotion, as if to prepare for eternity. The anticipation of disasters was not visionary; Columbus was shipwrecked twice, and once remained for eight months on an island, without any communication with the civilised world; Hudson was turned adrift in a small boat by a crew whom suffering had rendered mutinous; Willoughby perished with cold; Roberval, Parmenius, Gilbert — and how many others? — went down at sea; and such was the state of the art of navigation, that intrepidity and skill were unavailing against the elements without the favour of heaven.*f*





CHAPTER V

VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND TO THE RESTORATION

[1606–1660 A.D.]

> "Being for most part of such tender educations, and small experience in Martiall accidents because they found not Loyalist Cities, nor such faire houses, nor at their owne wishes any of their accustomed dainties with feather beds and downe pillowes, Tavernes and Alehouses in every breathing place, neither such plentie of gold and silver and dissolute libertie as they expected, they had little or no care of anything but to pamper their bellies, to fly away with our Pinnaces, or procure their meanes to returne to England. For the country was to them a misery, a ruine, a death, a hell, and their reports here, and their actions there according."—CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH.[b]

THE accession of James I in 1603 to the English throne and the peace which he negotiated with Spain having put an end to privateering expeditions against the Spanish settlements, the attention of English merchants, navigators, and adventurers was now directed to more peaceful enterprises. Commerce and colonisation took the place of piracy and plunder. Sir Walter Raleigh was in the Tower, attainted of high treason for his attempt to substitute Arabella Stuart instead of James I as Elizabeth's successor. His patent being forfeit by his attainder, James I granted a new charter (April 10th, 1606), by which the American coast, between the thirty-fourth and the forty-fifth degree of north latitude — from Cape Fear to Passamaquoddy Bay — was set apart to be colonised by two rival companies [or rather, one company in two divisions], one composed chiefly of London adventurers, the other of residents in the west of England, especially at Plymouth and Bristol, at that time the chief seats of the west country trade. Liverpool, as yet, was an inconsiderable village, and the north of England a pastoral country.

The advancement of the divine glory, "by bringing the Indians and savages resident in those parts to human civility and a settled and quiet

government," was alleged as the principal motive of James's grant. The undertakers, however, looked chiefly to a gainful commerce and profitable returns.

By the provisions of the charter, the London Company, whose settlement was to be distinguished as the First Colony of Virginia, might plant anywhere between thirty-four and forty-one degrees of north latitude, or between Cape Fear and the east end of Long Island. The Plymouth Company, whose settlement was to be called the Second Colony of Virginia, might plant anywhere between the thirty-eighth and forty-fifth degrees of north latitude, or between Delaware Bay and Halifax; but neither company was to begin its settlement within a hundred miles of any spot previously occupied by the other. Each colony was to extend along the coast fifty miles either way from the point first occupied, and from the same point inland and seaward, either way, one hundred miles, including all islands within that distance, and embracing ten thousand square miles of continental territory. A council, resident in each colony, to be composed of thirteen members nominated by the king, was to manage local affairs. No settlement was to be allowed inland of either colony without the express consent of its council. A "Council of Virginia," resident in England, its members also appointed by the king, was to exercise a general superintendence over both colonies.

The two companies were authorised to search for mines, paying the king a fifth of all gold and silver, and a fifteenth of all copper. They were empowered to coin money, to invite and carry over adventurers, to repel intruders, to levy duties for their own use during twenty-one years, and to export goods from England free of all imposts for seven years. Lands in the colony were to be held of the king, on the most favourable tenure; the colonists and their children to have all the rights of native-born Englishmen.

A few months after the grant of this charter, James issued "Instructions for the government of Virginia," in which he appointed a council, as provided for in the charter, to be increased or altered at the king's pleasure, and authorised to nominate and superintend the local councils, reduced by these instructions to seven members each, who annually were to choose a president from their own number, with power to suspend him or any councillor for good cause, and to fill vacancies till new appointments came from England; the president to have a double vote. It was made the especial duty of these councils to provide that "the true word and service of God, according to the rites and service of the Church of England, be preached, planted, and used in the colonies and among the neighbouring savages." Tumults, rebellion, conspiracy, mutiny, and sedition, along with five other offenses, all triable by jury, were declared capital. For five years after their first plantation, the trade and industry of the colonists were to remain a common stock, or "two or three stocks at the most," to be managed, in each colony, by a factor selected annually by the local council, and in England by committees appointed for that purpose. A knowledge of these provisions is necessary to make the early history of Virginia intelligible.

THE LONDON COMPANY SETTLES VIRGINIA AT JAMESTOWN (1607 A.D.)

The persons named in the charter of Virginia as founders of the London Company were Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hakluyt, and Edwin Maria Wingfield. Others were persuaded, or had previously agreed to take part in the enterprise, especially Sir Thomas Smith, an eminent merchant of London, one of the assignees of Raleigh's patent, who was chosen

treasurer of the new company. For every sum of £12 10*s.*, about $60, paid into the company's treasury, the contributor was entitled to a hundred acres of land, and as much more when the first lot was cultivated. This was called "the adventure of the purse." Under the head of "personal adventure," whosoever emigrated to Virginia, or carried others thither at his own expense, was to be allowed a hundred acres for each person so transported. It was expected by this allowance not only to encourage the voluntary emigration of persons able to pay their own expenses, but to promote the transportation, at the expense of private individuals, of servants indented or bound for a term of years — a species of emigrants esteemed essential to the industry of the colony, and which we shall find as a distinct class in all the Anglo-American settlements. On all grants of land a quit-rent was reserved.

The company thus organised fitted out three vessels, under the command of Christopher Newport, who had acquired a maritime reputation by former expeditions against the Spaniards. One hundred and five men embarked in these vessels (December 19, 1606), destined to form the first colony of Virginia, but not very well selected for such a purpose. Of this small number forty-eight were "gentlemen," persons brought up to esteem manual labour as degrading. There were but twelve labourers, four carpenters, and a few other mechanics. The rest were soldiers and servants. The leaders were Wingfield, a merchant, one of those named in the charter as projector of the colony; Gosnold, whose voyage, already mentioned, had revived the spirit of colonisation; Hunt, the chaplain; and John Smith [not yet twenty-eight years old], an energetic adventurer, the historian of the enterprise, in which he played a conspicuous part. While a mere boy, impelled by a restless spirit, he had left home, and, finding his way across Europe, had engaged in the Austrian service in the war against the Turks, still regarded, at that time, as the common enemy of Christendom. After many adventures, in which he gave repeated proofs of remarkable courage and resolution, Smith had returned to England, and accidentally forming an acquaintance with Gosnold, entered with characteristic zeal into the scheme for colonising Virginia.

The names of the future councillors to whom the government of the colony was to be intrusted were carried to Virginia a profound secret, carefully sealed up in a tin box, along with King James's instructions. Newport proceeded by way of the Canaries and the West Indies, and during the long passage cabals arose. Wingfield, jealous of Smith's reputation, accused him of a design to murder the council, usurp the government, and make himself king of Virginia; and on this extraordinary charge Smith was arrested, and kept in confinement during the remainder of the passage. Several weeks were spent among the Caribbee Islands. Sailing thence in search of the coast of Virginia, a fortunate storm drove the vessels past Roanoke, and after a four months' passage from England they entered Chesapeake Bay April 26th, 1607. The two headlands at the entrance were named Cape Henry and Cape Charles, after the king's two sons. A party of thirty landing on Cape Henry were attacked by five of the natives, and had two of their number wounded. Presently the ships came to anchor at old Point Comfort, at the mouth of a broad river or estuary. The sealed box was now opened and the names of Wingfield, Newport, Gosnold, Smith and three others were found in it, appointed to compose the council.

Nearly three weeks were employed in exploring the country, during which the vessels ascended the great river Powhatan, a principal tributary of the Chesapeake. The new comers were kindly received at several places by the natives, who now saw white men for the first time. A spot was chosen for

settlement May 13th on the north bank of the river, about fifty miles from the bay — a peninsula which afforded, on the water side, good anchorage, and on the land side might be easily defended, but with a low and marshy situation unfavourable to health. This spot was called Jamestown,[1] and the river soon became known as James, or King's river.[d]

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH'S OWN ACCOUNT OF THE LANDING AT JAMESTOWN

Kinde Sir, commendations remembred, &c. you shall vnderstand that after many crosses in the downes by tempests wee arriued safely uppon the Southwest part of the great Canaries: within foure or fiue daies after we set saile for Dominica, the 26. of April: the first land we made, we fell with Cape Henry, the verie mouth of the Bay of Chissiapiacke, which at that present we little expected, hauing by a cruell storme bene put to the Northward: anchoring in this Bay twentie or thirtie went a shore with the Captain, and in coming aboard, they were assalted with certaine Indians, which charged them within Pistoll shot: in which conflict, Captaine Archer and Mathew Morton were shot: whereupon, Captaine Newport seconding them, made a shot at them, which the Indians little respected, but hauing spent their arrowes retyred without harme, and in that place was the box opened, wherein the counsell for Virginia was nominated: and arriuing at the place where wee are now seated, the Counsel was sworn, and the president elected, which for that yeare was Maister Edm. Maria Wingfield, where was made choice for our scituation, a verie fit place for the erecting of a great cittie, about which some contention passed betwixt Captaine Wingfield and Captaine Gosnold, notwithstanding all our prouision was brought a shore, and with as much speede as might bee wee went about our fortification.

The two and twenty day of Aprill, Captain Newport and myselfe with diuers others, to the number of twenty two persons set forward to discouer the Riuer, some fiftie or sixtie miles, finding it in some places broader, & in some narrower, the Countrie (for the moste part) on each side plaine high ground, with many fresh Springes, the people in places kindely intreating vs, daunsing and feasting vs with strawberries, Mulberries, Bread, Fish, and other their Countrie prouisions wherof we had plenty: for which Captaine Newport kindely requited their least fauours, with Bels, Pinnes, Needles, beades, or Glasses, which so contented them that his liberallitie made them follow vs, from place to place, and euer kindely to respect vs.

In the midway staying to refresh our selues in a little Ile foure or fiue sauages came vnto vs which described vnto vs the course of the Riuer, and after in our iourney, they often met vs trading with vs for such prouision as wee had, and arriuing at Arsatecke, hee whom we supposed to bee the chiefe King of all the rest, moste kindely entertained vs, giuing vs in a guide to go with vs up the Riuer to Powhatan, of which place their great Emperor taketh his name, where he that they honored for King vsed vs kindely. But to finish this discourie, we passed on further, where within an ile we were intercepted with great craggy stones ye in the midst of the riuer where the water falleth so rudely, and with such a violence, as not any boat can possibly passe, and so broad disperseth the streame, as there is not past fiue or

[1 As this settlement was in the vast region claimed by Spain under the name of Florida, there was constant danger of incursions like that of Menendez against the French, as described in the last chapter. Indeed Dr. Alexander Brown[e] has recently published the correspondence between the king of Spain and his minister at London, both of them eager to wipe out the Jamestown settlement, but deferring hostilities in the hope that this colony would be abandoned as had so many others.]

sixe Foote at a low water, and to the shore scarce passage with a barge, the water floweth foure foote, and the freshes by reason of the Rockes haue left markes of the inundations 8 or 9 foote: the South side is plaine low ground, and the north side high mountaines, the rockes being of a grauelly nature, interlaced with many vains of glistring spangles.

That night we returned to Powhatan: the next day (being Whitsunday after dinner) we returned to the fals, leauing a mariner in pawn with the Indians for a guide of theirs, hee that they honoured for King followed vs by the riuer. That afternoone we trifled in looking vpon the Rockes and riuer (further he would not goe) so there we erected a crosse, and that night taking our man at Powhatans, Cap. Newport congratulated his kindenes with a Gown and a Hatchet: returning to Arsetecke, and stayed there the next day to obserue the height thereof, & so with many signes of loue we departed.[b]

EARLY JEALOUSIES

Exercising the powers conferred upon them by the royal instructions, the council excluded Smith, and chose Wingfield president. It was proposed to send Smith to England; nor was it without difficulty that he obtained the privilege of being tried in the colony. Meanwhile, with Newport, he explored James river as high up as the falls, where they were hospitably entertained at an Indian village there. On their return, they found the colonists at Jamestown already in a quarrel with the natives; but this difficulty was soon arranged. Smith was tried, and, being honorably acquitted by the jury, who levied heavy damages on Wingfield, his accuser, he was now, by the mediation of Hunt, restored to his seat in the council.

All that part of the present state of Virginia below the falls of the rivers was found by the English in the possession of native tribes of Algonquin speech, united in a confederacy, called by the settlers the Powhatans, plural of the name by which they distinguished the great chief at its head. This chief, "a tall, sour, athletic man, about sixty years old," who dwelt sometimes at Werowocomo, on the north bank of the York river, and sometimes at the falls of the James river, was magnified by the colonists into the "emperor of Virginia."

The Powhatan confederacy embraced more than forty clans or petty tribes, scattered over a great space, living together in little hamlets, few of which had so many as two or three hundred inhabitants. James river, above the falls, was inhabited by the five tribes of the Monicans, generally hostile to the Powhatans, as were the Mannahoacs, a confederacy of eight tribes inhabiting the upper courses of the Rappahannock and the Potomac. These two confederacies appear to have spoken dialects of the Wyandot language. The total population of the three confederacies, including all the Indians west of Chesapeake Bay, as far as the Blue Ridge, did not probably exceed fifteen or twenty thousand. But to the few English they appeared very numerous.

Shortly after Newport's departure for England in June, the colonists began to suffer from disease, aggravated by want of proper food. The water was bad; their provisions, doled out in small allowances from the common store, consisted principally of wheat and barley heated and damaged on the long voyage. To this they added crabs and sturgeons, with which the river abounded. The natives began again to grow unfriendly. Disease was aggravated by melancholy and despair. From May to Septem-

ber half the colonists died, among others Gosnold, after whose death the council could hardly agree.[d]

Wingfield, the president at that time, has left an account from which we quote; he refers to himself in the third person.[a]

WINGFIELD, THE FIRST PRESIDENT'S ACCOUNT OF EARLY PRIVATIONS

About this tyme, diuers of our men fell sick. We myssed aboue fforty before September did see us; amongst whom was the worthy and religious gent, Captn. Bartholomew Gosnold, upon whose liefs stood a great part of the good succes and fortune of our gouernment and colony. In his sicknes tyme, the President did easily foretel his owne deposing from his command; so much differed the President and the other Councellors in managing the government of the Collonye.

Sicknes had not now left us vj able men in our towne. God's onely mercy did now watch and warde for us: but the President hidd this our weaknes carefully from the salvage; neuer suffring them, in all his tyme to come into our towne. The vjth of September, Pasyaheigh sent vs a boy that was run from vs. This was the first assurance of his peace wth vs; besides, wee found then no canyballs.

The Council demanded some larger allowance for themselues, and for some sick, their fauorites; w^{ch} the President would not yeeld vnto, wth out their warrants. This matter was before ppounded by Captn. Martyn, but so nakedly as that he neyther knew the quantity of the stoare to be but for xiij weekes and a half, under the Cap Merchaunt's hand. He prayed them further to consider the long tyme before we expected Captn. Newport's retorne; the incertainty of his retorne, if God did not fauor his voyage; the long tyme before our haruest would bee ripe; and the doubtfull peace that wee had wth the Indyans, w^{ch} they would keepe no longer than opportunity served to doe vs mischief.

It was then therefore ordered that euery meale of fish or fleshe should excuse the allowance for poridg, both against the sick and hole. The Councell, therefore, sitting againe upon this proposition, instructed in the former reasons and order, did not thinke fit to break the former order by enlarging their allowance, as will appeare by the most voyces reddy to be shewed under their handes. Now was the common store of oyle, vinigar, sack, & aquavite all spent, saueing twoe gallons of each: the sack reserued for the Communion Table, the rest for such extreamityes as might fall upon us, w^{ch} the President had onely made knowne to Captn. Gosnold; of w^{ch} course he liked well. The vessells wear, therefore, boonged vpp. When Mr. Gosnold was dead, the President did acquaint the rest of the Counsell wth the said remnant! but, Lord, how they then longed for to supp up that little remnant! for they had nowe emptied all their own bottles and all other that they could smell out.

The President, well seeing to what end their ympacience would grow, desired them earnestly & often tymes to bestow the Presidentshipp amonge themselues; that he would obey, a private man, as well as they could comand But they refused to discharge him of the place; sayeing they mought not doe it, for that hee did his Ma^{tie} good service in yt. In this meane tyme, the Indians did daily relieue us wth corne and fleshes, that, in three weekes, the President had reared vpp xx men able to worke; for, as his stoare increased, he mended the comon pott; he had laid vp, besides, prouision for 3 weekes' wheate before hand.[e]

CAPT. JOHN SMITH'S ADVENTURES

Wingfield was accused of appropriating the best stores to his own private use, and of living in luxury while the others were starving. He attempted to escape from the unfortunate colony in a bark which Newport had left, but was detected, deposed from his office of president, and, along with Kendall, one of his confederates, was expelled the council. That body was now reduced to three members, the vacancies occasioned by the departure of Newport, the death of Gosnold, and the recent expulsions remaining unfilled. Ratcliffe, the new president, was inefficient, and the management of affairs fell chiefly into the hands of Smith. Inspiring his companions with a portion of his own energy, he induced them to build a palisadoed fort as a protection against the Indians, and to erect huts for the winter. As the season approached for gathering the Indian corn, with a few attendants he visited the neighbouring tribes, and by presents and caresses among the friendly, and open force upon the unwilling, obtained a much-needed supply. Plots still continued to be formed by Wingfield, Kendall, and others, for leaving the colony, and an encounter presently took place, in which these plotters were defeated, and Kendall was killed. As winter set in, abundance of game and wild fowl dissipated all apprehensions of famine.

Matters thus in a more favourable train, Smith set out to explore the Chickahominy, a tributary which entered James river a little above Jamestown. No just ideas were yet entertained as to the breadth of the continent, which was still believed to be as narrow at the north as it was known to be in Mexico. The colonists were specially instructed to seek for a passage to the South Sea; and it was thought that possibly the Chickahominy might lead thither. Having ascended as high as he could in his barge, Smith followed up the stream in a canoe, with two colonists and two Indians for companions, and when the canoe would float no longer, he left the two colonists to guard it, and struck inland with a single Indian as a guide.

Set upon unexpectedly by a large party of natives, who had already surprised and killed the two men left to guard his canoe, Smith bound his Indian guide to his arm as a buckler, and made a vigorous defense, killing three of his assailants; but as he retreated backward, he presently sank into a miry swamp, and was taken prisoner. His captors would have killed him, but he amused them with a pocket compass. Carried in a sort of triumph through several villages, he was taken before Powhatan at Werowocomo, about fourteen miles north of the English settlement. An attempt was made to engage his services — at least so Smith understood it — in surprising the colonists at Jamestown. Having failed in this, after much consultation it was resolved to put him to death. He was dragged to the ground and [according to Smith's own story] his head placed upon a stone; Powhatan raised a club to dash out his brains, when Pocahontas, the sachem's favourite daughter, a child ten or twelve years old, rushed through the crowd, clasped in her arms the head of the victim, and, resting her own upon it, averted the fatal blow. His life was saved; many new ceremonies passed between him and the Indians, and after seven weeks' captivity, accompanied by twelve Indian guides, he was sent back to Jamestown in January, 1608.[d] This is Smith's own account of the transaction, in his letter introducing Pocahontas to the queen:

"Some ten years ago, being in Virginia, and taken prisoner by the power of Powhatan, their chief king, I received from this great savage exceeding great courtesy, especially from his son Nantaquans, the most manliest, come-

liest, boldest spirit I ever saw in a savage, and his sister Pocahontas, the king's most dear and well-beloved daughter, being but a child of twelve or thirteen years of age, whose compassionate pitiful heart, of desperate estate, gave me much cause to respect her. I being the first Christian this proud king and his grim attendants ever saw, and thus enthralled in their barbarous power, I cannot say I felt the least occasion of want that was in the power of these my mortal foes to prevent, notwithstanding all their threats. After some six weeks falling amongst these savage courtiers, at the minute of my execution, she hazarded the beating of her own brains to save mine, and not only that, but so prevailed with her father that I was safely conducted to James Town." *f*

THE TRADITIONAL POCAHONTAS

Romance has nothing stranger than the life of Captain John Smith. He attracted adventures as a magnet gathers iron filings. His own account of his life has overtaxed the credulity of many a person versed in the possibilities of history. And yet side evidences verify some of his most improbable feats, as that of the three Turks he claimed to have beheaded in successive single combats. On the other hand, the Hungarians laugh at his accounts of his life and honours among them as absolutely impossible. But strip from his narration all that the severest critics disallow, and there is left enough incident to furnish forth a dozen ordinary lives. The remarkable accuracy with which Smith made maps and surveys under greatest hardships argues for a mind not wholly averse to exact truth, although the comparison of his earlier writings with his later show that his stories had a tendency to grow. Those were times when adventures were to be had for the asking in all parts of the world, and Smith's adventures are only a little more varied than the sober record of the life of the novelist and playwright Cervantes.



JOHN SMITH
(1579–1631)

Smith's story of Pocahontas has been a chess-board of critical ingenuity and exercise. People who know nothing else of colonial history know the story of how Pocahontas rescued Smith by laying her pretty head upon his as the clubs of the executioners were about to descend. It is among the most fascinating pictures in history or fiction. It was not till 1860 that any historian ever hinted at an inaccuracy in the story. In that year Charles Deane *g* (in a note to a privately printed edition of Wingfield's *Discourse* from which we have already quoted) called attention to a discrepancy in Smith's accounts. He showed how Smith did not mention the Pocahontas rescue in his first account; but many years afterward, when Pocahontas was the sensation of London, and it would add romance to his own career to be associated with her, he developed the story. Deane's theory was more fully exploited in 1867 by Henry Adams *h*.

Here is an example of Smith's improvements; in his first account, the *True Relation* of 1608, he says that when he returned from his captivity, he was tried for losing the lives of the two men who had accompanied him and was to have been put to death the next day, but "in the midst of my miseries it pleased God to send Captain Nuport," who saved his life. In his later account, the *General Historie* of 1624, he says that on his return from captivity he found out the conspirators against him and "he quietly tooke such order with such lawyers, that he layd them by the heeles till he sent some of them prisoners for England."

It is impossible here to go into the arguments pro and con the Pocahontas story. The arguments against its credibility are numerous and attractive, but they are not without flaws. The arguments in support of Smith are even less complete. But, after all, the adventure is one the like of which has frequently happened in Indian history; there is nothing in the least incredible about it, and as to the inconsistencies in its publication, we have but to study published accounts of any event of our own day to see how deeply inconsistencies are imbedded in all human chronicle. Among those who had cordially accepted the Pocahontas story, in the face of the assaults upon it, have been John Fiske[i] and John Esten Cooke.[j] On the opposite side are those mentioned and most of the late historians, especially E. D. Neill.[k] Leaving the controversy, then, as what it must always remain, a matter of controversy and individual opinion, we return to the chronicle. Certain it is that Smith's career has importance and romance enough even after Pocahontas is subtracted from it, and that on his return from captivity, after being ransomed for "two great guns and a grindstone," he found work enough for his hand to do.[a]

JOHN SMITH AS PRESIDENT

Smith found the colony reduced to thirty-eight persons, wholly discouraged and disheartened, and some of them again planning an escape in the bark. For the third time, mingling threats and entreaties, he induced them to remain, and having procured from the Indians, with whom he was now in great favour, abundance of provisions, he maintained plenty in the colony till Newport arrived, bringing supplies and a hundred and twenty new settlers. But of the two ships of which this expedition consisted one was driven by rough weather to the West Indies, and thus kept back for several weeks.

This new company were much the same sort of people who had composed the first colony, vagabond gentlemen, unaccustomed to labour and disdainful of it, with three or four bankrupt London jewelers, goldsmiths, and refiners, sent out to seek for mines. In a small stream near Jamestown they presently discovered some glittering bits of yellow mica, which they mistook for gold dust. Everything else was now neglected; there was no thought nor conversation but about digging, washing, and refining gold. Newport, whom Smith[l] describes as "empty, idle, timid, and ostentatious," went to Werowocomo to visit Powhatan, and deliver to him some presents he had brought. His ship was thus kept waiting, the crew trenching on the supply of provisions, diminished also by an accidental fire, which destroyed the storehouse and most of the huts. At last Newport's ship set sail for England, laden with fancied wealth. Wingfield and some of his partisans went in her. Martin, one of the councillors, returned to England in the other vessel, to claim the reward promised to the first discoverer of a mine. With much difficulty Smith pre-

vailed to load that vessel with cedar, which, with a quantity of skins and furs, constituted the first valuable remittance from Virginia. Martin's place in the council was supplied by Scrivener, who had come out in Newport's vessel.

While the colonists rebuilt their huts and tended their corn-fields, Smith employed himself in the exploration of Chesapeake Bay, for which purpose he made two voyages in an open boat of five tons, attended by a surgeon, six gentlemen, and five soldiers. He explored the numerous rivers and inlets, especially on the west side of the bay; entered the Susquehanna, the Patapsco, and the Potomac, all of which he ascended to their first falls; and, after sailing more than three thousand miles, drew the first chart of the Chesapeake, which was transmitted to England, and presently published, with a description of the country. Smith found the Susquehannas, and other Indians at the head of the bay, already in possession of iron hatchets, obtained probably by way of Canada from the French fur traders in the St. Lawrence. These Indians lived in constant terror of the formidable Massawomacs, no doubt the Iroquois or Five Nations. Smith himself met with a party of that dreaded race returning in canoes from a war expedition. After visiting the Mannahoacs at the head of the Rappahannock, and, in the same expedition, the Nansemonds and Chesapeakes, at the south part of the bay, he returned in September to Jamestown with a cargo of corn. The settlers now also gathered the first corn of their own planting.

On his return from his second voyage of exploration Smith became president of the council, an office held for some time previously by Scrivener, to whom the sick and inefficient Ratcliffe had yielded it. Newport arrived soon after with seventy additional people, among whom were two new councillors and two women, the first who visited the colony. There came, also, eight Poles and Germans, sent to teach the art of making pitch, tar, potashes, and glass. The officers of the company wrote by this opportunity in an angry strain. They were much disturbed by a story, started probably by Wingfield and the other returned emigrants, that the starving and discontented colonists, who desired nothing so much as to get away, intended to seize the territory of Virginia, and to divide it among themselves. They expressed great dissatisfaction that their heavy outlays had yet produced no adequate return; and Newport brought special orders to obtain certain intelligence of a passage to the South Sea, to send home a lump of real gold, or to find some of the lost company formerly planted on the island of Roanoke. Unless valuable commodities were remitted sufficient to pay the expense of this voyage, amounting to £2,000, about $10,000, the colonists were threatened to be left to shift for themselves, "as banished men."

Resolved to make the best of such materials as he had, Smith exerted his authority with vigour. The gentlemen, taught to wield the axe, and converted into dexterous woodcutters, were employed in preparing a cargo for the ship. To eat, they must work. The common store from which the colonists were fed was mainly dependent on corn purchased from the Indians with goods sent out by the company. Newport again visited Powhatan, carrying as presents a scarlet cloak and gilded crown. He wished to engage that chief to assist him in exploring the country of the Monicans above the falls of James river, and, notwithstanding Powhatan's refusal, he undertook an expedition for that purpose, from which he returned with some specimens of alleged silver ore, his men starving, sick, and dispirited. Great exertions now became necessary to secure a supply of provisions. Contributions were levied on the neighbouring Indian villages. Smith also visited Powhatan for

[1609 A.D.]
the same purpose, but found him hostile and treacherous. Again he was saved [he claims] by Pocahontas, who came through a storm at midnight to inform him of his danger.

Already Newport's vessel was dispatched with a cargo of wainscot and clapboards, and specimens of tar, pitch, and potashes, prepared by the Germans. Smith wrote, in reply to the complaints of the company, that it were better to send out thirty working men than a thousand like the present colonists. Whatever disappointment might be expressed in their letters to Virginia, the London Company put a good face upon matters at home. Means were taken to make the speculation popular, and the number of adventurers was greatly increased. Besides many noblemen, knights, gentlemen, merchants, and wealthy tradesmen, most of the incorporated trades of London were induced to take shares in the stock.

THE SECOND CHARTER OF VIRGINIA (1609 A.D.)

A new charter was also obtained May 23, 1609, by which the enterprise was placed upon quite a new footing. "The Treasurer and Company of Adventurers and Planters of the City of London, for the First Colony in Virginia," were made a corporation, its affairs to be managed by a council, of which the first members were named in the patent; but all vacancies were to be filled by the stockholders, who were also empowered to choose the treasurer, the chief executive officer of the company. To this corporation was granted a territory extending two hundred miles north from Old Point Comfort, the same distance south, and west to the Pacific. The local council of the colony, distracted as it had been by cabals and personal jealousies, the universal fate of a divided executive, was superseded by a governor, to be appointed by the company's council in England, and to have the sole superintendence of local affairs. That same council was also empowered to make laws for the colony, conformable, however, "as near as might be," to those of England — a restriction inserted into all subsequent charters, and, independently of any charter, a fundamental limitation on colonial legislation. To guard against the intrusion of "Romish superstitions," the oath of supremacy was to be taken by all persons sailing for the colony. Under this new charter Lord Delawarr was appointed governor, Sir Thomas Gates lieutenant-governor, Sir George Somers admiral, Newport vice-admiral, and Sir Thomas Dale high marshal, all for life.

Lord Delawarr's affairs detained him for some time in England; but a fleet of nine vessels set sail at once, with five hundred colonists on board, including twenty women and children. Gates, Somers, and Newport sailed in this fleet, with authority to administer the government till Lord Delawarr's arrival. Not able to agree about precedence, these three commanders embarked in the same vessel, and, in a violent storm which dispersed the fleet, they were cast ashore on one of the Bermudas. The other ships, except one which was lost, arrived safely in James river. Most of the new comers were of the same sort with those formerly sent out, poor gentlemen, indolent, dissolute, and insubordinate, or else broken tradesmen, "fitter to breed a riot than to found a colony." The old system had been abrogated; but, owing to the non-arrival of the three commissioners, there was no person in the colony authorised to act under the new charter.

The new comers disputed the authority of Smith, who struggled, however, to maintain his power, in which, indeed, he was justified by the express provisions of the new charter, which continued the old government until the

new one should be formally organised. To rid himself in part of these troublesome guests, he established two new settlements, one at the falls of James river, the other at Nansemond, near the present site of Norfolk. These settlers conducted with great insolence, and soon involved themselves in dispute with the neighbouring Indians. Smith quieted matters for the moment; but the colony soon lost his valuable services. Severely wounded by the accidental explosion of his powder-bag as he was sleeping in his boat, he was obliged in October to return to England, in one of the newly arrived vessels, for surgical aid.[1] He left near five hundred persons in Virginia, well supplied with arms, provisions, and goods for the Indian traffic. Jamestown had a fort, church, store-house, and about sixty dwelling houses, with a stock of hogs, goats, sheep, fowls, and a few horses; but the cultivated land, the produce of which went into the colony store, was limited to thirty or forty acres. The main resource for food was corn purchased or extorted from the Indians, and dealt out from the common store.

THE STARVING TIME; DALE'S ADMINISTRATION

At Smith's departure the colonists gave themselves up to riot and idleness. They wastefully consumed the store of provisions, killed the stock, traded away their arms with the natives, and presently suffered severely from famine. Ratcliffe, with a numerous party, on a trading expedition for corn, was waylaid by the Indians, and cut off with all his company. Many stragglers, wandering about in search of food, suffered the same fate. A company of thirty seized a small vessel belonging to the colony, and sailed away to turn pirates. In the traditions of Virginia, this period was long remembered as "the Starving Time." In six months there were only sixty persons remaining, and those so feeble, dejected, and destitute that, without aid, they could not have survived for ten days longer.

At this critical moment (May 26th, 1610) Newport, Gates, and Somers, with an hundred and fifty men, arrived from Bermuda, in two small vessels built of the cedar of that island and the fragments of their stranded ship. Even shipwreck had not reconciled the jealous commissioners, who had formed two parties, and had built separate vessels. Arriving from such a land of plenty, the new comers were horror-struck at the starving condition of the colony. They had themselves but sixteen days' provisions. It was resolved to abandon Virginia, and to sail for Newfoundland, there to seek food and a passage home from the fishermen. So great was the disgust of the disappointed colonists that on leaving Jamestown they were hardly restrained from setting fire to the buildings.

As they descended the river, June 10, a boat was seen coming up. It was Lord Delawarr, the governor, just arrived from England, with three ships, bringing provisions and colonists. He persuaded the fugitive settlers to return to Jamestown, where he entered ceremoniously upon his office with a speech from himself and a sermon from his chaplain. Somers sailed to the Bermudas for hogs, and died there, leaving his name to the islands. Gates returned to England for supplies. Captain Argall, in a private trading ship, obtained a cargo of corn from the Potomac. Delawarr established a post at Kiquotan, now Hampton, at the entrance of James river. In punishment of injuries inflicted by the Indians during the late distressed state

[1 So Smith[1] puts it, all other contemporary accounts say he was sent to England, "to answer some misdemeanors." Both reasons were correct it now seems from a MS. at Petworth House in Surrey.]

of the colony, he attacked and burned several of their villages, but was repulsed when he attempted to renew the settlement at the falls. Taken sick, he presently returned to England (March 28th), leaving Percy as his deputy. The colony now consisted of two hundred men.

Sir Thomas Dale arrived (May 10th) with three ships, some cattle, and three hundred settlers, and, in Delawarr's absence, assumed the government. He proclaimed a code of laws, harsh and strict, by its excessive severity fitter for a camp than a colony, and intended to prevent a repetition of the late disorders. This code, printed at London by the care of Secretary Strachey, remained for eight years the law of Virginia, additional regulations being from time to time added by proclamations of the governor.

Being superseded by Sir Thomas Gates, who came back from England in August with six ships, three hundred and fifty colonists, and a supply of live-stock, Dale proceeded to settle a new plantation up the river, enclosed by a stockade, and called Henrico, after the king's eldest son. Another settlement, called New Bermuda, was established at the junction of the Appomattox with the James. The Indians who dwelt there were driven away, and a stockade from river to river inclosed a considerable extent of ground. To all the indented servants of the company Dale assigned three acres each to cultivate on their private account.

GATES, ARGALL, AND YEARDLEY; THE FIRST ASSEMBLY (1619 A.D.)

The heavy outlay since the new organisation of the company, without any return, gave occasion to loud complaints on the part of the stockholders. They seem very unreasonably to have looked to the colony as an immediate source of mercantile profit. The returned emigrants had brought back many unfavourable reports; and Virginia, late the theme of such romantic hopes, fell into very bad repute. It was sneered at on the stage; even the abandonment of the enterprise was openly talked of. Something must be done to appease these discontents; and a supplementary charter was obtained, under which the control of the company's affairs was taken from the council and given to the body of the stockholders, who were to hold a great and general court once in each quarter for more important business, besides meetings weekly or oftener for smaller matters. The Bermudas were also annexed to Virginia; but these islands soon passed into the hands of a particular association, and were occupied by a separate colony. The supplementary charter also authorised the company to raise money by lotteries, now introduced into England for the first time. About £30,000, near $150,000, were subsequently raised by this means.

Captain Argall, again in Virginia with two ships on private account, in a new expedition to the Potomac to trade for corn, found Pocahontas there, of whom the colonists had seen nothing for two years. With the assistance of the chief of that district, whom he bribed with a brass kettle, he enticed the Indian girl on board his ship, and carried her to Jamestown. Powhatan demanded the release of his daughter, but the colonists refused to give her up except in exchange for some German servants who had deserted to the Indians, and the English tools and arms of which Powhatan's people had possessed themselves, by purchase as they alleged, but, as the English said, by theft. The Indian chief declined these terms, and vowed revenge, but was appeased by a fortunate circumstance. John Rolfe, a young colonist of respectable condition, having won the favour of the Indian maid, was encouraged by the governor to ask her in marriage. Her father willingly

consented. He did not care, indeed, to trust himself in Jamestown, but he sent two of his principal warriors as his representatives at the marriage ceremony. The young bride was baptised, and by means of this connection a good understanding was established with Powhatan.[1] As yet there were very few white women in the colony; yet Rolfe's example was not followed. Intermarriage was urged by the Indians as the only test of sincere friendship; and such a course, as a native historian of Virginia has remarked, might have prevented the subsequent Indian wars and gradually have absorbed the native inhabitants into the growing body of white colonists. But the idea of such an intermixture was abhorrent to the English, who despised the Indians as savages, and detested them as heathen. They would receive them only as subjects.

Sailing to the eastward on a fishing voyage, in 1613, in company with a number of other English vessels, Captain Argall broke up a little station called St. Saveur, on the island of Mount Desert, not far from Penobscot Bay, which two Jesuit missionaries from Port Royal, dissatisfied with their treatment there, had just established, by assistance of a pious lady of France. Some of the Frenchmen were allowed to seek a passage home in the French fishing vessels; the others were carried to Virginia — among the rest one of the Jesuits, the other having been killed in the attack.

With three vessels and sixty men, piloted by his Jesuit prisoner, Argall soon after visited Port Royal, which he burned; but the dispersed settlers found shelter in the woods. On his homeward voyage the English commander entered the mouth of the Hudson, and compelled the Dutch[2] traders, lately established on the island of Manhattan, to acknowledge the authority of the English. England was at peace both with France and Holland, but the English claimed all that coast as a part of Virginia. This expedition, forerunner of future bloody contests for the possession of North America, had no immediate results. Upon the departure of Argall, the Dutch flag was again hoisted at Manhattan. The French also re-established themselves at Port Royal, where they continued to carry on a prosperous fur trade; and they soon occupied other points of the neighbouring coast.

By the original proposals of the company, all persons coming to Virginia, or transporting others thither, were entitled, for each person so introduced, to a hundred acres of land. This allowance was now limited to fifty acres, at which amount it remained fixed so long as Virginia continued a British colony, subject, like all grants of land in Virginia, to an annual quit-rent, at the rate of two shillings for every hundred acres. The labourers consisted mainly of indented servants, of whom many belonged to the company. The governor had for his support a plantation cultivated by a hundred of these servants; and the salaries of other colonial officers were paid by similar assignments. Besides the grants to actual settlers, the members of the company had received large tracts of land in consideration of their payments into the treasury; and other large grants had been made for meritorious

[1 Even Pocahontas' marriage has been questioned. E. D. Neill[k] has tried to prove that, since John Rolfe left a widow and children when he died Pocahontas could have been only his mistress, though she is known to have borne him a child. Ralph Hamor,[l] however, who knew Pocahontas well in Virginia, describes the marriage as taking place "about the fift of Aprill," in 1614, and states that Powhatan sent her uncle as sponsor and her two brothers as witnesses. There can be little doubt that the marriage was formal; Pocahontas made a sensation in England as Rolfe's wife. She is believed to have died at Gravesend, March 21st, 1617, as she was sailing for her American home. There is a reference in the records of St. George's church there of the death on that date of "a lady Virginia born." But this is also under dispute.]

[2 This raid on the Dutch settlements is denied by some historians; by others the scene is laid at the present site of Albany.]

services, real or pretended. This engrossment of lands very early became a subject of complaint in the colony. Meanwhile, the cultivation of corn had so increased that, from buyers, the colonists became sellers to the Indians. They also had turned their attention to the cultivation of tobacco.[1] The Virginia tobacco, though esteemed far inferior to that of the West Indies, sold, however, for three shillings, nearly three-quarters of a dollar, per pound; and, stimulated by this high price, the colonists entered into its cultivation with such extreme zeal as soon to be in danger of a dearth of provisions.

Dale, who had resumed the government after the departure of Gates, gave it up to George Yeardley in 1616, and, returning to England, took with him Pocahontas, known since her marriage as the Lady Rebecca. Her husband went with her, and several Indian followers; among the rest, a chief sent by her father to count the people of England. Pocahontas attracted admiration by her modest and graceful demeanour, and was greatly caressed, being recommended to the queen's notice in a petition from Captain Smith, in which he recounted her services to the colony, and especially to himself. In those days, in which the genius of a Bacon worshipped at the feet of a James I, royalty even in a savage was thought to have something sacred about it, and Rolfe, we are told, came near being called to account for having presumed, being a mere private person, to marry a princess. To make some provision for him, he was appointed secretary, an office held before by William Strachey. When about to return to Virginia, Pocahontas died, leaving an infant son, who was educated in England, and became afterward a prosperous person in the colony. Through him and his descendants, the Bollands and Randolphs of Virginia have been proud to trace their pedigree from the Indian princess.

The office of deputy governor of Virginia was conferred on Captain Argall. When Argall arrived at Jamestown in May, 1617, to enter upon his office, he found the public buildings fallen to decay, and only five or six houses fit to be inhabited. Argall governed with severity, and, as the colonists alleged, with a single eye to private emolument, assuming for his own use the goods of the company. Delawarr was earnestly entreated to resume the personal exercise of his authority; and with that intent he sailed for Virginia, but died (April, 1618) on the passage off the entrance of the bay already known among the English by his name.

After a warm struggle in the company, Yeardley, the former deputy, was appointed governor (January, 1619), and to give greater dignity to the office, the honour of knighthood was obtained for him. A few days before Yeardley's arrival, Argall escaped to the West Indies with his property. Presently he returned to England, but, through the support of his patrons, evaded all attempts to call him to account.

Another controversy had arisen which aggravated the dispute growing out of the conduct of Argall. Though Sir Thomas Smith had disbursed £80,000, nearly $400,000, of the company's money, with all this expenditure and after twelve years' struggle there were but six hundred colonists in Virginia. Some fault was found with the treasurer's vouchers, and when he

[1 "1612 was a marked one in the inauguration by John Rolfe of the systematic culture of tobacco—a staple destined to exert a controlling influence in the future welfare and progress of the colony, and soon, by the paramount profit yielded by its culture, to subordinate all other interests, agricultural as well as manufacturing. This influence permeated the entire social fabric of the colony, directed its laws, was an element in all its political and religious disturbances, and became the direct instigation of its curse of African slavery. It may be added, however, as an indisputable fact, that the culture of tobacco constituted the basis of the present unrivalled prosperity of the United States, and that this staple is still one of the most prolific factors in the revenue of the general government."]—R. A. Brock.*m*

offered to resign the company took him at his word. At this he was very much offended, and a violent quarrel ensued between his friends and opponents. The vacant post of treasurer was conferred (April 28th) on Sir Edwin Sandys, a man of energy and liberal ideas, who entered with zeal on the discharge of his office. The holders of grants of land in Virginia were induced to send out settlers, and to establish plantations at their private expense. The cultivation of tobacco seemed to promise a profitable return; and the vessels engaged in the Newfoundland fisheries were availed of to transport the emigrants at a moderate cost.

Yeardley found in the colony seven distinct plantations, to which he presently added four more, composed of new emigrants. At the head of each plantation was a commandant, at once chief of the militia and civil magistrate. The tyranny of Argall had induced the company to re-establish a local council as a check upon the governor, and Yeardley presently called the first colonial assembly of Virginia [July 30th, 1619], composed of the governor, the council, and deputies from the eleven plantations. These deputies were called burgesses — a name which they continued to retain after the representation was distributed by counties.[d]

Of this assembly, H. C. Lodge says: "The burgesses prayed the company that the clause in the charter guaranteeing equal laws might not be violated, and the maintenance of the great English principle of the equality of all men before the law dignifies the first meeting of the first representative body of America. The session was mainly occupied with the passage of sumptuary laws and police regulations. Appropriate statutes provided for the government of ministers, and a tax on tobacco was laid for their support. The legislation of these men was as unimportant as it could well be in its general character, yet it contained the germ of that jealous resistance to the mother country and all things proceeding thence which indelibly marks American colonial history. Dale's firm government had imparted stability to the infant state, while Argall's galling tyranny had stimulated the latent political life."[n]

During the year that Sandys held office he sent to Virginia twelve hundred emigrants — twice as many as there were inhabitants in the colony when he became treasurer. Among them were ninety young women, "pure and uncorrupt," who were disposed of, for the cost of their passage, as wives to the planters. The price of a wife was a hundred pounds of tobacco, worth then about $75.00. But half as much more was obtained for those of a second cargo sent out a year or two after.

There were other emigrants of a sort less desirable. By the king's special order, a hundred dissolute vagabonds, the sweepings of the prisons, familiarly known among the colonists as "jail-birds," were sent to Virginia to be sold as servants — a practice long continued as a regular item of British criminal jurisprudence, in spite of the repeated complaints of the colonists, and their efforts to prevent it.[d]

BRITISH CONVICTS AS AMERICAN PIONEERS

Americans occasionally speak lightly of their forefathers in the early colonies, but at heart they accept them as men and women sanctified by courage, conscience, and the irrepressible enterprise that sends the ambitious from the comfort of a settled home to the dangers of a new world. It is admitted that many of those who left England left it by request, and "for the country's good," but it is not generally known how large was this element. Bancroft,[o]

writing of the early Virginians, said "some of them were even convicts; but, it must be remembered, the crimes of which they were convicted were chiefly political. The number transported to Virginia for social crimes was never considerable." But James Davie Butler[p] declares that Bancroft told him personally that he had not dared to publish all he knew of the high percentage of downright criminals and felons among the early settlers. It is known that some of the prisoners taken in Scotch and Irish wars were sent to New England and Virginia and sold, but the largest shipments of these were sent to the West Indies, and the percentage of honourable political prisoners could not have been nearly so large as some of the American historians assume. In fact, there seems to have been a vindictive unwillingness to send rebels to any less dire climate than the fierce tropics.

In 1611 Governor Dale begged the king to send to Virginia "all offenders condemned to die, out of common gaoles." Beginning with 1619, the transportation of felons, unreformed boys and girls who had been twice punished, and others, became regular. They were indentured to the earlier settlers, who paid for them in tobacco, which had been made legal tender by the assembly of 1619. The Virginia prohibitory enactment of 1670, quoted by Hening,[q] alluding to "the great number of felons and other desperate villains sent hither from the several prisons of England," adds, "We are believed to be a place only fit to receive such base and lewd persons." Maryland received, it seems, even a larger quota than Virginia.

New England was not a penal settlement, but desired to purchase transported convicts, and actually offered a bounty for this human merchandise. Irishmen were sold for a century in Boston, and Butler[p] thinks that some of them must have been felons. Maine also had a large criminal element among its early settlers. Philadelphia at first accepted labourers without question as to their previous condition of servitude but in 1722 the Pennsylvania assembly imposed a duty on "all persons guilty of heinous crimes." It is not stated whether this was a tariff for protection or for revenue only; but, at any rate, the king shortly forbade such a tax. New York received large numbers of felons and vagrants both from the Dutch and the English governments.

In 1718 a regular statute in England provided that all persons found guilty of such capital offences as burglary, robbery, perjury, forgery, and theft might at the court's discretion have their sentence commuted to seven years' exile in America. Butler estimates the total number of criminals sent to America between 1717 and 1775 as ten thousand. In 1768 Scotland also began this clearance of her jails. Franklin protested bitterly, and called the emptying of British jails upon the colonies a cruel insult.

But so it went on till the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, when many of the convicts were placed in the ranks of the British invading armies. After the recognition of American independence, when convicts could be shipped thither neither as servants nor as soldiers, it was found necessary in 1787 to form the penal settlement at Botany Bay to receive the refuse of the jails.

Dr. Samuel Johnson, who was connected with the *Gentleman's Magazine*, which regularly published lists of criminals transported to America, once said, with his notorious acerbity that he could love anybody but an American, and in 1769 burst out in denunciation of American presumption in claiming certain rights. "Sir, they are a race of convicts," he said, "and ought to be content with anything we may allow them short of hanging." A more complimentary allusion to the results of transportation was made by Doctor Ferguson in 1844, of whom Dr. Francis Lieber[r] says, "I remarked how curious a fact it

was that all American women look so genteel and refined, even the lowest; small heads, fine silky hair, delicate and marked eyebrows. The doctor answered, 'Oh, that is easily accounted for. The superabundance of public women, who are always rather good-looking, were sent over to America in early times.'"

Such ridiculous theories have received serious attention and found places in sober histories. A little consideration of the great total, in which the criminal class could not have made even a considerable minority, will serve as a refutation. Admitting the highest estimates as to the number of convicts sent to America — fifty thousand in the course of a century and a half — it is ridiculous to claim that this small percentage to the total could have exerted a determining influence on the character of the country. In the first place, they came as the humblest of servants, under indentures that made them practically slaves for years. Under the hard conditions of a new world and away from the crowded slums, their long period of discipline and healthy toil in pure air must have sobered the misguided into a reformation that made them desirable citizens; the hopeless criminals would merely sink to that lowest ooze which exists in the depths of every society.

Virginia has suffered the most obloquy as the home of the convict, but the early fame of the colony as a place of remarkably delicate social refinement, the early existence of private libraries on the plantations of the seventeenth century, and innumerable other considerations prove that the "first families of Virginia" came neither from the streets nor the jails. During the revolution in England so many cavaliers came to Virginia that the population increased from 15,000 in 1656 to 40,000 in 1670. The convict shipments, much as they may have relieved the mother country of an overplus of vice, unloaded on the New World no more corruption than it could assimilate. In fact it may be said that the imported convicts had far less influence on the social and political life of the main body than the negroes who began at the same time to be unloaded by shipfuls on the colonies and to be treated almost exactly the same as the indentured white servants.[a]

THE FIRST NEGRO SLAVES (1619 A.D.)

It was by the free consent and co-operation of the colonists themselves that this still more objectionable species of population was introduced into Virginia, in August, 1619, not without enduring and disastrous effects upon the social condition of the United States. Twenty negroes, brought to Jamestown by a Dutch trading vessel, and purchased by the colonists, were held, not as indented servants for a term of years, but as slaves for life.

Even so late as the first English migrations to America, there might have remained, in obscure corners of England, some few hereditary serfs attached to the soil, faint remnants of that system of villanage once universal throughout Europe, and later prevalent in Hungary and Russia. But villains in gross — slaves, that is, who had inherited from their parents the condition of servitude, and transferable from hand to hand — had entirely disappeared from England, not by any formal legislative act, but as the joint result of private emancipations and the discouragement long given by the English courts to claims so contrary to natural right. It had come, indeed, to be an established opinion throughout western Europe that Christians could not be held as slaves — an immunity, however, not thought to extend to infidels or heathen. The practice of buying negroes on the coast of Africa, introduced by the Portuguese, had been adopted by the Spanish, English, and Dutch. There was

[1621 A.D.]
little inducement to bring them to Europe, where hired labourers might be abundantly obtained; but in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies in America, especially after the introduction of the sugar manufacture, the slave traders found a ready market, and the cultivation of tobacco began now to open a like market in Virginia.

In buying and holding negro slaves, the Virginians did not suppose themselves to be violating any law, human or divine. Whatever might be the case with the law of England, the law of Moses, in authorising the enslavement of "strangers," seemed to give to the purchase of negro slaves an express sanction. The number of negroes in the colony, limited as it was to a few cargoes, brought at intervals by Dutch traders, was long too small to make the matter appear of much moment, and more than forty years elapsed before the colonists thought it necessary to strengthen the system of slavery by any express enactments.

After a year's service Sandys was succeeded as treasurer by the earl of Southampton; but the same policy was persevered in, and during the following two years twenty-three hundred emigrants were sent to Virginia. The trade of the colony had hitherto been a close monopoly. A joint stock, called the Magazine, had been annually formed by subscriptions on the part of the company and its members, and goods had been purchased with this joint stock and sent to an agent in the colony, known as the "Cape merchant," who exchanged them for tobacco and other produce. This trade had proved a losing concern, and had occasioned great disputes and dissatisfaction. It was now abandoned, and the supply of the colony thrown open to private enterprise.

New plantations were established on York and James rivers, and, for the convenience of trade with the Indians, one on the eastern shore of the Chesapeake, and another on the Potomac. John Pory, the founder of these settlements, was the first to cross by land from the Potomac to the Patuxent. He also explored the country south of the Chesapeake, as far as the banks of the Chowan.

An estate of ten thousand acres near the falls of James river, with a number of indented tenants to cultivate it, was assigned by the company toward the endowment of a college for the education of Indians as well as of colonists. The money contributed for the same object by some philanthropic individuals in England was invested by the treasurer in the establishment of iron works, from which great benefits were hoped to the colony, and increase to the fund.

The cultivation of tobacco had given a sudden impulse to Virginia; but the use of it was still quite limited, and the English market was soon overstocked. The price began to fall, and great anxiety was evinced by the enlightened treasurer for the introduction into the colony of other staples — flax, silk, wine, and the preparation of lumber. New attempts were made at the manufacture of glass, pitch, tar, and potashes, and some Italians and Dutch were sent out to instruct the colonists in these operations.

SOUTHAMPTON TREASURER; THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY (1621 A.D.)

That leaven which presently produced so remarkable a revolution against monarchical authority was already working in England, and James' third parliament, which met in 1621, after an interval of seven years — the same which impeached Lord Bacon — protested against the Virginia Company's lotteries as an illegal raising of money without parliamentary sanction. The lotteries were stopped in consequence by order in council, and that resource

came to an end. The colony still remained a losing concern. The disputes between the adherents of Sir Thomas Smith and the present administration grew every day more vehement. The stockholders had become quite numerous, and the affairs of the company gave rise, in the courts of proprietors, to very lively debates. The king wished to dictate the choice of a treasurer more courtly than Southampton, and less an opponent of royal prerogative. The farmers of the customs attempted to levy an excessive duty on tobacco, and the company, to escape it, sent theirs to Holland. An order in council forbade the exportation of colonial produce to foreign countries unless it had first paid duties in England — the first germ of that colonial system afterward sanctioned by parliamentary enactment, and one of the principal features in the subsequent relations of the mother country to the colonies. Other orders in council, more favourable to Virginia, but having in view the same object of augmenting the royal revenue, prohibited the importation of Spanish tobacco, or its cultivation in England.

Southampton and his adherents in the Virginia Company belonged to the rising party in favour of parliamentary and popular rights as opposed to the royal prerogative. With more conformity to their principles than is always displayed in like cases, they induced the company to confirm, by special ordinance, the privilege of a general assembly, already conceded to the colony by Yeardley, probably at their suggestion. This ordinance, sent out by Sir Francis Wyatt, appointed to supersede Yeardley as governor, granted a constitution to Virginia, modeled after that of the mother country, and itself the model, or at least the prototype, of most of the governments of English origin subsequently established in America. For the enactment of local laws, the governor and council appointed by the company were to be joined by delegates chosen by the people, the whole to be known as the general assembly. For many years they sat together as one body, but for the passage of any law the separate assent of the deputies, the council, and the governor was required. Even enactments thus sanctioned might still be set aside by the company. The governor and council acted as a court of law, and held quarterly sessions for that purpose; but an appeal lay to the general assembly, and thence to the company. The laws of England were considered to be in force in the colony, the colonial legislation extending only to local matters.

Simultaneously with this civil constitution an ecclesiastical organisation was introduced. The plantations were divided into parishes, for the endowment of which contributions were collected in England. A glebe of a hundred acres, cultivated by six indented tenants, was allowed by the company to each clergyman, to which was added a salary to be paid by a parish tax. The governor was instructed to uphold public worship according to the forms and discipline of the Church of England, and to avoid "all factious and needless novelties" — a caution, no doubt, against Puritan ideas, at this time much on the increase in England, and not without partisans even in Virginia.

Wyatt, the new governor, was instructed to restrict the planters to a hundred weight of tobacco for each man employed in its cultivation; to turn the attention of the colonists to corn, mulberry trees, vines, and cattle; and to look after the glass and iron works. He was also to cultivate a good understanding with the natives; but this injunction, unfortunately, came too late.

THE INDIAN MASSACRE (1622 A.D.)

Powhatan was dead. His successor was Opechancanough, a bold and cunning chief, always hostile to the English. Blood had several times been

shed on both sides, especially in the earlier years of the colony, but as yet there had been no formidable or protracted hostilities. The colonists, confident in their firearms, regarded with contempt the bows and clubs of the Indians. The Indian villages, with their cornfields of cleared lands, fertile spots along the banks of the rivers, offered tempting locations to the new comers. Quite unsuspicious of danger from a people whose simplicity they derided, and whose patience they despised, the colonists had neglected their military exercises, and had dropped all precautions for defence. In disregard of the proclamations which forbade teaching the Indians the use of firearms, they were employed as fowlers and huntsmen by the colonists, and freely admitted to the plantations. Provoked by the murder of one of their principal warriors, and taking advantage of this carelessness and familiarity, at an hour appointed beforehand they fell at once upon every settlement (March 22nd, 1622). A converted Indian gave warning the night before, in season to save Jamestown and a few of the neighbouring plantations, otherwise the massacre might have been much more extensive. As it was, three hundred and fifty persons perished in the first surprise, including six councilors. Several settlements, though taken unawares, made a brave resistance, and repulsed the assailants.

A bloody war ensued, of the details of which we know little. Sickness and famine added their horrors, and within a brief period the colonists were reduced from four thousand to twenty-five hundred, concentrated, for convenience of defense, in six settlements. The university estate was abandoned, the glass and iron works were destroyed. But the white men soon recovered their wonted superiority. The Indians treacherously entrapped, were slain without mercy. Driven from the James and York rivers, their fields and villages were occupied by the colonists. Greatly reduced in number, they were soon disabled from doing much damage, but no settled peace was made till fourteen years had expired.

The breaking out of this war and the threatened ruin of the colony served to aggravate the dissensions of the company, which presently reached a high pitch. The minority appealed to the king, who ordered the records to be seized, and appointed commissioners to investigate the company's affairs. Other commissioners were soon after appointed, to proceed to Virginia, to examine on the spot the condition of the colony, the control of which the king had determined to assume.

About the time of the arrival of these commissioners (March, 1624), the first extant colony statutes were enacted. Thirty-five acts, very concisely expressed, repealed all prior laws, and shed a clear and certain light upon the condition of the colony. The first acts, as in many subsequent codifications of the Virginia statutes, relate to the church. Absence from public worship, "without allowable excuse," exposed to the forfeiture of a pound of tobacco, or fifty pounds if the absence continued for a month. The celebration of divine service was to be in conformity to the canons of the English church. The ministers' salaries were to be paid out of the first gathered and best tobacco and corn; and no man was to dispose of his tobacco before paying his church dues, under pain of paying double. The proclamations formerly set forth against drunkenness and swearing were confirmed as law, and the church-wardens were to present all such offenders.

The governor was to lay no taxes of any kind, except by authority of the assembly; and the expenditure, as well as levy of all public money, was to be by order of that body only. The governor was not to withdraw the inhabitants from their private employments for any work of his own, under any

colour; and if, in the intervals of the assembly, men were needed for the public service, the whole council must concur in the levy. The old planters, before Sir Thomas Gates' last coming, "and their posterity," were to be exempt from personal service in the Indian war except as officers — a provision afterward several times re-enacted, with the omission, however, of the hereditary clause The burgesses were privileged from arrest going to, coming from, and during the assembly. For convenience of "the more distant parts," Elizabeth City, at the mouth of James river, and Charles City, at the junction of the Appomattox, monthly courts were to be holden by special commissioners, as an intermediate tribunal between commanders of plantations and the quarterly courts held by the governor and council.

Every dwelling house was to be palisadoed for defence, and none were to go abroad, except in parties and armed, not even to work; and watch was to be kept at night. No powder was to be spent unnecessarily at drinking frolics or other entertainments. At the beginning of July, the inhabitants of every plantation were to fall upon "their adjoining salvages," as they had done the last year. Any persons wounded in this service were to be cured at the public charge, and if permanently lamed were to have a maintenance suitable to their quality. To pay the expenses and debts occasioned by the war, ten pounds of tobacco per head were to be levied on each male colonist.

THE VIRGINIA COMPANY DISSOLVED BY JAMES I (1624 A.D.)

Evident allusion appears in this code to the controversy then pending between the king and the company. No person, upon rumour of supposed change, was to presume to be disobedient to the present government, nor servants to their masters, "at their uttermost peril." The last law of the code levies a tax of four pounds of tobacco per head, to pay the expense of sending an agent to England to look after the interests of the colony and to solicit the exclusion of foreign tobacco. The king's commissioners to examine into the state of the colony seem to have been looked upon with some suspicion; and the clerk of the assembly, for betrayal of his trust in furnishing them with copies of certain papers, was punished with the loss of his ears. The colonists had some reason to fear lest the recall of the company's charter might deprive them of their share in colonial legislation, so recently granted, or might even endanger their titles to land.

The reports of the commissioners were as unfavourable as the king could desire. In vain the stockholders appealed to James' fourth parliament, then in session, little sympathy being felt in that body for monopolies or exclusive corporations of any sort. The action of the company suspended by proclamation, it was soon called upon to answer to a process of *quo warranto* — a legal inquiry, that is, into its conduct and pretensions. The respondents had little to hope from judges who held office at the pleasure of the royal complainant, and the proceedings were soon closed by a judgment of forfeiture. Thus fell the Virginia Company, after spending £150,000, nearly $750,000, in establishing the colony. This did not include the expenditures of private individuals to a large amount, some of whom obtained, perhaps, a return for their money, while the outlay of the company was a dead loss.[d]

Dr. Alexander Brown[e] calls Virginia "the first republic in America," and endeavours to show that Virginia had so large a measure of liberty that she was in fact a republic, but William Wirt Henry controverts this theory as "a remarkable blunder," and comments: "The colonists by their charters were guaranteed the civil rights of Englishmen, but they never in fact enjoyed

them in full measure during the period of which Doctor Brown writes, and Virginia was not during any part of that time a republic. A republic is a state in which the supreme power is vested in representatives chosen by the people. This was never the condition of the colony of Virginia. During the existence of the Virginia Company of London, that company governed the colony, appointed its officers, and gave it its laws. Even after the allowance of a representative legislative body in Virginia, in 1619, the acts of the body were of no force until approved by the council in England, which still appointed the governor and council in Virginia, parts of the legislative body. The granting of that assembly was a great advance in the development of free institutions in Virginia, it is true, but it did not constitute Virginia a republic. Neither did the incorporation of the London Company, in 1612, with power to govern the Virginia colony without interference from the crown, except in matters touching the state, make the colony a republic. Indeed, the government of the colony by the London Company afterwards, was much more despotic than it had been under the first charter, when the company was controlled by the king; for then the council in Virginia had the privilege of choosing its own president, who was the governor. All this appears of necessity in Doctor Brown's book, for he could not entirely suppress the administrations of Gates, Dale, and Argall, nor the bitter complaints of the colonists as shown even in papers issued by the assembly. We have to look further north for the first republic in America." [8]

The fate of the London company found little sympathy; in the domestic government and franchises of the colony, it produced no immediate change. Sir Francis Wyatt, though he had been an ardent friend of the London Company, was confirmed in office (August 26th, 1624); and he and his council, far from being rendered absolute, were only empowered to govern "as fully and amplye as any governor and council resident there, at any time within the space of five years now last past." This term of five years was precisely the period of representative government; and the limitation could not but be interpreted as sanctioning the continuance of popular assemblies. James I, in appointing the council in Virginia, refused to nominate the imbittered partisans of the court faction, but formed the administration on the principles of accommodation. The vanity of the monarch claimed the opportunity of establishing for the colony a code of fundamental laws; but death (March 27th, 1625), prevented the royal legislator from attempting the task, which would have furnished his self-complacency so grateful an occupation.

POPULARITY OF YEARDLEY AND THE IMPEACHMENT OF HARVEY (1625–1634 A.D.)

Ascending the throne in his twenty-fifth year Charles I inherited the principles and was governed by the favourite of his father. The plantation, no longer governed by a chartered company, was become a royal province and an object of favour; and, as it enforced conformity to the Church of England, it could not be an object of suspicion to the clergy or the court. The king felt an earnest desire to heal old grievances, to secure the personal rights and property of the colonists, and to promote their prosperity. Franchises were neither conceded nor restricted; for it did not occur to his pride, that, at that time, there could be in an American province any thing like established privileges or vigorous political life; nor was he aware that the seeds of liberty were already germinating on the borders of the Chesapeake. His first Virginian measure was a proclamation on tobacco; confirming to Virginia and the Somers Isles [Bermudas] the exclusive supply of the British market, under

penalty of the censure of the Star Chamber for disobedience. In a few days, a new proclamation appeared, in which it was his evident design to secure the profits that might before have been engrossed by the corporation.

There is no room to suppose that Charles nourished the design of suppressing the colonial assemblies. For some months, the organisation of the government was not changed; and when Wyatt, on the death of his father, obtained leave to return to Scotland, Sir George Yeardley was appointed his successor. This appointment was in itself a guaranty that, as "the former interests of Virginia were to be kept inviolate," so the representative government, the chief political interest, would be maintained; for it was Yeardley who had had the glory of introducing the system. Representative liberty had become the custom of Virginia. The words were interpreted as favouring the wishes of the colonists; and King Charles, intent only on increasing his revenue, confirmed, perhaps unconsciously, the existence of a popular assembly. The colony prospered; Virginia rose rapidly in public estimation; in one year (1627), a thousand emigrants arrived; and there was an increasing demand for all the products of the soil.

The career of Yeardley was now closed by death, November 14th. Posterity will ever retain a grateful recollection of the man who first convened a representative assembly in the western hemisphere. The day after his burial, Francis West was elected his successor; for the council was authorised to elect the governor, "from time to time, as often as the case shall require."

But if any doubts existed of the royal assent to the continuance of colonial assemblies, they were soon removed by a letter of instructions, which the king addressed to the governor and council. After much caviling, in the style of a purchaser who undervalues the wares which he wishes to buy, the monarch arrives at his main purpose, and offers to contract for the whole crop of tobacco; desiring, at the same time, that an assembly might be convened to consider his proposal. This is the first recognition, on the part of a Stuart, of a representative assembly in America. Hitherto, the king had, fortunately for the colony, found no time to take order for its government. His zeal for an exclusive contract led him to observe and to sanction the existence of an elective legislature. The assembly, in its answer, March 26th, 1629, firmly protested against the monopoly, and rejected the conditions which they had been summoned to approve. The independent reply of the assembly was signed by the governor, by five members of the council, and by thirty-one burgesses. The Virginians, happier than the people of England, enjoyed a faithful representative government, and, through the resident planters who composed the council, they repeatedly elected their own governor. When West designed to embark for Europe, his place was supplied by election.

No sooner had the news of the death of Yeardley reached England, than the king proceeded to issue a commission to John Harvey. It was during the period which elapsed between the appointment of Harvey and his appearance in America that Lord Baltimore visited Virginia. The zeal of religious bigotry pursued him as a Romanist; and the intolerant jealousy of popery led to memorable results. Nor should we, in this connection, forget the hospitable plans of the southern planters; the people of New Plymouth were invited to abandon the cold and sterile clime of New England, and plant themselves in the milder regions on the Delaware Bay; a plain indication that Puritans were not then molested in Virginia.

It was probably in the autumn of 1629 that Harvey arrived in Virginia. Till October, the name of Pott appears as governor; Harvey met his first assembly of burgesses in the following March. He had for several years been

a member of the council; and as, at a former day, he had been a willing instrument in the hands of the faction to which Virginia ascribed its earliest griefs, and continued to bear a deep-rooted hostility, his appointment could not but be unpopular. Two successive chief magistrates had been elected in Virginia. The appointment of Harvey implied a change of power among political parties; it gave authority to a man whose connections in England were precisely those which the colony regarded with the utmost aversion. As his first appearance in America, in 1623, had been with no friendly designs, so now he was the support of those who desired large grants of land and unreasonable concessions of separate jurisdictions; and he preferred the interests of himself, his partisans and patrons, to the welfare and quiet of the colony. The extravagant language which exhibited him as a tyrant, without specifying his crimes, was the natural hyperbole of political excitement; and when historians, receiving the account, and interpreting tyranny to mean arbitrary taxation, drew the inference that he convened no assemblies, trifled with the rights of property, and levied taxes according to his caprice, they were betrayed into extravagant errors. Such a procedure would have been impossible. He had no soldiers at his command; no obsequious officers to enforce his will; and the Virginians would never have made themselves the instruments of their own oppression. The party opposed to Harvey was deficient neither in capacity nor in colonial influence; and while arbitrary power was rapidly advancing to triumph in England, the Virginians, during the whole period, enjoyed the benefit of independent colonial legislation; through the agency of their representatives, they levied and appropriated all taxes, secured the free industry of their citizens, guarded the forts with their own soldiers, at their own charge, and gave to the statutes their greatest possible publicity. When the defects and inconveniences of infant legislation were remedied by a revised code, which was published with the approbation of the governor and council, all the privileges which the assembly had ever claimed, were carefully confirmed. Indeed, they seem never to have been questioned.

But the whole colony of Virginia was in a state of excitement and alarm in consequence of the dismemberment of its territory by the cession to Lord Baltimore. In Maryland, the first occupants had refused to submit, and a skirmish had ensued, in which the blood of Europeans was shed for the first time on the waters of the Chesapeake, in 1635; and Clayborne [or Claiborne] defeated and banished from Maryland as a murderer and an outlaw, sheltered himself in Virginia, where he had long been a member of the council. There the contest was renewed; and Harvey, far from attempting to enforce the claims of Virginia against the royal grant, sent Clayborne to England to answer for the crimes with which he was charged. The colonists were indignant that their governor should thus, as it seemed to them, betray their interests; and as the majority of the council favoured their wishes, "Sir John Harvey was thrust out of his government and Captain John West appointed to the office, till the king's pleasure be known." An assembly was summoned in May, to receive complaints against Harvey; but he had in the meantime consented to go to England, and there meet his accusers.

The commissioners appointed by the council to manage the impeachment of Harvey, met with no favour in England, and were not even admitted to a hearing. Harvey immediately reappeared to occupy his former station, and remained in office till 1639. The complaints which have been brought against him, will be regarded with some degree of distrust, when it is considered, that the public mind of the colony, during his administration, was controlled by a party which pursued him with implacable hostility. At length he was super-

seded, and Sir Francis Wyatt appointed in his stead. Early in the next year he convened a general assembly.

GOVERNORSHIP OF BERKELEY

After two years, a commission was issued to Sir William Berkeley (August 9th, 1641). Historians, reasoning from the revolutions which took place in England that there had been corresponding attempts at oppression and corresponding resistance in Virginia, have delighted to draw a contrast, not only between Harvey and the new governor, but between the institutions of Virginia under their respective governments; and Berkeley is said by Chalmers[t] to have "restored the system of freedom," and to have "effected an essential revolution." We cannot find that his appointment was marked by the slightest concession of new political privileges, except that the council recovered the right of supplying its own vacancies; and the historians, who make an opposite statement, are wholly ignorant of the intermediate administration of Wyatt.

The instructions given Berkeley, far from granting franchises to the Virginians, imposed new, severe, and unwarrantable restrictions on the liberty of trade; and, for the first time, England claimed that monopoly of colonial commerce which was ultimately enforced by the Navigation Act of Charles II, and which never ceased to be a subject of dispute till the War of Independence.

It was in February, 1642, that Sir William Berkeley, arriving in the colony, assumed the government. His arrival must have been simultaneous with the adjournment of the general assembly, which was held in the preceding January. He found the American planters in possession of a large share of the legislative authority; and he confirmed them in the enjoyment of franchises which a long and uninterrupted succession had rendered familiar. Immediately after his arrival, he convened the colonial legislature. The utmost harmony prevailed; the memory of factions was lost in a general amnesty of ancient griefs.

Believing themselves secure of all their privileges, the triumph of the popular party in England did not alter the condition or the affections of the Virginians. The commissioners appointed by parliament, with unlimited authority over the plantations, found no favour in Virginia.

The condition of contending parties in England had now given to Virginia an opportunity of legislation independent of European control; and the voluntary act of the assembly, restraining religious liberty, adopted from hostility to political innovation, rather than from a spirit of fanaticism, or respect to instructions, proves conclusively the attachment of the representatives of Virginia to the Episcopal church and the cause of royalty. Yet there had been Puritans in the colony almost from the beginning: even the Brownists were freely offered a secure asylum; and several Puritan families, and perhaps some even of the Puritan clergy, emigrated to Virginia. They were so content with their reception that large numbers were preparing to follow, and were restrained only by the forethought of English intolerance. The Pilgrims at Plymouth were invited to remove within the jurisdiction of Virginia, in 1629. Puritan merchants planted themselves on the James river without fear, and immigrants from Massachusetts had established themselves in the colony, in 1640. But now the democratic revolution in England had given an immediate political importance to religious sects: to tolerate Puritanism was to nurse a republican party. It was, therefore, specially ordered that no minister should preach or teach, publicly or privately, except in conformity

to the constitutions of the Church of England, and non-conformists were banished from the colony. The unsocial spirit of political discord, fostering a mutual intolerance, prevented a frequent intercourse between Virginia and New England. It was in vain that the ministers, invited from Boston by the Puritan settlements in Virginia, carried letters from Winthrop, written to Berkeley and his council by order of the general court of Massachusetts. "The hearts of the people were much inflamed with desire after the ordinances"; but the missionaries were silenced by the government, and ordered to leave the country. Sir William Berkeley was "a courtier, and very malignant towards the way of the churches" in New England.

While Virginia thus displayed, though with comparatively little bitterness, the intolerance which for centuries had almost universally prevailed throughout the Christian world, a scene of distress was prepared by the vindictive ferocity of the natives, with whom a state of hostility had been of long continuance. In 1643 it was enacted by the assembly that no terms of peace should be entertained with the Indians; whom it was usual to distress by sudden marches against their settlements. But the Indians had now heard of the dissensions in England,[1] and taking counsel of their passions rather than of their prudence, they resolved on one more attempt at a general massacre; believing that, by midnight incursions, the destruction of the cattle and the fields of corn, they might succeed in famishing the remnant of the colonists whom they should not be able to murder by surprise. On the eighteenth day of April, 1644, the time appointed for the carnage, the unexpected onset was begun upon the frontier settlements. But hardly had the Indians steeped their hands in blood, before they were dismayed by the recollection of their own comparative weakness; and trembling for the consequences of their treachery, they feared to continue their design, and fled to a distance from the colony. The number of victims had been three hundred. Measures were promptly taken by the English for protection and defence: and a war was vigorously conducted.[c]

The Indians were presently driven from their fastnesses. Opechancanough decrepit and incapable of moving without assistance, described by a contemporary writer as "that bloody monster upon a hundred years old," was taken prisoner and carried to Jamestown, where he was shot in the back by a vindictive soldier appointed to guard him. The Indian towns were broken up, and their "clear land possessed by the English to sow wheat in." Opechancanough's successor submitted; and a peace was made by act of assembly, the Indians ceding all the lands between James and York rivers. No Indian was to come south of York river under pain of death. The Powhatan confederacy was dissolved. The Indians of lower Virginia sunk into servile dependence, and dwindled away, or, migrating to the south and west, were mingled and confounded with other tribes.[d]

Of the labours of the Indians on the soil of Virginia, there remains nothing so respectable as would be a common ditch for the draining of lands; the memorials of their former existence are found only in the names of the rivers and the mountains.

Thus the colony of Virginia acquired the management of all its concerns; war was levied, and peace concluded, and territory acquired, in conformity to the acts of the representatives of the people. Numbers increased; the cottages were filled with children, as the ports were with ships and emigrants.

[1 They were encouraged by signs of discord among the English, having seen a fight in James river between a London ship for the parliament and a Bristol ship for the king. — HILDRETH.[d]]

At Christmas, 1648, there were trading in Virginia ten ships from London, two from Bristol, twelve Hollanders, and seven from New England.

SYMPATHY FOR CHARLES I

The number of the colonists was already twenty thousand; and they, who had sustained no griefs, were not tempted to engage in the feuds by which the mother country was divided. They were attached to the cause of Charles, not because they loved monarchy, but because they cherished the liberties of which he had left them in the undisturbed possession; and, after his execution, in 1649, though there were not wanting some who, from ignorance, as the royalists affirmed, favoured republicanism, the government recognised his son without dispute. The disasters of the cavaliers in England strengthened the party in the New World. Men of consideration "among the nobility, gentry, and clergy," struck "with horror and despair" at the execution of Charles I, and desiring no reconciliation with the unrelenting "rebels," made their way to the shores of the Chesapeake, where every house was for them a "hostelry," and every planter a friend. The mansion and the purse of Berkeley were open to all; and at the hospitable dwellings that were scattered along the rivers and among the wilds of Virginia, the cavaliers, exiles like their monarch, met in frequent groups to recount their toils, to sigh over defeats, and to nourish loyalty and hope. The faithfulness of the Virginians did not escape the attention of the royal exile; from his retreat in Breda he transmitted to Berkeley a new commission; he still controlled the distribution of officers, and, amidst his defeats in Scotland, still remembered with favour the faithful cavaliers in the western world. Charles II, a fugitive from England, was still the sovereign of Virginia. "Virginia was whole for monarchy," said Hammond,[u] "and the last country, belonging to England, that submitted to obedience of the commonwealth."

But the parliament did not long permit its authority to be denied. Having by the vigorous energy and fearless enthusiasm of republicanism, triumphed over all its enemies in Europe, it turned its attention to the colonies; and a memorable ordinance, October 3rd, 1650, at once empowered the council of state to reduce the rebellious colonies to obedience, and, at the same time, established it as a law that foreign ships should not trade at any of the ports "in Barbadoes, Antigua, Bermudas, and Virginia." Maryland, which was not expressly included in the ordinance, had taken care to acknowledge the new order of things; and Massachusetts, alike unwilling to encounter the hostility of parliament, and jealous of the rights of independent legislation, by its own enactment prohibited all intercourse with Virginia, till the supremacy of the commonwealth should be established; although the order, when it was found to be injurious to commerce, was promptly repealed, even whilst royalty still triumphed at Jamestown. But would Virginia resist the fleet of the republic?

But while the preparations were yet making for the reduction of the colonies, which still preserved an appearance of loyalty, the commercial policy of England underwent an important revision, and the new system, as it was based upon the permanent interests of English merchants and ship-builders, obtained a consistency and durability which could never have been gained by the feeble selfishness of the Stuarts.

After the long-continued efforts which the enterprise of English merchants and the independent spirit of English planters had perseveringly defied, King Charles, on the appointment of Sir William Berkeley, had devised the

expedient which was destined to become so celebrated. No vessel, laden with colonial commodities, might sail from the harbours of Virginia for any ports but those of England, that the staple of those commodities might be made in the mother country; and all trade with foreign vessels, except in case of necessity, was forbidden. This system, which the instructions of Berkeley commanded him to introduce, was ultimately successful; for it sacrificed no rights but those of the colonists, while it identified the interests of the English merchant and the English government, and leagued them together for the oppression of those, who, for more than a century, were too feeble to offer effectual resistance.

The Long Parliament was more just; it attempted to secure to English shipping the whole carrying trade of the colonies, but with the free consent of the colonies themselves; offering an equivalent, which the legislatures in America were at liberty to reject. The memorable ordinance of 1650 was a war measure, and extended only to the colonies which had adhered to the Stuarts. All intercourse with them was forbidden, except to those who had a licence from parliament or the council of state. While, therefore, the Navigation Act secured to English ships the entire carrying trade with England, in connection with the ordinance of the preceding year, it conferred a monopoly of colonial commerce.

But this state of commercial law was essentially modified by the manner in which the authority of the English commonwealth was established in the Chesapeake. The republican leaders of Great Britain suffered the fever of party to subside, before decisive measures were adopted; and then two of the three commissioners, whom they appointed, were taken from among the planters themselves. The instructions given them were such as Virginians might carry into effect; for they constituted them the pacificators and benefactors of their country. In case of resistance, the cruelties of war were threatened. If Virginia would but adhere to the commonwealth, she might be the mistress of her own destiny.

VIRGINIA CAPITULATES TO THE COMMONWEALTH (1651 A.D.)

What opposition could be made to the parliament, which, in the moment of its power, voluntarily proposed a virtual independence? No sooner had the Guinea frigate anchored in the waters of the Chesapeake (March, 1652), than, said Lord Clarendon,[v] "all thoughts of resistance were laid aside," and the colonists, having no motive to contend for a monarch whose fortunes seemed irretrievable, were earnest only to assert the freedom of their own institutions. It marks the character of the Virginians that they refused to surrender to force, but yielded by a voluntary deed and a mutual compact. It was agreed, upon the surrender, that the "people of Virginia" should have all the liberties of the freeborn people of England; should entrust their business, as formerly, to their own grand assembly; should remain unquestioned for their past loyalty; and should have "as free trade as the people of England." No taxes, no customs, might be levied, except by their own representatives; no forts erected, no garrisons maintained, but by their own consent. In the settlement of the government, the utmost harmony prevailed between the burgesses and the commissioners: it was the governor and council only who had any apprehensions for their safety, and who scrupulously provided a guaranty for their security of persons and property, which there evidently had existed no design to injure.

These terms, so favourable to liberty, and almost conceding independence,

were faithfully observed till the restoration. Historians have, indeed, drawn gloomy pictures of the discontent which pervaded the colony, and have represented that discontent as heightened by commercial oppression. The statement is a fiction. The colony of Virginia enjoyed liberties as large as the favoured New England; displayed an equal degree of fondness for popular sovereignty, and fearlessly exercised political independence. There had long existed a republican party; and, now that monarchy had fallen, on whom could the royalists rely so safely as on themselves? The executive officers became elective; and so evident were the designs of all parties to promote an amicable settlement of the government, that Richard Bennett, himself a commissioner of the parliament, and, moreover, a merchant and a roundhead, was, on the recommendation of the other commissioners, unanimously chosen governor. Under the administration of Berkeley, Bennett had been driven from Virginia; and now not the slightest effort at revenge was attempted.

The act which constituted the government claimed for the assembly the privilege of defining the powers which were to belong to the governor and council; and the public good was declared to require "that the right of electing all officers of this colony should appertain to the burgesses," as to "the representatives of the people." Thus the house of burgesses acted as a convention of the people; exercising supreme authority, and distributing power as the public welfare required.

Nor was this an accidental and transient arrangement. Cromwell never made any appointments for Virginia; not one governor acted under his commission. When Bennett retired from office, the assembly itself elected his successor; and Edward Diggs, who had before been chosen of the council, and who, says Hening,[a] "had given a signal testimony of his fidelity to Virginia, and to the commonwealth of England," received the suffrages (March 31st, 1655). The commissioners in the colony were rather engaged in settling the affairs and adjusting the boundaries of Maryland, than in controlling the destinies of Virginia.

The right of electing the governor continued to be claimed by the representatives of the people, and "Samuel Matthews, an old planter, of nearly forty years' standing," who had been "a most deserving commonwealth's man, kept a good house, lived bravely, and was a true lover of Virginia," was next honoured with the office (1658). But the worthy old gentleman had too exalted ideas of his station. The governor and council, by message, declared the dissolution of the assembly. The legality of the dissolution was denied; and, after an oath of secrecy, every burgess was enjoined not to betray his trust by submission. Matthews yielded, reserving a right of appeal to the protector. When the house unanimously voted the governor's answer unsatisfactory, he expressly revoked the order of dissolution, but still referred the decision of the dispute to Cromwell. The members of the assembly, apprehensive of a limitation of colonial liberty by the reference of a political question to England, determined on a solemn assertion of their independent powers. A committee was appointed, of which John Carter, of Lancaster, was the chief; and a complete declaration of popular sovereignty was solemnly made. The governor and council had ordered the dissolution of the assembly; the burgesses now decreed the former election of governor and council to be void. Having thus exercised, not merely the right of election, but the more extraordinary right of removal, they re-elected Matthews. The governor submitted, and acknowledged the validity of his ejection by taking the new oath, which had just been prescribed. The council was organised anew; and the spirit of popular liberty established all its claims.

The death of Cromwell in 1658 made no change in the constitution of the colony. The message of the governor duly announced the event to the legislature. It has pleased some English historians to ascribe to Virginia a precipitate attachment to Charles II. On the present occasion, the burgesses deliberated in private, and unanimously resolved that Richard Cromwell should be acknowledged. But it was a more interesting question, whether the change of protector in England would endanger liberty in Virginia. The letter from the council had left the government to be administered according to former usage. The assembly declared itself satisfied with the language. But, that there might be no reason to question the existing usage, the governor was summoned to come to the house; where he appeared in person, deliberately acknowledged the supreme power of electing officers to be, by the present laws, resident in the assembly, and pledged himself to join in addressing the new protector for special confirmation of all existing privileges. The reason for this extraordinary proceeding is assigned "that what was their privilege now might be the privilege of their posterity." The frame of the Virginia government was deemed worthy of being transmitted to remote generations.

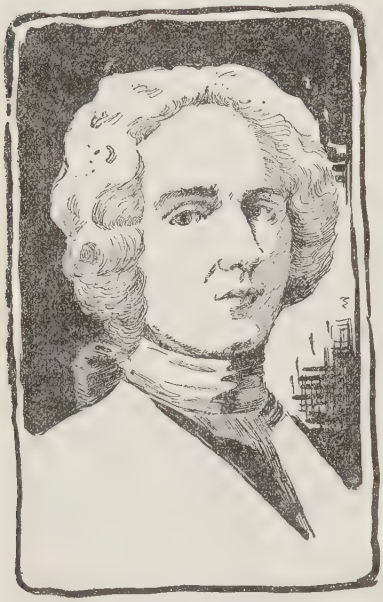
On the death of Matthews, March, 1660, the Virginians were without a chief magistrate, just at the time when the resignation of Richard had left England without a government. The burgesses, who were immediately convened, resolving to become the arbiters of the fate of the colony, enacted "that the supreme power of the government of this country shall be resident in the assembly; and all writs shall issue in its name, until there shall arrive from England a commission, which the assembly itself shall adjudge to be lawful." This being done, Sir William Berkeley was elected governor; and, acknowledging the validity of the acts of the burgesses, whom, it was expressly agreed, he could in no event dissolve, he accepted the office, and recognised, without a scruple, the authority to which he owed his elevation. "I am," said he, "but a servant of the assembly." Virginia did not lay claim to absolute independence, but, awaiting the settlement of affairs in England, hoped for the restoration of the Stuarts.

During the suspension of the royal government in England, Virginia attained unlimited liberty of commerce, which she regulated by independent laws. The ordinance of 1650 was rendered void by the Act of Capitulation; the Navigation Act of Cromwell was not designed for her oppression, and was not enforced within her borders. If an occasional confiscation took place, it was done by the authority of the colonial assembly. The war between England and Holland did not wholly interrupt the intercourse of the Dutch with the English colonies; and if, after the treaty of peace, the trade was considered contraband, the English restrictions were entirely disregarded. A remonstrance, addressed to Cromwell, demanded an unlimited liberty. Proposals of peace and commerce between New Netherlands and Virginia were discussed without scruple by the respective colonial governments; and at last in 1660 a special statute of Virginia extended to every Christian nation, in amity with England, a promise of liberty to trade and equal justice. At the restoration, Virginia enjoyed freedom of commerce with the whole world.

Religious liberty advanced under the influence of independent domestic legislation. No churches had been erected except in the heart of the colony; and there were so few ministers, that a bounty was offered for their importation. Conformity had, in the reign of Charles, been enforced by measures of disfranchisement and exile. By the people under the commonwealth, though they were attached to the church of their fathers, all things respecting parishes and parishioners were referred to their own ordering; and religious liberty

would have been perfect, but for an act of intolerance (March 1st, 1658) by which all Quakers were banished, and their return regarded as a felony.

Virginia was the first state in the world, composed of separate boroughs, diffused over an extensive surface, where the government was organised on the principle of universal suffrage. All freemen, without exception, were entitled to vote. An attempt was once made to limit the right to house-holders, in 1655; but the public voice reproved the restriction; the very next year, it was decided to be "hard, and unagreeable to reason, that any person shall pay equal taxes, and yet have no votes in elections"; and the electoral franchise was restored to all freemen. Servants, when the time of their bondage was completed, at once became electors, and might be chosen burgesses.



CECIL CALVERT
(LORD BALTIMORE)
(1605–1675)

Thus Virginia established upon her soil the supremacy of the popular branch, the freedom of trade, the independence of religious societies, the security from foreign taxation, and the universal elective franchise. If, in following years, she departed from either of these principles, and yielded a reluctant consent to change, it was from the influence of foreign authority. Virginia had herself, almost unconsciously, established a nearly independent democracy; and already preferred her own sons for places of authority. The country felt itself honoured by those who were "Virginians born"; and emigrants never again desired to live in England. Prosperity advanced with freedom; dreams of new staples and infinite wealth were indulged; while the population of Virginia, at the epoch of the restoration, may have been about thirty thousand. Many of the recent emigrants had been royalists in England, good officers in the war, men of education, of property, and of condition. The revolution had not subdued their characters; but the waters of the Atlantic divided them from the political strifes of Europe; their industry was employed in making the best advantage of their plantations; the interests and liberties of Virginia, the land which they adopted as their country, were dearer to them than the monarchical principles which they had espoused in England; and therefore no bitterness could exist between the firmest partisans of the Stuarts and the friends of republican liberty.[o]

THE COLONISATION OF MARYLAND

The whole territory of Maryland was included under the second charter of Virginia; but the dissolution of the London Company by James I, in 1624, restored to the crown the right to make a fresh grant; and this right was not considered to have been vitiated by the trading colony established on Kent Island, in the heart of the province, by William Clayborne, in 1631. The effective settlement of the province was destined to be made under the auspices

of the Calvert family. George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore, had early become interested in American colonisation. His first attempts were made on the inhospitable shores of Newfoundland; and he twice visited his settlement on that island, freely expending his fortune in planting, and risking his life in defending the colony against the attacks of the French, whose participation in the fishery rendered them jealous of the English settlers.

The project was at length abandoned, and Lord Baltimore, turning his attention towards a more fertile soil and a milder climate, visited Virginia, in 1629, with the intention of founding a settlement there. But he was a conscientious Catholic; and his attempts to gain a footing on the soil were resisted by the government tendering to him the oaths of allegiance and supremacy [which he refused]. Observing that the country north of the Potomac was still unappropriated, and learning that the French, the Dutch, and the Swedes were preparing to occupy it, he conceived the design of obtaining possession of this region, and colonising it himself, and easily prevailed with Charles I to bestow on him the investiture he desired.

Having thus obtained a grant of the country, he proceeded to settle it; and while he aimed at rendering his colony the asylum of civil liberty, he, at the same time, conceived the laudable design of raising here a shelter for the persecuted of every Christian denomination. He had hardly completed the construction of his charter, when death, April 15, 1632, terminated his honourable and useful career. His son, Cecil, inherited, with his father's title and fortune, his liberal views with respect to religious liberty, and his determination to plant the colony. In his name was completed and executed the charter, June 20th, 1632, which described the district assigned him as "that region bounded by a line drawn from Watkins' Point of Chesapeake Bay; thence to that part of the estuary of Delaware on the north which lies under the fortieth degree, where New England is terminated; thence in a right line by the degree aforesaid, to the meridian of the fountain of Potowmack; thence following its course by the farthest bank, to its confluence." [It thus included all of Delaware and a large portion of Pennsylvania.]

In honour of the queen, Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry IV of France, it received from the king its name of *Terra Mariae*, or Maryland; and in honour of her majesty's faith, more ample immunities were conferred on it than were possessed by any other of the colonies. Lord Baltimore was created the absolute proprietary,[1] save the allegiance due to the crown. He was empowered, with the consent of the freemen, to make laws for the province, and to execute the laws of assembly. With the agreement of the people, he might impose all just and proper subsidies; and, on the part of the king, it was covenanted that neither his majesty, nor his successors, should impose any taxes upon the colonists, their goods, or commodities. This exemption was to be perpetual with Maryland, while, to the other colonies, it was granted for a term of years only.

Thus was Maryland erected into a palatinate; the proprietary invested with all the royal rights of the palace; while the king exercised towards him the highest prerogatives of a feudal sovereign, holding the palatine and his domain in feudal tenure. For the population of the new colony, license was given to his majesty's subjects, without distinction of sect or party, to trans-

[1 Maryland was thus the first of the proprietary colonies, though Lord Baltimore did not sail thither he sent his two brothers, Leonard and George Calvert. Of these emigrants McSherry says: "all of them were Catholics and gentlemen of fortune and respectability, who desired, like himself and as had his father, to flee from the spirit of intolerance which pervaded England, and rear their altars of freedom in the wilderness." With the colonists were two Jesuit priests.]

port themselves thither; and in addition to the immunities already mentioned as being granted to them, they were declared to be liegemen of the king, and entitled to all the liberties of Englishmen born in the realm.

The first body of emigrants, under this charter, consisted of about two hundred English gentlemen, and a large number of inferior adherents, who sailed with Leonard Calvert, the first governor of the province, in November, 1633. Having taken the route by the West Indies, and spent some time in Barbadoes and St. Christopher; they landed probably on the present Blackstone's Island, then moved to the shores of St. Mary's river, about four leagues from its junction with the Potomac, on the 27th of March, 1634. Here Calvert erected a cross and took possession of the country, "for our Saviour, and for our sovereign lord, the king of England." Aware that the Virginians had given offence to the Indians, by possessing themselves of their lands, without offering any remuneration for them, or even obtaining their permission to occupy them, the governor wisely determined to procure their friendship, as the first step towards effecting a happy and successful settlement. He therefore submitted to a neighbouring chief his propositions for settling; but received from him an answer of sullen indifference: "I will not bid you go, neither will I bid you stay; but you may use your own discretion." Such was the address and courtesy of the governor, however, that not only was this sullen warrior subsequently won over to the interest of the colony, but he also persuaded the neighbouring tribes to preserve peace with the new comers. They procured, for a moderate price, a considerable tract of country, within the limits of which was the Indian town of Yoacomoco. To this town they gave the name of St. Marys, and here was established the capital of the colony. [Thus the method of William Penn was anticipated by half a century].

A guard-house and a store-house were erected, and corn was planted. A friendly visit was received from Sir John Harvey, the governor of Virginia, who appears not to have participated in the jealous feelings of his people towards the new colony. Several Indian chiefs from the interior came to pay their respects to the governor, and were sumptuously entertained on board a ship which lay at anchor in the river, the king of Patuxent being seated, at table, between the governor of Virginia and the governor of Maryland.

The store-house being finished, and it becoming necessary to unload the ship, and bring the stores for the colony on shore, the governor, to impress the natives with respect, ordered it to be done with some solemnity. The colours were brought on shore, and the colonists were all paraded under arms. Volleys of musketry were fired, which were answered by discharges of cannon on board the ship. The kings or *werowances* of Patuxent and Yoacomoco being present at this exhibition, the former took occasion to advise the Indians of Yoacomoco to keep the league which they had made with the English. He remained in town several days afterwards; and it is said that when he took his leave, he made this remarkable speech to the governor: "I love the English so well that if they should go about to kill me I would command the people not to revenge my death; for I know they would not do such a thing, except it were through my own fault." During the remainder of the year, while the English and the Indians lived together, in St. Marys, each community occupying half of the town, according to a stipulation made between them, the utmost harmony prevailed.

The natives testified their friendly disposition by going every day into the woods with their new neighbours, pointing out the best resorts of game, joining them in the chase, and bringing home venison and wild turkeys in abundance; well satisfied with a cheap requital in knives, tools, and toys. They also

supplied them with fish in plenty, and their women instructed the wives of the colonists in making bread of maize. As a certain mark of the entire confidence of the Indians, their women and children became, in some measure, domesticated in the English families.

The settlement was now making rapid progress. Fifty acres of land was assigned to every colonist, and their number being augmented by new emigrations, aided by the judicious administration of Baltimore, a dreary wilderness was soon converted into a flourishing colony. The fact that Maryland had been granted to the proprietor in opposition to the wishes of the Virginia Company, which claimed a priority of right, was a considerable evil to the colony, as it tended greatly to aid Clayborne in his designs against its prosperity. About a year prior to the date of Lord Baltimore's charter, that individual had obtained from the king license to trade in such parts of America as were not comprehended in any prior patent of exclusive trade. His object being to monopolise the trade of the Chesapeake, he founded a settlement on Kent Island; and being thus in the very centre of Maryland, he claimed jurisdiction over the whole colony: and although in every legal proceeding he was defeated, yet he persisted in asserting his claims, and continued to harass the province [with a small boat built "to cruise against the colonists," and captured after a small naval engagement in April, 1635] until banished from its limits by an act of assembly.

'Till this emergency, the colony had subsisted without enacting or realising its civil institutions; but the same emergency that now called forth the powers of government, tended also to develop its organisations. Accordingly, in February, 1635, was convened the first provincial assembly, consisting of the whole body of freemen. Various regulations were adopted for the preservation of good order, among which was a law for the punishment of murders and other felonies, providing that the perpetrators of such crimes should be transported to England, there to be tried by the law of the land. This was intended to pave the way for the judicial proceedings contemplated against Clayborne, who, being soon after indicted for murder, piracy, and sedition, escaped from justice; and, in consequence, his estate was confiscated. His petitions to the king proved unavailing; for, though he possessed considerable influence at court, yet the lords commissioners of the colony pronounced a final sentence against him: and his hopes of victory were exchanged for schemes of revenge.

The second assembly [a pure democracy] was convened in 1637, to consider the code of laws proposed by the proprietary; which, contrary to all expectation, they hesitated not a moment to reject, substituting in its place a collection of regulations highly creditable to their good sense; and such as evinced the state of the province at this period. The province was divided into baronies and manors,[1] the privileges of which were clearly defined. Bills were framed for securing the liberties of the people and the titles to landed property, and for regulating the course of intestate succession. A bill was passed for the support of the proprietary, and an act of attainder against Clayborne. The population had, by this time, so greatly increased that on the meeting of the third assembly, in 1639, a representative form of government was established, although it was provided that persons who did not vote for burgesses could take their seats as members of the assembly.

Slavery appears to have been established in Maryland from its earliest colonisation; for an act of assembly describes "the people" to consist of all

[1 "It was only in this regard that the design of transplanting the institutions of expiring feudalism to the New World was carried out."—WM. T. BRANTLY.*]

Christian inhabitants, "slaves only excepted."[1] The discontent with which the Virginians regarded the establishment of the new colony, was augmented by the contrast between the liberty and happiness enjoyed by the Marylanders, and the tyranny to which they themselves were exposed from the government of Harvey; so that, when their own liberties were restored, they regarded with aversion the revival of the patent, being sensible that their interest would be impaired by an event that should re-annex Maryland to their territory. The mutual animosities therefore ceased, and the new settlers henceforth received but little annoyance from this source. But troubles threatened from another quarter. Clayborne having infected the minds of the Indians with a jealous suspicion, which the rapid increase of the strangers augmented, an Indian war broke out, in 1642, and for several years afflicted the colony, without being brought to a decisive issue. Peace having been at length restored, the assembly enacted laws for the prevention of the more obvious causes of animosity; providing that no lands should be obtained from the Indians without the consent of the proprietary; that it should be a capital offence to sell or kidnap any friendly Indians, and a high misdemeanour to supply them with ardent spirits, ammunition, or firearms: by the observance of these laws a peace was established, which lasted without interruption for several years.

But scarcely was peace with this enemy concluded when Clayborne, the prime mover of all their troubles, was again at work; and by his constant adherence to the predominant party in England — whether royal or popular — together with the influence he possessed over his old associates in Kent Island, he succeeded in raising a rebellion in Maryland, in 1645. [It is known as Clayborne and Ingle's Rebellion from Richard Ingle who had received letters of marque from the parliament, and now arrived with a warship from London], Calvert, unprepared for this emergency, fled into Virginia, whereupon the government was immediately appropriated by the insurgents, who held sway until August of the next year, when the revolt was suppressed. By the assembly of 1649, an Act of Oblivion was passed which extended to all except a few of the prominent offenders; and by the same assembly an act of religious toleration was established.[y]

The "Act of Toleration" did, indeed, but carry out a policy coeval with the settlement of the colony, and lately confirmed by the oath imposed upon the governor. The first four sections of this celebrated act exhibit, however, but little of a tolerant spirit. Death, with forfeiture of land and goods, is denounced against all "who shall blaspheme God, that is, curse him, or shall deny our Saviour Jesus Christ to be the Son of God, or shall deny the Holy Trinity, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, or the Godhead of any of the said three persons of the Trinity, or the unity of the Godhead, or shall use or utter any reproachful speeches against the Holy Trinity." Strange as it may seem, this penalty of death remained for two hundred years, still darkening the statute book of Maryland! Fine, whipping, and banishment for the third offense are denounced against all "who shall utter any reproachful words or speeches concerning the blessed virgin Mary, or the holy apostles or evangelists." Fine, and, in defect of goods, whipping, and a public apology are to be the

[1 Up to the time of the Civil War the condition of the slave was the same in Maryland as in the other southern states. The first slaves imported into Maryland came from Bermuda (1634). The importation of the slave was encouraged, but there was too large an influx of the negro, and in 1695 a per capita tax was imposed on all slaves brought into the province. By the Treaty of Utrecht "Spain guaranteed to England the monopoly of supplying negro slaves from the Spanish-American provinces." Prior to the Revolution the negro population of Maryland was 20 per cent. that of the white. As far back as 1789 there was a strong anti-slavery sentiment in Maryland.—JAMES MCSHERRY.[w]]

[1649 A.D.]

punishment for calling any person within the colony, in a reproachful manner, "heretic, schismatic, idolater, Puritan, Presbyterian, Independent, popish priest, Jesuit, Jesuited papist, Lutheran, Calvinist, Anabaptist, Brownist, Antinomian, Barrowist, Roundhead, Separatist, or other name or term, in a reproachful manner, relating to matters of religion." Similar penalties are imposed for profaning "the Sabbath or Lord's day, called Sunday," by "any uncivil or disorderly recreation," or by work. After this incongruous preface, the fifth section sets out "that the enforcing the conscience in matters of religion hath frequently fallen out to be of dangerous consequence in those commonwealths where it hath been practised," and therefore enacts that, "for the more quiet and peaceable government of the province, and the better to preserve mutual love and unity," no person professing to believe in Jesus Christ shall be molested or discountenanced on account of his religion, nor interrupted in the free exercise of it; breaches of this section to be punished by fine and imprisonment.

Policy, it is evident, had a much greater share in the enactment of this act than any enlightened view of the rights of opinion, of which, indeed, it evinces but a very limited and confused idea. Now that the Puritans were triumphant in England, an exclusively Catholic colony would not have been tolerated for a moment. The sole chance of securing to the Catholics the quiet enjoyment of their faith consisted in bestowing a like liberty on the Protestants — a policy, indeed, upon which Baltimore had found it necessary to act from the very first planting of the colony.[d]

McSherry notes also a limitation on the principle of toleration with regard to the Jews: "Although Maryland was the original home of religious liberty in America, yet until the year 1826 no Jew was allowed to hold any office, civil or military, under the state government. The history of the agitation for the enfranchisement of the Jews is an interesting record of the struggle for a right which to-day is so manifest that it is difficult to appreciate the grounds for its denial at the time. In fact, the basis of such denial was prejudice. Finally, at the end of the session of 1824, a bill to alter the constitution so as to afford relief to persons from political disqualification on account of their religious opinions again passed the assembly. The bill was ratified by the assembly of 1825, and by it the Jews attained the status of free men in Maryland." [w]

None the less the very idea of toleration was so rare that the attitude in Maryland, even if incomplete, has won the highest praise of historians, among whom Bancroft is especially enthusiastic.[a]

GEORGE BANCROFT ON THE CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTIES OF MARYLAND

George Calvert the first Lord Baltimore deserves to be ranked among the most wise and benevolent lawgivers of all ages. He was the first in the history of the Christian world to seek for religious security and peace by the practice of justice, and not by the exercise of power; to plan the establishment of popular institutions with the enjoyment of liberty of conscience; to advance the career of civilisation by recognising the rightful equality of all Christian sects. The asylum of papists was the spot, where, in a remote corner of the world, on the banks of rivers which, as yet, had hardly been explored, the mild forbearance of a proprietary adopted religious freedom as the basis of the state.

Before the patent could be finally adjusted and pass the great seal, Sir George Calvert died, in 1632, leaving a name against which the breath of calumny has hardly whispered a reproach. The people of Maryland were not

content with vindicating the limits of their province; they were jealous of their liberties. The charter had secured to them the right of advising and approving in legislation. Did Lord Baltimore alone possess the right of originating laws? The people of Maryland rejected the code which the proprietary, as if holding the exclusive privilege of proposing statutes, had prepared for their government; and, asserting their equal rights of legislation, they, in turn, enacted a body of laws, which they proposed for the assent of the proprietary — so uniformly active in America was the spirit of popular liberty. How discreetly it was exercised cannot now be known; for the laws, which were then enacted, were never ratified, and are therefore not to be found in the provincial records.

In the early history of the United States nothing is more remarkable than the uniform attachment of each colony to its franchises; and popular assemblies burst everywhere into life with a consciousness of their importance, and an immediate capacity for efficient legislation. The first assembly of Maryland had vindicated the jurisdiction of the colony; the second had asserted its claims to original legislation; the third examined its obligations, and, though not all its acts were carried through the forms essential to their validity, it yet displayed the spirit of the people and the times by framing a declaration of rights. Acknowledging the duty of allegiance to the English monarch, and securing to Lord Baltimore his prerogatives, it likewise confirmed to the inhabitants of Maryland all the liberties which an Englishman can enjoy at home; established a system of representative government; and asserted for the general assemblies in the province all such powers as may be exercised by the commons of England. Indeed, throughout the whole colonial legislation of Maryland, the body representing the people, in its support of the interests and civil liberties of the province, was never guilty of timidity or treachery.

It is strange that religious bigotry could ever stain the statute-book of a colony founded on the basis of the freedom of conscience. An apprehension of some remote danger of persecution seems even then to have hovered over the minds of the Roman Catholics; and, at the session of 1639, they secured to their church its rights and liberties. Those rights and those liberties, it is plain from the charter, could be no more than the tranquil exercise of the Roman worship. The constitution had not yet attained a fixed form; thus far it had been a species of democracy under a hereditary patriarch. The act constituting the assembly marks the transition to a representative government. At this session any freeman, who had taken no part in the election, might attend in person; henceforward, the governor might summon his friends by special writ; while the people were to choose as many delegates as "the freemen should think good." As yet there was no jealousy of power, no strife for place. While these laws prepared a frame of government for future generations, we are reminded of the feebleness and poverty of the state, where the whole people were obliged to contribute to "the setting up of a watermill."

Maryland, at that day, was unsurpassed for happiness and liberty. Conscience was without restraint; a mild and liberal proprietary conceded every measure which the welfare of the colony required; domestic union, a happy concert between all the branches of government, an increasing immigration, a productive commerce, a fertile soil, richly favoured with rivers and deep bays, united to perfect the scene of colonial felicity and contentment. Ever intent on advancing the interests of his colony, Lord Baltimore, in 1642, had invited the Puritans of Massachusetts to emigrate to Maryland, offering them lands and privileges, and "free liberty of religion"; but Gibbons, to whom he had forwarded a commission, was "so wholly tutored in the New England disci-

[1649 A.D.]
pline" that he would not advance the wishes of the Irish peer; and the people who subsequently refused Jamaica and Ireland were not now tempted to desert the bay of Massachusetts for the Chesapeake.

The controversy between the king and the parliament advanced; the overthrow of the monarchy seemed about to confer unlimited power in England upon the imbittered enemies of the Romish church; and, as if with a foresight of impending danger, and an earnest desire to stay its approach, the Roman Catholics of Maryland, with the earnest concurrence of their governor and of the proprietary, determined to place upon their statue-book an act for the religious freedom which had ever been sacred on their soil. "And whereas the enforcing of the conscience in matters of religion" — such was the sublime tenor of a part of the statute — "hath frequently fallen out to be of dangerous consequence in those commonwealths where it has been practised, and for the more quiet and peaceable government of this province, and the better to preserve mutual love and amity among the inhabitants, no person within this province, professing to believe in Jesus Christ, shall be any ways troubled, molested, or discountenanced, for his or her religion, or in the free exercise thereof." The clause for liberty in Maryland extended only to Christians and was introduced by the proviso, that "whatsoever person shall blaspheme God, or shall deny or reproach the Holy Trinity, or any of the three persons thereof, shall be punished with death." Nowhere in the United States is religious opinion now deemed a proper subject for penal enactments.

The design of the law of Maryland was undoubtedly to protect freedom of conscience; and, some years after it had been confirmed, Langford the apologist of Lord Baltimore, could assert that his government, in conformity with his strict and repeated injunctions, had never given disturbance to any person in Maryland for matter of religion; that the Catholics enjoyed freedom of conscience, not less than freedom of person and estate, as amply as ever any people in any place of the world. The disfranchised friends of prelacy from Massachusetts, and the Puritans from Virginia, were welcomed to equal liberty of conscience and political rights in the Roman Catholic province of Maryland.

An equal union prevailed between all branches of the government in explaining and confirming the civil liberties of the colony. In 1642 Robert Vaughan, in the name of the rest of the burgesses, had desired that the house might be separated, and thus a negative secured to the representatives of the people. Before 1649 this change had taken place; and it was confirmed by a statute. A perpetual act declared that no tax should be levied upon the freemen of the province, except by the vote of their deputies in a general assembly. "The strength of the proprietary" was confidently reposed "in the affections of his people." Well might the freemen of Maryland place upon their records a declaration of their gratitude, "as a memorial to all posterities," and a pledge that succeeding generations would faithfully "remember" the care and industry of Lord Baltimore in advancing "the peace and happiness of the colony."

MARYLAND UNDER THE LONG PARLIAMENT AND THE COMMONWEALTH

The revolutions in England could not but affect the destinies of the colonies; and while New England and Virginia vigorously advanced their liberties under the salutary neglect, Maryland was involved in the miseries of a disputed government. The government, which had been a government of benevolence, good order, and toleration, was, by the force of circumstances, soon abandoned to the misrule of bigotry and the anarchy of a disputed sovereignty. When

the throne and the peerage had been subverted in England, it might be questioned whether the mimic monarchy of Lord Baltimore should be permitted to continue. When hereditary power had ceased in the mother country, might it properly exist in the colony? It seemed uncertain, if the proprietary could maintain his position; and the scrupulous Puritans hesitated to take an unqualified oath of fealty, with which they might be unable to comply. Englishmen were no longer lieges of a sovereign, but members of a commonwealth; and, but for the claims of Baltimore, Maryland would equally enjoy the benefits of republican liberty. Great as was the temptation to assert independence, it would not have prevailed could the peace of the province have been maintained. But who, it might well be asked, was the sovereign of Maryland? Her "beauty and extraordinary goodness" had been to her a fatal dowry; and Maryland was claimed by four separate aspirants. Virginia was ever ready to revive its rights to jurisdiction beyond the Potomac, and Clayborne had already excited attention by his persevering opposition; Charles II, incensed against Lord Baltimore for his adhesion to the rebels [1] and his toleration of schismatics, had issued a commission to Sir William Davenant; Stone was the active deputy of Lord Baltimore; and parliament had already appointed its commissioners.

In the ordinance for the reduction of the rebellious colonies, Maryland had not been included; if Charles II had been inconsiderately proclaimed by a temporary officer, the offence had been expiated; and, as assurances had been given of the fidelity of Stone to the commonwealth, no measures against his authority were designed. Yet the commissioners were instructed, September, 1651, to reduce "all the plantations within the bay of the Chesapeake"; and it must be allowed that Clayborne might find in the ambiguous phrase, intended, perhaps, to include only the settlements of Virginia, a sufficient warrant to stretch his authority to Maryland. The commissioners accordingly entered the province; and, after much altercation with Stone, depriving him of his commission from Lord Baltimore, and changing the officers of the province, they at last established a compromise, June, 1652. Stone, with three of his council, was permitted to retain the executive power till further instructions should arrive from England.

The dissolution of the Long Parliament, April, 1653, threatened a change in the political condition of Maryland; for, it was argued, the only authority under which Bennett and Clayborne had acted had expired with the body from which it was derived. In consequence, Stone, Hatton and his friends reinstated the rights of Lord Baltimore in their integrity; displacing all officers of the contrary party, they introduced the old council, and declared the condition of the colony, as settled by Bennett and Clayborne, to have been a state of rebellion. A railing proclamation to that effect was published to the Puritans in their church meeting.

The measures were rash and ill advised. No sooner did Clayborne and his colleague learn of the new revolution, than they hastened to Maryland, in

[1 When Leonard Calvert died, June 9th, 1647, he had named on his deathbed, a Catholic named Thomas Greene, as his successor. Greene issued an amnesty to all rebels except Ingle. The assembly of January, 1648, is notable for the first demand for woman's rights. Miss Margaret Brent, administratrix for the late Governor Calvert and thereby attorney for Lord Baltimore, asked for a vote in the assembly as attorney for the proprietary, and for another vote for herself. The assembly refused her demand but later defended her administration when Lord Baltimore called it into question. Baltimore tried to conciliate both Puritans and Catholics and in August, 1648, supplanted Greene by William Stone, a Protestant, a Virginian and an adherent of parliament; new councillors were appointed from Protestant ranks but required to take an oath not to molest the Catholics.]

July, 1654; where it was immediately obvious that they could be met by no effectual resistance. Unable to persuade Stone, "in a peaceable and loving way," to abandon the claims of Lord Baltimore, they yet compelled him to surrender his commission and the government into their hands. This being done, Clayborne and Bennett appointed a board of ten commissioners, to whom the administration of Maryland was entrusted.

Intolerance followed upon this arrangement; for parties had necessarily become identified with religious sects; and Maryland itself was the prize contended for. The Puritans, ever the friends of popular liberty, hostile to monarchy, and equally so to a hereditary proprietary, contended earnestly for every civil liberty; but had neither the gratitude to respect the rights of the government, by which they had been received and fostered, nor magnanimity to continue the toleration, to which alone they were indebted for their residence in the colony. A new assembly, convened at Patuxent, in October, acknowledged the authority of Cromwell; but it also exasperated the whole Roman party by their wanton disfranchisement. An act concerning religion confirmed the freedom of conscience, provided the liberty were not extended to "popery, prelacy, or licentiousness" of opinion. Yet Cromwell, a friend to religious toleration, and willing that the different sects, "like the cedar, and the myrtle, and the oil-tree, should be planted in the wilderness together," never approved the ungrateful decree. He commanded the commissioners "not to busy themselves about religion, but to settle the civil government."

When the proprietary heard of these proceedings, he felt indignant at the want of firmness which his lieutenant had displayed. The pretended assembly was esteemed "illegal, mutinous and usurped"; and Lord Baltimore and his officers determined, under the powers which the charter conferred, to vindicate his supremacy. In the latter end of January, 1655, on the arrival of a friendly ship, it was immediately noised abroad that his patent had been confirmed by the protector; and orders began again to be issued for the entire restoration of his authority. Papists and others were commissioned by Stone to raise men-in-arms; and the leaders of this new revolution were able to surprise and get possession of the provincial records. They marched, also, from Patuxent towards Anne Arundel, the chief seat of the republicans, who insisted on naming it Providence. The inhabitants of Providence and their partisans gathered together with the zeal that belongs to the popular party and with the courage in which Puritans were never deficient. Vain were proclamations, promises, and threats. The party of Stone was attacked and utterly discomfited; he himself, with others, was taken, and would have been put to death but for the respect and affection borne him by some among the insurgents whom he had formerly welcomed to Maryland. He was kept a prisoner during most of the administration of Cromwell; while four of the principal men of the province sentenced to death by a council of war, were presently executed.

A friend to Lord Baltimore, then in the province, begged of the protector no other boon than that he would "condescend to settle the country by declaring his determinate will." And yet the same causes which led Cromwell to neglect the internal concerns of Virginia compelled him to pay but little attention to the disturbances in Maryland. On the one hand, he respected the rights of property of Lord Baltimore; on the other, he protected his own political partisans, corresponded with his commissioners, and expressed no displeasure at their exercise of power. The right to the jurisdiction of Maryland remained, therefore, a disputed question. Fuller, Preston, and the others, appointed by Clayborne, actually possessed authority; while Lord Baltimore,

with the apparent sanction of the protector, July 10th, 1656, commissioned Josias Fendall to appear as his lieutenant.

For a season there was a divided rule; Fendall was acknowledged by the Catholic party in the city of St. Marys; and the commissioners were sustained by the Puritans of St. Leonards. At length, the conditions of a compromise were settled; and the government of the whole province was surrendered to the agent of the proprietary, March 24, 1658. Permission to retain arms; an indemnity for arrears; relief from the oath of fealty; and a confirmation of the acts and orders of the recent Puritan assemblies — these were the terms of the surrender, and prove the influence of the Puritans.

Fendall was a weak and impetuous man; but we cannot find any evidence that his administration was stained by injustice. Most of the statutes enacted during his government were thought worthy of being perpetuated. The death of Cromwell left the condition of England uncertain, and might well diffuse a gloom through the counties of Maryland. For ten years the unhappy province had been distracted by dissensions, of which the root had consisted in the claims that Baltimore had always asserted, and had never been able to establish. What should now be done? England was in a less settled condition than ever. Would the son of Cromwell permanently hold the place of his father? Would Charles II be restored? Did new revolutions await the colony? new strifes with Virginia, the protector, the proprietary, the king?

Wearied with long convulsions, a general assembly saw no security but in asserting the power of the people, and constituting the government on the expression of their will. Accordingly, March 12th, 1660, just one day before that memorable session of Virginia, when the people of the Ancient Dominion adopted a similar system of independent legislation, the representatives of Maryland, convened in the house of Robert Slye, voted themselves a lawful assembly, without dependence on any other power in the province. The burgesses of Virginia had assumed to themselves the election of the council; the burgesses of Maryland refused to acknowledge the rights of the body claiming to be an upper house. In Virginia, Berkeley yielded to the public will; in Maryland, Fendall permitted the power of the people to be proclaimed. The representatives of Maryland, having thus successfully settled the government, and hoping for tranquility after years of storms, passed an act, making it felony to disturb the order which they had established. No authority would henceforward be recognised, except the assembly and the king of England. The light of peace promised to dawn upon the province. Thus was Maryland, like Virginia, at the epoch of the restoration, in full possession of liberty, based upon the practical assertion of the sovereignty of the people. Like Virginia, it had so nearly completed its institutions that, till the epoch of its final separation from England, it hardly made any further advances towards freedom and independence. Men love liberty, even if it be turbulent; and the colony had increased, and flourished, and grown rich, in spite of domestic dissensions. Its population, in 1660, is variously estimated by Fuller[z] at eight thousand, and by Chalmers[t] at twelve thousand.[o]





CHAPTER VI

THE FOUNDING OF NEW ENGLAND

[1607–1635 A.D.]

That group of liberal English statesmen who were charged with keeping "a school of sedition" in the courts of the Virginia Company founded the two centres of liberal institutions in America. The earl of Southampton, the Ferrars, Sir John Danvers, and above all and more than all, Sir Edwin Sandys, were the fathers of representative government in New England by the charter of February 2nd, 1620, as they had been of representative government in Virginia by the charter of November 13th, 1618. When the Pilgrims found themselves, upon landing, too far north to use their "large patent" from the Virginia Company, they organised a government on the lines laid down in the general order of the company. The government established by them in their famous compact was precisely the provisional government which the Virginia Company in the preceding February had given them liberty to found "till a form of government be here settled for them."—EDWARD EGGLESTON. [b]

EARLY FAILURES IN COLONISATION: THE PLYMOUTH COMPANY

WE have seen in previous chapters the earlier views of New England by European eyes, from the Norse who may have described it in their sagas of Vinland, down to Gosnold who on May 15th, 1602, found a "mighty headland" which he named after its principal neighbours "Cape Cod," a name which, says Cotton Mather,[c] "I suppose it will never lose till shoals of codfish be seen swimming upon the tops of its highest hills." Here they landed and the first soil touched upon in Massachusetts by an Englishman became also the spot where the Mayflower landed the first permanent English colony in the state.

Pring's voyage followed the next year, but effected nothing permanent; nor did that of Weymouth in 1605. We have seen the formation of the two

companies (or as Thwaites[d] insists, the single company in two divisions) known as the London or South Virginia company, and the Plymouth or North Virginia company. They were given an identical charter by King James I in 1606 to colonise that vast and shapeless land claimed by England under the style and title of Virginia.[a]

The Northern District was allotted to Thomas Hanham, Raleigh Gilbert, William Parker, George Popham, and their associates, knights, gentlemen, and merchants, of Exeter, Plymouth, and other towns of the west of England, with similar privileges, and a like grant of territorial sovereignty and domain. The First Company, by far the most opulent, was permitted to begin its plantation at any place below the forty-first degree of North latitude; and the Second Company, which was much the poorer of the two, anywhere above the thirty-eighth degree: and the intermediate space was left open to both, though to prevent interference it was stipulated that the colony last planted should not begin a settlement within one hundred miles of that first planted.

The government of these colonies was vested (1) in a council of thirteen, resident in England, approved by and removable at the pleasure of the king, who were to have paramount jurisdiction according to laws given under his sign-manual; and (2) in two subordinate councils, each of thirteen members, resident in America, and nominated by the king, who were to rule and manage the internal affairs of each colony agreeably to his instructions. The charter conceded to all the colonists the rights of citizens of the realm, and the privilege of holding their lands by the freest and least burdensome tenure; all things necessary for their subsistence and commerce were to be free of duty for seven years; and all duties levied on foreign commodities for twenty-one years were to constitute a fund for their particular benefit. Authority was also given to coin money, and expel intruders as occasion required.

We have given at length an abstract of this charter, because of its bearings upon the history of New England. That it was liberal for the age may possibly be true; yet its provisions were the product of but a limited experience, and the instrument itself contained exceptionable features, for by it, as Chalmers[e] says, "the most ancient colonists were placed under the regimen of a three-fold jurisdiction; they were subject equally to the personal power of their sovereign, to the distant regulations of a commercial company, and to the immediate government of a president and council, without tasting the pleasures of suffrage, or enjoying the importance of self-legislation."

Under all the circumstances, however, the charter was as good as could have been reasonably expected. The enterprise was a new one. England had but just entered upon her career of deducing colonies abroad. The few abortive efforts of the past had done little to enlighten her judgment. And it needed that she should be taught by the results of her future movements the defectiveness of her policy, and wherein it needed amendment for her own good, and the good of her several dependencies. These lessons were slowly learned; all favours were grudgingly conceded; and the conflict of interests was at last so intolerable that not only were the colonists compelled to overstep the boundaries of their charters, but the monarch was compelled to wink at such irregularities, or run the risk of alienating his subjects and destroying the settlements.

Eight months from the issue of this patent and one hundred and nine years after the discovery of the continent by Cabot, *i.e.*, on December 19th, 1606, a small squadron of three ships — the largest not exceeding one hundred tons burden — was sent by the London Company, under Captain Newport, a distinguished naval officer, with one hundred and five colonists, including

the members of a colonial council, to the coast of South Virginia; and in the following spring, after many obstacles encountered, and amidst jealousies and dissensions, a settlement was effected, as we have seen, upon the peninsula of Jamestown, of which but the ruins at present remain.

Nearly at the same time a similar enterprise was projected by the Plymouth Company, under more discouraging circumstances, owing to its poverty, and on May 31st, 1607, two ships — the *Gift of God* and the *Mary and John* — with a few over a hundred landsmen, were despatched under Raleigh Gilbert, a nephew of Sir Walter Raleigh, and George Popham, the brother of the chief justice; but the result was the unfortunate colony at Sagadahoc.[1] The fate of this attempt, with the doleful reports of the inhospitableness of the climate circulated by the emigrants to cover their cowardice checked for a season the ardour of the company; though Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and Sir Francis Popham, the son of the chief justice — the former of whom was never dismayed — continued sending vessels to the coast, and spent large sums in efforts at colonisation.

Meanwhile, under the auspices of the Dutch, discoveries were made by Henry Hudson, Hendrick Christiaensen, Adrian Block, and others, at the charge of prominent merchants of Amsterdam, who derived great profits from the furs brought home by the vessels in their employ. Explorations were vigorously prosecuted around "Manhattan" by Block, in the *Restless;* and the discovery of the island which bears his name, and the three famous rivers, the Housatonic, the Thames, and the Connecticut, with Long Island and Rhode Island are said to have been the fruits of his energetic enterprise. Even the shores of Massachusetts as far as Nahant were visited by this navigator, and names were given to places discovered by Gosnold and others. It should be noticed that the territory embraced in the Dutch charter of 1614 was claimed by England, and was included in the patent to the Virginia Company; the settlements of the Dutch were ever regarded as intrusions; the controversies growing out of these claims disturbed for a long time the peace of the colonies; nor were they permanently adjusted until after the reduction of New Netherlands in 1664.

JOHN SMITH'S EXPLORATIONS (1614 A.D.)

A new era in the annals of New England begins with the voyages of Captain John Smith, president of the colonial council of South Virginia. Furnished, principally at the charge of four private gentlemen, with an outfit of two vessels and a company of forty-nine men and boys, he sailed from London March 3rd, 1614, and in a few weeks arrived at Monhegan, where he immediately entered upon the chief business of his voyage: "to take whales, and make trials of a mine of gold and copper." But "whale fishing" proved a "costly conclusion"; the "gold mine" was a chimera of the brain of "the master"; and fish and furs became the last resort. "Of dry fish," says Smith, "we made about forty-thousand, of codfish about seven thousand";[2] whilst the sailors fished, Captain Smith and a few others ranged the coast in an open boat, in the most attractive season of the year, making noted discoveries, and purchasing, "for trifles, near eleven hundred beaver skins,[3] one

[1 This was at the mouth of the Kennebec river, which Weymouth had explored in 1605, not far from Pemaquid peninsula. Popham built a fort and a "town" at Sabino, but both were abandoned after his death.]

[2 In his *Pathway* he says 60,000; but in his *Generall Historie* and his *Description of New England* he says 40,000.

[3 It is 11,000 in the *Generall Historie*, and 1,100 in the other works.

hundred martens, and near as many otters" — valued in all at £1,500. "With these furs, the train, and codfish," he returned to England, and within six months "arrived safe back" — the other ship remaining for a season to "fit herself for Spain with the dry fish."

In this remarkable voyage the coast was explored "from Penobscot to Cape Cod," within which bounds, he says, "I have seen at least forty several habitations upon the sea coast, and sounded about twenty-five excellent good harbours, in many whereof there is anchorage for five hundred sails of ships of any burden, in some of them for five thousand;[1] and more than two hundred[2] isles overgrown with good timber of divers sorts of woods." Of the coast of Massachusetts he says: "Who can but approve this a most excellent place, both for health and fertility? And of all the four parts of the world that I have yet seen, not inhabited, could I but have means to transport a colony, I would rather live here than anywhere. And if it did not maintain itself, were we but once indifferently well fitted, let us starve." Indeed, the Massachusetts country, to him, was "the paradise of all those parts."

But though Smith acted honourably as principal of this expedition, his companion Hunt, whom he left behind, vilely copied the example of Weymouth, and enticing to his vessel upwards of twenty of the natives under pretence of trade, he confined them in the hold, and sailed for Malaga, where part of them, at least, were sold as slaves. "This barbarous act," says Mather,[c] "was the unhappy occasion of the loss of many a man's estate and life, which the barbarians did from thence seek to destroy; and the English, in consequence of this treachery, were constrained for a time to suspend their trade, and abandon their project of a settlement in New England."

The prosperous pecuniary issue of the first voyage of Smith awakened in his mind an earnest desire to visit again the delightful regions which his pen has described; and imparting his views to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, a man of kindred enthusiasm, and to Doctor Sutcliffe, dean of Exeter, he was, after some delay, furnished with two ships, with which he set out on his second voyage (March, 1615); but, as if an inexorable fate relentlessly pursued the persevering Gorges, the largest ship was disabled ere Smith had sailed two hundred leagues, and he was forced to return. The smaller vessel, commanded by Captain Thomas Dermer, after a successful voyage of five months, returned in safety. The dauntless Smith, gathering fresh courage from the consciousness of difficulties, renewed his attempt (June 24th, 1615); but misfortune followed misfortune, until it seemed as if everything was arrayed to defeat his plans. He was first attacked by brutal pirates; then taken prisoner by four French men-of-war, stripped of everything, and detained three months, when he succeeded in escaping "far beyond all men's reason or his expectation."

Forced by these reverses, and by the discouragement of his employers, to relinquish for a time his plans of colonisation, the restless spirit of this resolute man could not be content to remain inactive; and publishing to the world his *Description of New England* in 1616, he traversed the kingdom to awaken an interest in establishing permanent settlements in these parts. But the only result of his earnest labours was a promise that "twenty saile of ships" should be furnished him the next year; and "in regard of my paines, charge, and former losses, the westerne commissioners in behalf of themselues and the rest of the company, and them hereafter that should be ioyned to them,

[1] It is 5,000 in the *Description of New England*, but 1,000 in his other works.

[2] It is 200 in the *Generall Historie* and the *Description of New England*, and 300 in the *Pathway*.

contracted with me by articles indented vnder our hands, to be admirall of that country during my life, and in the renewing of their letters-patent so to be nominated." [1]

DERMER'S VOYAGE (1619 A.D.)

Contemporary events, however, unlooked for by the Plymouth Council, were preparing New England for successful colonisation. First of all a war broke out among the aborigines, which resulted in the destruction of thousands of the Indians, with the Great Bashaba at their head; and to war succeeded pestilence which completed the work of depopulation. This singular disease, says Gorges, *i* "the greatest that ever the memory of father to son took notice of," spread far and wide, and was exceedingly fatal. It raged, at intervals, for more than two years, and extended, in its wasting effects, from the borders of the Tarratines southward to the Narragansetts. The people "died in heaps, insomuch that the living were in no wise able to bury the dead"; the wigwams were filled with putrefying corpses; "young men and children, the very seeds of increase," and whole families and tribes perished; and even seven years after the bones of the unburied lay bleaching upon the ground at and around their former habitations.

The nature of this epidemic has never been determined. It has been called the "small pox," and the "yellow fever." But whatever was its character, all were not equally affected by its ravages, for the Penobscots and the Narragansetts suffered but little. Nor does it seem to have troubled the few English residents of the country.

Learning that Captain Dermer, the companion of Smith in the voyage of 1615, was then at Newfoundland, through the persuasion of Gorges Captain Edward Rocroft was sent to those parts in 1618 in a vessel of two hundred tons, with orders to join Dermer in exploring the coasts of New England. His men conspired to rob and slay him; but putting the mutineers ashore at "Sawaguatock," he sailed to Virginia, where he had lived some years before, and in another quarrel he was killed, and his bark was sunk during a storm. Dermer, learning his fate by a ship from Virginia, sent his own vessel to England, laden with fish and furs, and embarked in an open pinnace of five tons (May 26th, 1619), taking with him Tisquantum or Squanto — the subsequent friend and interpreter of the Pilgrims — and "searching every harbour, and compassing every cape-land," he arrived at length in the neighbourhood of what is now Plymouth. Returning to the northward the ensuing spring for the prosecution of his discoveries, in the vicinity of Cape Cod he was beset by the natives, and received a large number of wounds of which he subsequently died. This journey of 1619, as preceding by a year the settlement of Plymouth, and as taken in the territory so often alluded to by the Pilgrims is exceedingly interesting. It was an important addition to the knowledge of the country, and prepared the way, by its friendly termination, for the hospitable reception of the Plymouth colonists by the generous Massasoit and his brother Quadequina, whom all will recognise as the two savage kings alluded to in the narrative.

THE GREAT PATENT FOR NEW ENGLAND

Eighteen years had now elapsed since the discovery of Massachusetts by the enterprising Gosnold, and as yet no colony was planted upon its territory.

[1] Prince[g] and Holmes[h] quote Purchas[i] as authority for a voyage undertaken by Smith in 1617; but we find no notice of such a voyage in Smith's own writings.

The settlements to the north were more successful, and in Canada and Newfoundland colonies were established, and children had been born. To the south, also, the Dutch had thrown up slight bulwarks at New Netherlands, and were conducting a lucrative trade in furs. But the indefatigable Gorges was not easily baffled. Application was made to the king for a charter. His majesty, who was at this time highly offended with the members of the London Council for their bold defiance of his arbitrary will, readily sanctioned their request for a patent. But two years elapsed before it could be obtained.

November 3rd, 1620, the Great Patent for New England passed the seals. In this memorable document, the principal foundation of all subsequent grants of territory in New England, his majesty conveyed to forty of his subjects — among whom were the most powerful and wealthy of his nobility — all that part of America extending from the 40th to the 48th degree of North latitude, and between these parallels from the Atlantic to the Pacific: a body of land embracing the Acadia of the French, and the New Netherlands of the Dutch, and covering nearly the whole of the present inhabited British possessions in North America, all New England, the state of New York, half of New Jersey, nearly all of Pennsylvania, and the vast country to the west — comprising, and at the time believed to comprise, more than a million of square miles, and capable of sustaining more than two hundred million of inhabitants.[1]

The company established by this grant was to be known as "the council established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering, and governing of New England in America." Absolute property in the soil, unlimited jurisdiction, the regulation of trade, sole powers of legislation, the administration of justice, and the appointment of all officers were among the privileges conceded by his majesty. Subordinate patents, vesting property in the soil, could be granted by this council, but it could not confer powers of government without the authority and consent of the king.[2] In other respects its powers were complete. The lands and islands, the rivers and harbours, the mines and fisheries were all under its control. None, without leave, could buy a skin, catch a fish, or build a hut. It was a commercial monopoly, exclusive and despotic — a corporation potent for evil or for good.

At the very moment this charter was granted, as if to prove that without its aid more could be accomplished than under its sanction, a solitary bark — the forlorn *Mayflower*—was wending its way wearily across the Atlantic, bearing in its bosom a resolute band of one hundred men, women, and children, who were to become the founders of a wide-spread republic, and to plant the seeds of a thriving nation, whose destiny, yet unfolding, futurity alone can fully reveal.

THE PURITANS AND THE SEPARATISTS IN ENGLAND

To appreciate the circumstances which led to the settlement of Plymouth in 1620, and to the establishment of the Massachusetts colony a few years

[1] Douglass[k] says this patent "was designedly extended much north and south, to include and keep up the English claims to New Netherlands in possession of the Dutch, to the southward, and to L'Acadie, since called Nova Scotia, then in possession of the French, to the northward."

[2] This fact is worthy of notice, and should ever be borne in mind in investigating the history of New England. We are aware it has been asserted that the council could confer by grant powers similar to its own; but this was denied by the crown lawyers, and must therefore be considered as doubtful.

later, it is necessary to be acquainted with the history of religion during the preceding hundred years. [This can be found traced in its various phases in the earlier volumes, especially in our history of England, where the rise of Puritanism and its protest against ritualism have been described in much detail.]

It must not be forgotten, however, in defining the position of Puritanism in the reign of Elizabeth, that the controversies which convulsed the kingdom were not wholly confined to the tippet and the surplice, the square cap and the liturgy. The Puritans were the harbingers of a political as well as of a moral revolution. Doubtless the ultimate tendency of their views was to republicanism rather than to monarchy. They would yield, in religion, nothing arbitrarily to the temporal sovereign. It was their motto that, in church matters God's word was the guide. And though they cannot be properly accused of open disloyalty, it must at the same time be acknowledged that their loyalty did not extend so far as to approbate the doctrine of passive obedience. And because the church and the state were considered one and inseparable, and the unity of the former was deemed the safety of the latter, non-conformity was persecuted on the plea of necessity.

This is the true secret of the opposition of the English church to Puritanism and independency. This church had virtually assumed its own infallibility. It had driven down the stakes which were never more to be removed. It had interwoven the hierarchy with the whole temporal constitution of the realm. And the test of loyalty was undeviating conformity to the canons of the church, and implicit obedience to the mandates of the crown. The church was yet in its infancy, surrounded by subtle foes. The state was trembling upon the verge of revolution. And the instinct of self-preservation prompted persecution of all who refused to put forth their hands to aid in supporting the ark of the Lord and the supremacy of the crown.

If this, however, was the policy of the government of England, it was the natural result of such a policy to beget, on the part of the Puritans, an attachment equally strong to the peculiarities of their religious system; and upon their removal to America, the same principle of self-defense prompted the caution which was used in laying the foundations of their infant commonwealth, to guard it with jealous watchfulness against the aggressions and encroachments of Episcopacy, which they had learned to mistrust, and to build up a community exclusively of their own faith, as in England nonconformity was neither tolerated nor allowed. Puritanism, notwithstanding its errors and its early excesses, contained the seminal principles of true religious toleration; and as experience enlightened the judgment of the professors of that faith, and as circumstances sanctioned the adoption of a more liberal policy, measures were promptly taken to initiate so desirable a reform, and the world is now reaping the fruits of Puritan iconoclasm and asceticism.

The Puritans, though as a body they made no strenuous objections to the lawfulness of ecclesiastical government, when they found that persecution continued to oppose them, that reform was hopeless, and that rule or ruin was the motto of the day, sent forth a party of stern, intrepid, and uncompromising spirits, who, unawed, but baited into an almost savage stubbornness and hostility, refused longer to commune with a church many of whose ceremonies were reprobated, and whose government had become odious, intolerant, and oppressive.

A few separate congregations were formed so early as 1567; in 1570 Cartwright entered the field; and in 1572 the "first born of all presbyteries" was established at Wandsworth in Surrey. But it was not until nine years after

that opposition to Episcopacy and its concomitants reached its culminating point. In 1581 a new sect made its appearance, at first called Brownists, from Robert Brown, its earliest advocate, who had been a preacher in the diocese of Norwich, inveighing against the ceremonies and discipline of the Establishment, and asserting the highly democratic and peculiarly unpalatable doctrine of the independency and complete jurisdiction of every church in its own affairs. From his subsequent apostasy, his followers very properly refused to be called by his name, and were known as separatists, or independents.[1] But questionable as was his sincerity, and inconstant as were his professions, so congenial were the doctrines he taught to the views of the people that he easily succeeded in gathering a large congregation and after its dispersion and his own defection, the seed which had been scattered so rapidly grew that Sir Walter Raleigh, in a speech in parliament, computed the number of separatists or Brownists at twenty thousand.

There were now at least four classes or parties in religion in England: the Catholics, who adhered to the church of Rome; the members of the English church; the Puritans; and the separatists or independents. Of the third class were the founders of the Massachusetts colony, and to the fourth belonged the settlers at Plymouth. The former — the Puritans — were simply nonconformists. Connected with the national church, they questioned chiefly the propriety of some of her observances. They submitted to her authority so far as they could, and acknowledged her as their "mother" in all matters of doctrinal concern. Their clergy were educated at her colleges, and ordained by her bishops; the laity were connected with her by many of the dearest ties; and up to the date of their removal to America, they made no open secession from her communion, and had liberty been allowed them, they would probably have continued in the land of their nativity, and in the bosom of the Establishment.

The Plymouth colonists were not of the national church. Years before their expatriation they had renounced her communion, and formed churches of their own. Between them, however, and the Massachusetts colonists, the differences which existed were in matters of policy rather than in articles of faith; and on arriving in the New World, apart from the influences of their native land, and under circumstances of a far different character, a few years' intercourse assimilated their views and cemented their union. Such was the origin of Puritanism and independency; and though, in the history of both these sects, as well as of the English and the Romish churches, we shall find much intolerance displayed, the result of this contest for greater individualism in religious affairs has been, to induce watchfulness of all encroachments upon the rights of conscience; and happy changes have followed in all Protestant communities where these rights are respected and secured.

THE PILGRIMS AND THE CHURCH AT SCROOBY

We must now pass to the history of the church of the Pilgrims. So early as 1592, a church was gathered at London, of which Francis Johnson was chosen pastor, and John Greenwood became the teacher; but this church being broken up by the authorities, and its teacher imprisoned, the pastor, with a portion of his flock, escaped to Holland, and settled at Amsterdam

[1] It was long the fashion to stigmatise, by way of reproach, as Brownists, all the early settlers of New England; but the injustice of this proceeding will be evident to every candid mind.

[1594 A.D.]

where for many years they continued to abide. A few years later another church was gathered, "to the north of the Trent," in a rural district "near the joining borders of Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire." This was the church of the Pilgrims, which, though first established at Gainsborough, was afterwards formed into two bodies, and the junior ordinarily met for public worship at the house of William Brewster, well known as the elder of the church at Plymouth. This eminent man, so famous in the annals of the Plymouth colony, is supposed to have been born in Suffolk, England [in 1566 or 1567]. He became a student at Cambridge, and afterwards an attaché to William Davison, esquire, a polished courtier of the reign of Elizabeth, her secretary of state, and her ambassador to Holland, whither Mr. Brewster accompanied him. Withdrawing from public life when his employer was displaced, Mr. Brewster received an appointment before April, 1594, as postmaster at Scrooby, in Nottinghamshire, and there resided until his removal to Holland, faithfully discharging the duties of his office, and devoting himself zealously to the interests of the church with which he was connected.

The location of this church, and the history of its patron, had been involved in more or less obscurity until 1852, when through the successful researches of the reverend Joseph Hunter,[l] fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London, and an assistant keeper of her majesty's records, many new facts were brought to light. It may now be considered as satisfactorily proved, that the church of the Pilgrims was first gathered at Gainsborough, and afterwards at Scrooby, in that part of Nottingham known as the Hundred of Bassetlaw, a mile and a half south of the market town of Bawtry, on the borders of York, and only a short distance from the verge of Lincolnshire.

Scrooby, at present, is an obscure agricultural village [of about two hundred population], with few objects of interest beside its church; but anciently it was a place of much more note, and was surrounded by religious houses even before the reformation. Situated near the highroad from York to London, it was, on that account, a convenient resting place for the archbishops of York in their journeys to the metropolis; it was for many weeks the abode of Cardinal Wolsey in his disgrace; and it was the rendezvous of the earl of Shrewsbury and his contingent, when he joined the army of the king assembled to oppose "the pilgrimage of grace."

Governor Bradford[m] has left us the names of two ministers, formerly Puritans, who seceded from the national church, and resided at or near Scrooby: John Smith and Richard Clifton. Smith was the pastor of the church at Gainsborough, which is supposed to have been gathered before that at Scrooby; but lacking the spirit of gentleness which the gospel commends, he seems to have been in favour with few of his contemporaries.

The most noted of the seceding ministers, however, whose name is connected with the history of the Pilgrims, was John Robinson, who, even by Baillie[n] — no friend to his views — is called "the most learned, polished, and modest spirit" that ever separated from the Church of England. Of the parentage and early history of this celebrated man, nothing is certainly known. He was probably born in Nottingham, or Lincolnshire, in 1575, and at the age of seventeen, is supposed to have entered Corpus Christi, Cambridge, and on completing his term at the university, he proceeded to Norfolk, and in the neighbourhood of or at Norwich, commenced his labours in the national church. But his scruples respecting the ceremonies of this church being immovably fixed, he omitted or modified them in his parochial labours. This subjecting him to annoyance, he was temporarily suspended from his

clerical functions, and withdrew entirely from the church — not as "the victim of chagrin and disappointment," as has been ungenerously insinuated by Pagett,[o] but "on most sound and unresistable conviction"; for it required at that time no ordinary courage to avow one's self a separatist, when persecution, if not death, was the doom of all dissidents.

Proceeding to Lincolnshire and Nottingham, he there found a body of men who, "urged with apparitors, pursuivants and the commission courts," met for worship as often as they could escape the Argus eyes of their persecutors — somewhat, perhaps, like the covenanters of Scotland.

Secretary Morton[p] is the only early writer who gives the date of the establishment of this church; and if that date is correct, and if the statement of Hunter[l] is also correct, that the church at Gainsborough is older than that at Scrooby, the church now gathered was probably located at Gainsborough; Mr. Smith and Mr. Clifton were associated in its oversight; and Mr. Robinson may have joined them in 1604. But if the first church was gathered at Gainsborough, "in regard of distance of place these people became two distinct bodies or churches," that at Gainsborough continuing under the oversight of Mr. Smith, and that at Scrooby being organised under Mr. Clifton, with whom Mr. Robinson remained as an assistant; and this event probably took place early in 1606.

Such was the origin of the churches at Gainsborough and Scrooby. That at Scrooby, though it seems to have been second in point of time, is first in importance in the history of the Pilgrims; for here the choice and noble spirits who planted New England learned the lessons of truth and liberty. It will be noticed that Mr. Robinson appears upon the stage at about the date of the accession of James I the greatest pedant that ever sat upon the English throne. Arbitrary, capricious, tyrannical and unprincipled, he trampled upon the most solemn oaths, and seemed never better pleased than when torturing or anathematising the victims of his vengeance. Hence at the Hampton Court Conference, at the close of the second day, speaking of the Puritans, he said: "I shall make them conform themselves, or I will harry them out of the land, or else do worse."

In his speech at the opening of the first parliament (March 19th, 1604), the king acknowledged the Roman church to be his mother church, though defiled with some infirmities and corruptions, and professed his readiness, if its priests would forsake their "new and gross corruptions," to meet them halfway; but the Puritans, for "their discontent with the present government, and impatience to suffer any superiority," he declared to be "a sect insufferable in a well-governed commonwealth"; and in one of his letters he says: "I had rather live like a hermit than be a king over such a people as the pack of Puritans are that overrule the lower house."

Finally a proclamation was issued (July 16th, 1604), ordering the Puritan clergy to conform before the last of November, or to dispose of themselves and families in some other way, as "unfit for their obstinacy and contempt to occupy such places." In consequence of this edict, a large number of ministers were ejected, some of whom had preached, ten, some twenty, and some even thirty years; the bloodhounds of persecution were slipped from their leash, and the kingdom was converted into a general hunting-ground, with the king himself to shout the "View! Halloo!"

The independent churches at Scrooby and Gainsborough suffered with the rest; and, unable to conceal themselves from the inquisitions of the spy, beset in their houses, driven from their homes, and incarcerated in prisons, they resolved to escape. Mr. Smith and his church were the first to depart,

[1608 A.D.]

fleeing to Holland, and seeking a refuge at Amsterdam.[1] Here, joining with the church under Francis Johnson, which had been established several years, Mr. Smith became involved in contentions with his predecessors, and that division was produced which has been often, but unjustly, ascribed to the members of Mr. Robinson's church.

Mr. Robinson and his flock yet tarried for a season in England, hoping something would transpire to lull the fierceness of the storm which was raging; but month after month passed away, and no abatement of its fury was visible. Accordingly he resolved to flee to a land where toleration, at least, if not perfect freedom, was accorded to all. But it was easier to resolve than it was to effect an escape. Thrice was the attempt made before they succeeded.*q*

GOVERNOR BRADFORD'S ACCOUNT OF THE PILGRIMS' VOYAGE TO HOLLAND (1608 A.D.)

Being thus constrained to leave their native soyle and countrie, their lands & livings, and all their friends & familiar acquaintance, it was much, and thought marvelous by many. But to goe into a countrie they knew not (but by hearsay), whêr they must learne a new language, and get their livings they knew not how, it being a dear place, & subjecte to ye misseries of warr, it was by many thought an adventure almost desperate, a case intolerable, & a misserie worse then death. Espetially seeing they were not aquainted with trads nor traffique (by which y' countrie doth subsiste) but had only been used to a plaine countrie life, & ye inocente trade of husbandrey. But these things did not dismay them (though they did some times trouble them) for their desires were sett on ye ways of God, & to injoye his ordinances; but they rested on his providence, & knew whom they had beleeved. Yet this was not all, for though they could not stay, yet were they not suffered to goe, but ye ports & havens were shut against them, so as they were faine to seeke secrete means of conveance, & to bribe & fee ye mariners, & give exterordinarie rates for their passages. And yet were they often times betrayed (many of them), and both they & their goods intercepted & surprised, and thereby put to great trouble & charge, of which I will give an instance or tow, & omitte the rest.

Ther was a large companie of them purposed to get passage at Boston in Lincoln shire, and for that end had hired a shipe wholy to them selves, & made agreement with the maister to be ready at a certaine day, and take them and their goods in, at a conveniente place, wher they accordingly would all attende in readines. So after long waiting, & large expences, though he kepte not day with them, yet he came at length & tooke them in, in ye night. But when he had them & their goods abord, he betrayed them, having before hand complotted with ye serchers & other officers so to doe who tooke them, and put them into open boats, & ther rifled & ransaked them, searching them to their shirts for money, yea even ye women furder then became modestie; and then caried them back into ye towne, & made them a spectackle & wonder to ye multitude, which came flocking on all sids to behould them.

Being thus first, by the chatchpcule officers, rifled, & stripte of their

[1 The spirit of the times could hardly be more vividly condensed than in a comment on the unusual religious toleration of the Dutch, made by Robert Baillie, who in a sermon to the house of lords, exclaimed: "For this one thing they have become infamous in the Christian world." Even a scientist like Bacon could complain of the tolerance of heretics in a colony, saying that "It will make a schism and rent in Christ's coat, which should be seamless."]

money, books, and much other goods, they were presented to ye magestrates, and messengerrs sente to informe ye lords of ye Counsell of them; and so they were comited to ward. Indeed ye magestrats used them courteously, and shewed them what favour they could; but could not deliver them, till order came from ye Counselltable. But ye issue was that after a months imprisonmente, ye greatest parte were dismiste, & sent to ye places from whence they came; but 7. of ye principall were still kept in prison, and bound over to ye Assises.

The nexte spring after, ther was another attempte made by some of these & others, to get over at an other place. And it so fell out, that they light of a Dutchman at Hull, having a ship of his owne belonging to Zealand; they made agreemente with him, and acquainted him with their condition, hoping to find more faithfullnes in him, than in ye former of their owne nation. He bad them not fear, for he would doe well enough. He was by appointment to take them in betweene Grimsbe & Hull, wher was a large comone a good way distante from any towne. Now against the prefixed time, the women & Children with ye goods, were sent to ye place in a small barke, which they had hired for y^t^ end; and ye men were to meete them by land. But it so fell out, that they were there a day before ye shipe came, & ye sea being rough, and ye women very sicke, prevailed with ye seamen to put into a creeke hardby, wher they lay on ground at lowwater. The nexte morning ye shipe came, but they were fast, & could not stir till aboute noone. In ye mean time, ye shipe maister, perceiving how ye matter was, sente his boate to be getting ye men abord whom he saw ready, walking aboute ye shore.

But after ye first boat full was gott abord, & she was ready to goe for more, the mr espied a greate company, both horse & foote, with bills, & gunes, & other weapons; for ye countrie was raised to take them. Ye Dutchman seeing y^t^, swore his countries oath, "sacremente," and having ye wind faire, waiged his Ancor, hoysed sayles, & away.

But ye poore men which were gott abord, were in great distress for their wives and children, which they saw thus to be taken, and were left destitute of their helps; and themselves also, not having a cloath to shifte them with, more then they had on their baks, & some scarce a peney aboute them, all they had being abord ye barke. It drew tears from their eyes, and any thing they had they would have given to have been a shore againe; but all in vaine; ther was no remedy, they must thus sadly part. And afterward endured a fearfull storme at sea, being 14. days or more before y^cy^ arived at their porte in 7. whereof they neither saw son, moone, nor stars, & were driven near ye coast of Norway; the mariners them selves often despairing of life; and once with shriks & cries gave over all, as if ye ship had been foundred in ye sea, & they sinking without recoverie. But when mans hope & helpe wholy failed, ye Lords power & mercie appeared in their recoverie; for ye ship rose againe, & gave ye mariners courage againe to manage her. And if modestie would suffer me, I might declare with what fervente prayers they cried unto ye Lord in this great distress, (espetialy some of them), even without any great distraction, when ye water rane into their mouthes & ears; and the mariners cried out, We sinke, we sinke; they cried (if not with mirakelous, yet with a great hight or degree of devine faith), Yet Lord thou canst save, yet Lord thou canst save; with shuch other expressions as I will forbeare. Upon which ye ship did not only recover, but shortly after ye violence of ye storme begane to abate, and ye Lord filed their afflicted minds with shuch comforts as every one canot understand, and in ye end brought them to their desired Haven, wher ye people came flockeing admiring their deliverance, the

[1608-1609 A.D.]

storme having ben so longe & sore, in which much hurt had been don, as ye masters freinds related unto him in their congratulations.

But to returne to ye others wher we left. The rest of ye men y^t^ were in greatest danger, made shift to escape away before ye troope could surprise them; those only staying y^t^ best might, to be assistante unto ye women. But pitifull it was to see ye heavie case of these poore women in this distress; what weeping & crying on every side, some for their husbands, that were caried away in ye ship as is before related; others not knowing what should become of them, & their little ones; others againe melted in teares, seeing their poore little ones hanging aboute them, crying for feare, and quaking with could.

Being thus aprehended, they were hurried from one place to another, and from one justice to another, till in ye ende they knew not what to doe with them; for to imprison so many women & innocent children for no other cause (many of them) but that they must goe with their husbands, semed to be unreasonable and all would crie out of them and to send them home againe was as difficult, for they aledged, as ye trueth was, they had no homes to goe to, for they had either sould, or otherwise disposed of their houses & livings. To be shorte, after they had been thus turmolyed a good while, and conveyed from one constable to another, they were glad to be ridd of them in ye end upon any termes; for all were wearied & tired with them. Though in ye mean time they (poore soules) indured miserie enough and thus in ye end necessitie forste a way for them.

But y^t^ I be not tedious in these things, I will omitte ye rest, though I might relate many other notable passages and troubles which they endured & underwente in these their wanderings & travells both at land & sea but I hast to other things. Yet I may not omitte ye fruite that came hearby, for by these so publick troubls, in so many eminente places, their cause became famouss, & occasioned many to looke into ye same; and their godly cariage & Christian behaviour was such as left a deep impression in the minds of many. And though some few shrunk at these first conflicts & sharp beginings, (as it was no marvell,) yet many more came on with fresh courage, & greatly animated others. And in ye end, notwithstanding all these stormes of opposition, they all gatt over at length, some at one time & some at an other, and some in one place & some in an other, and mette together againe according to their desires, with no small rejoycing.[m]

THE PILGRIMS IN HOLLAND

In August, 1608, we find Mr. Clifton, and probably Mr. Robinson, safely arrived and settled in Holland. They were soon united with their former companions, and are said to have become one with the original members of the church at Amsterdam. But though the members of the Scrooby church settled first at Amsterdam, their stay in that city was transient; for difficulties had already arisen there, and it was thought best to remove before they became personally involved in them. Leyden was the place to which their steps were turned; and the removal was probably effected in the spring of 1609. Their temporal circumstances in this strange land — "the battle ground of Europe," and "the amphitheatre of the world" — were the first to engage their attention. Most of them had been "only used to a plain country life, and the innocent trade of husbandry," and they were now in "the principal manufacturing town of the Netherlands, and one of the most important in Europe." A change of occupation, therefore, became necessary

to nearly all; and they "fell to such trades and employments as they best could, valuing peace and their spiritual comfort above any other riches whatever." Here, too, having established a printing press, Mr. Brewster published several books, some of which, of a prohibited character, being "vented underhandedly" in England, the ire of the Scotch prince was aroused, and a "schout," at his instance, was employed by the magistrates of Leyden to apprehend the offender; but the "schout" being, says Bradford,[m] a "dull, drunken fellow," he "took one man for another," and by a fortunate mistake, Brewer, not Brewster, was "confined fast in the university's prison."

We must not, however, omit to notice here one of the exiles, who, though but a youth at this time, became subsequently one of the first members of the colony of Plymouth, and exerted for many years a decided influence upon its fortunes and destiny. We refer to William Bradford, best known as Governor Bradford. Born at the little village of Austerfield, in Yorkshire, in 1588, he was trained "to the affairs of husbandry." He was soon a regular attendant upon the ministry of Mr. Clifton. Joining the church before he was eighteen, he was with it during its exile; and whilst in Holland, he is said by Mather[c] to have learned the art of silk dyeing, of a French Protestant, though we find no confirmation of this statement in earlier writers.

Of other members of the Pilgrim church, we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. It is impossible, at the present day, to state with exactness how many were connected with this church, either in England or in Holland. No records have descended to us from which a list of their names, or an account of their proceedings can be authentically drawn;[1] and for the want of such knowledge, it is as absurd as it is unnecessary, as Plutarch says in his *Life of Numa*, to "forge ancient archives to stretch their lineage back, and to deduce it from the most illustrious houses." Their proudest pedigree is Massachusetts and America. "*Si monumentum quæris, circumspice.*"

THE EMIGRATION TO AMERICA

Eight years residence in a land of strangers, subjected to its trials and burdened with its sorrows, satisfied this little band that Holland could not be for them a permanent home. The "hardness of the place" discouraged their friends from joining them. Premature age was creeping upon the vigorous. Severe toil enfeebled their children. The corruption of the Dutch youth was pernicious in its influence. They were Englishmen, attached to the land of their nativity. The Sabbath, to them a sacred institution, was openly neglected. A suitable education was difficult to be obtained for their children. The truce with Spain was drawing to a close, and the renewal of hostilities was seriously apprehended But the motive above all others which prompted their removal, was, says Bradford,[m] a "great hope and inward zeal of laying some good foundation for the propagating and advancing of the Gospel of the kingdom of Christ in these remote parts of the world; yea, though they should be but as stepping stones to others for performing of so great a work."

For these reasons a removal was resolved upon. They could not in peace return to England. Whither should they turn their steps? Some, and "none of the meanest," were "earnest for Guiana."[2] Others, of equal worth,

[1] The number connected with the church in Holland is supposed to have been not far from three hundred.

[2] "One can hardly imagine," says Eggleston,[b] "what American Puritanism would have become under the skies of Guiana."]

were in favour of Virginia, "where the English had already made entrance and beginning." But a majority were for "living in a distinct body by themselves, though under the general government of Virginia." Guiana was the El Dorado of the age. Sir Walter Raleigh, its discoverer, had described its tropical voluptuousness in the most captivating terms; and Chapman, the poet, dazzled by its charms, exclaims:

> Guiana, whose rich feet are mines of gold,
> Whose forehead knocks against the roof of stars,
> Stands on her tiptoe at fair England looking,
> Kissing her hands, bowing her mighty breast,
> And every sign of all submission making,
> To be the sister and the daughter both
> Of our most sacred maid.

Is it surprising that the thoughts of the exiles were enraptured in contemplating this beautiful land? But as an offset to its advantages, its "grievous diseases" and "noisome impediments" were vividly portrayed; and it was urged that, should they settle there and prosper, the "jealous Spaniard" might displace and expel them, as he had already the French from their settlements in Florida; and this the sooner, as there would be none to protect them, and their own strength was inadequate to cope with so powerful an adversary.

Against settling in Virginia, it was urged that, "if they lived among the English there planted, or under their government, they would be in as great danger to be persecuted for the cause of religion as if they lived in England, and it might be worse; and if they lived too far off, they should have neither succour nor defence from them." Upon the whole, therefore, it was decided to "live in a distinct body by themselves, under the general government of Virginia, and by their agents to sue his majesty to grant them free liberty, and freedom of religion."

Accordingly John Carver, one of the deacons of the church, and Robert Cushman, a private member, were sent to England in 1617 to treat with the Virginia Company for a grant of land, and to solicit of the king liberty of conscience. The friends from whom aid was expected were Sir Edwin Sandys, the distinguished author of the *Europeæ Speculum*, Sir Robert Naunton, afterwards secretary of state, and Sir John Wolstenholme, an eminent merchant and a farmer of the customs. Sir Ferdinando Gorges seems also to have been interested in their behalf.

The messengers — "God going along with them" — bore a missive signed by the principal members of the church commending them to favour, and conducting their mission with discretion and propriety; but as their instructions were not plenary, they soon returned (November 12th, 1617). The next month a second embassy was despatched.

The new agents, upon their arrival in England, found the Virginia Company anxious for their emigration to America, and "willing to give them a patent with as ample privileges as they had or could grant to any"; and some of the chief members of the company "doubted not to obtain their suit of the king for liberty in religion." But the last "proved a harder work than they took it for." Neither James nor his bishops would grant such a request. All that could be obtained of the king after the most diligent "sounding," was a verbal promise that "he would connive at them, and not molest them, provided they conducted themselves peaceably: but to allow or tolerate them under his seal," he would not consent. With this answer the messengers returned (May, 1618); and their report was discouraging to

the hopes of the exiles. Should they trust their monarch's word, when bitter experience had taught them the ease with which it could be broken? And yet, reasoned some, says Bradford,[m] "his word may be as good as his bond; for if he purposes to injure us, though we have a seal as broad as the house-floor, means will be found to recall or reverse it." In this as in other matters, therefore, they relied upon providence, trusting that distance would prove as effectual a safeguard as the word of a prince which had been so often forfeited.

At length, after tedious delays, and "messengers passing to and fro," a patent was obtained which, by the advice of friends, was taken in the name of John Wincob [or Whincop [1]], a gentleman in the family of the countess of Lincoln; and with this document, and the proposals of Mr. Thomas Weston, one of the agents returned, and submitted the same to the church for inspection. The nature of these proposals has never transpired, nor is the original patent — the first which the Pilgrims received — known to be in existence. It was concluded that the youngest and strongest should be the pioneers of the church, and that the eldest and weakest should follow at a future date. If the Lord "frowned" upon their proceedings, the first emigrants were to return; but if he prospered and favoured them, they were to "remember and help over the ancient and poor." As the emigrants proved the minority, it was agreed that the pastor should remain in Holland, and that Mr. Brewster, the elder, should accompany those who were to leave. Each party was to be an absolute church in itself; and as any went or came, they were to be admitted to fellowship without further testimonies. Thus the church at Plymouth was the first in New England established upon the basis of independent Congregationalism.

Their greatest hardship was the compact with the merchants. The Pilgrims were poor, and their funds were limited. They had no alternative, therefore, but to associate with others; and, as often happens in such cases, wealth took advantage of their impoverished condition. To satisfy the merchants, who drove their bargains sharply and shrewdly, some changes were made, and by ten tight articles the emigrants were bound to them for the term of seven years. At the end of this period, by the original compact, the houses and improved lands were to belong wholly to the planters; and each colonist, having a family to support, was to be allowed two days in each week to labour for their benefit. The last is a liberty enjoyed, says Sumner,[s] by "even a Vallachian serf, or a Spanish slave"; and the refusal of the merchants to grant so reasonable a request caused great complaint. As it was, it threatened a seven years' check to the pecuniary prosperity of the colony; but as it did not interfere with their civil or religious rights, it was submitted to with the less reluctance, though never acceptable.

At this critical juncture, while the Pilgrims were in such perplexity, and surrounded by so many difficulties, the Dutch, who could not but be sensible that the patent they had obtained of the Virginia Company would interfere seriously with their projected West India Company, and with their settlement at New Netherland, stepped forward with proposals of the most inviting, and apparently disinterested and liberal character. Overtures were made to Mr. Robinson as pastor, that if he and his flock, and their friends in England,

[1] The patent was not used, says Bradford,[m] another taken out in 1620 under the name of John Pierce seems to have been substituted. Wincob, the first patentee did not go with the emigrants (1620). He is never heard of again. In the household of this countess (widow of the fourteenth earl), Thomas Dudley, later one of the founders of Massachusetts, was steward. — F. B. DEXTER.[r]

[1620 A.D.]

would embark under the auspices of the lords states general, themselves should be transported to America free of expense, and cattle should be furnished for their subsistence on their arrival. These are the "liberal offers" alluded to in general terms by early Pilgrim writers, and which are uniformly represented as having originated with the Dutch, though it has been suggested, and even asserted, that the overtures came from the Pilgrims themselves, but there is an inherent improbability in this last representation. But they were willing to accept them upon certain conditions, of which one was that the government of Holland would guarantee to protect them. This concession was enough for the merchants to act upon. The prince of Orange was then in the zenith of his power; and to him, as stadholder, the merchants repaired with a memorial, professedly in the name of the "English preacher at Leyden," praying that "the aforesaid preacher and four hundred families may be taken under the protection of the United Provinces, and that two ships of war may be sent to secure, provisionally, the said lands to this government, since such lands may be of great importance whenever the West India Company shall be organised."

The stadholder was too wary a politician to approbate immediately so sweeping a proposal, and referred it to the states general. For two months it was before this body, where it was several times discussed; and finally, after repeated deliberations, it was resolved (April 11th, 1620) "peremptorily to reject the prayer of the memorialists." Nor can we doubt the wisdom of the policy which prompted this decision. It was well known in Holland that the English claimed the territory of New Netherland. The Dutch had hitherto been tolerated in settling there, because they had not openly interfered with the trade of the English. But should they now send over a body of English emigrants, under the tri-coloured flag, designed to found a colony for the benefit of the Batavian Republic, the prudent foresaw that a collision would be inevitable, and might result disastrously to the interests of their nation.

At last the *Speedwell* — miserable misnomer — of sixty tons, was purchased in Holland for the use of the emigrants; and the *Mayflower*, of one hundred and eighty tons[1] — whose name is immortal — was chartered in England, and was fitting for their reception. The cost of the outfit, including a trading stock of £1,700, was but £2,400 — about $12,000 of the currency of the United States! It marks the poverty of the Pilgrims that their own funds were inadequate to meet such a disbursement; and it marks the narrowness of the adventurers that they doled the sum so grudgingly, and exacted such securities for their personal indemnity.

As the time of departure drew near, a day of public humiliation was observed — the last that the emigrants kept with their pastor. At the conclusion of his discourse, those who were to leave were feasted at their pastor's house, where, after "tears," warm and gushing from the fulness of their hearts, the song of praise and thanksgiving was raised; and "truly," says Winslow,[l] an auditor, "it was the sweetest melody that ever mine ears heard." At starting, they gave their friends "a volley of small shot, and three pieces of ordnance"; and so, "lifting up their hands to each other, and their hearts for each other to the Lord God," they set sail from the port of Delfthaven July 22, 1620. They soon reached Southampton, where lay the *Mayflower* in readiness with the rest of their company.

In about a fortnight (August 5th), the *Speedwell*, commanded by Captain Reynolds, and the *Mayflower*, commanded by Captain Jones — both having

[1] Capt. John Smith[f] says the *Speedwell* was of 70 tons, and the *Mayflower* of 160. But we follow the statement of Governor Bradford.[m]

one hundred and twenty passengers on board — were ready to set out to cross the Atlantic. Scarcely had the two barks left the harbour, ere Captain Reynolds complained of the leakiness of the *Speedwell*, and both put in at Dartmouth for repairs. At the end of eight precious days they started again, but had sailed "only a hundred leagues beyond the land's end," when the former complaints were renewed, and the vessels put in at Plymouth, where, "by the consent of the whole company," the *Speedwell* was dismissed; and as the *Mayflower* could accommodate but one hundred passengers, twenty of those who had embarked in the smaller vessel were compelled to return; and matters being ordered with reference to this arrangement, "another sad parting took place."

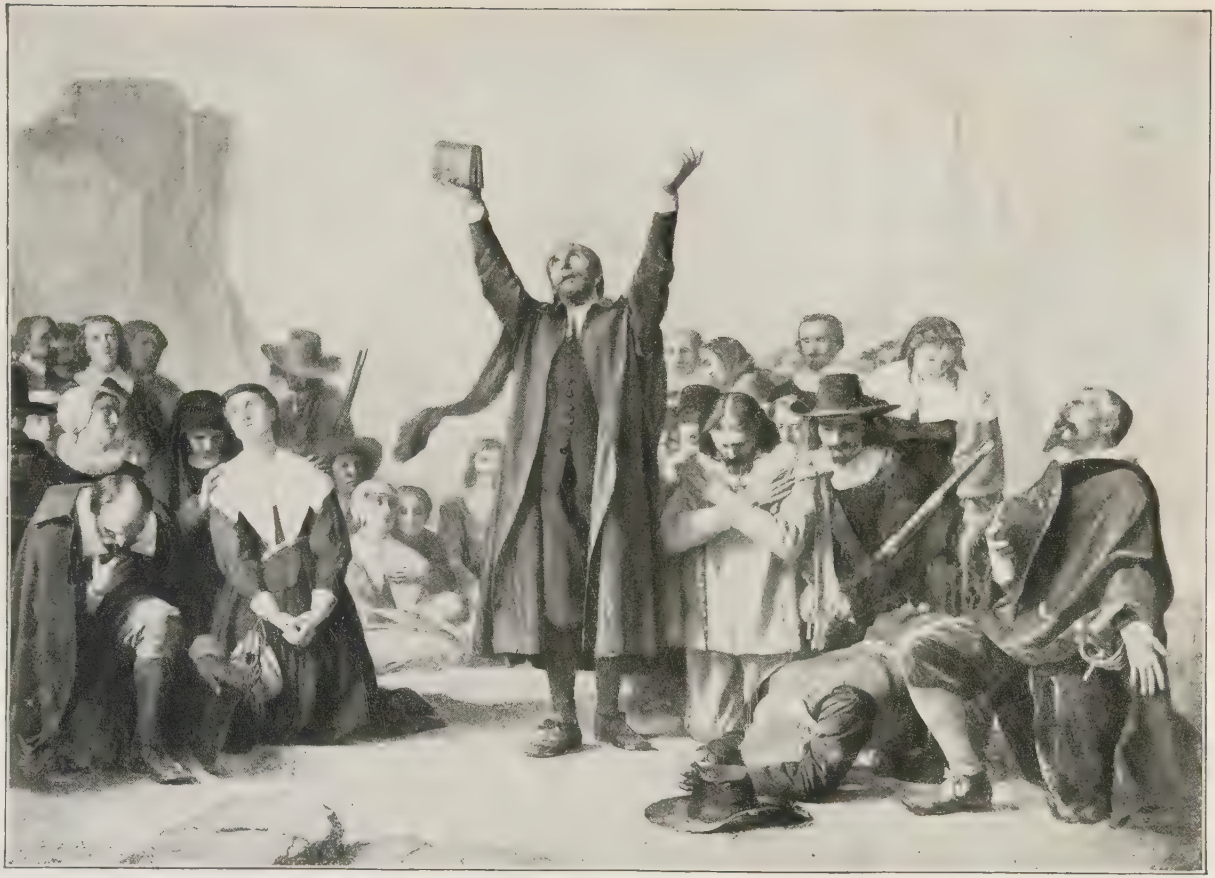
Finally, after the lapse of two more precious weeks, on September 6th, 1620, the *Mayflower*, "freighted with the destinies of a continent," and having on board one hundred passengers — resolute men, women and children — "loosed from Plymouth," and, with the wind "east-northeast, a fine small gale," was soon far at sea.

The particulars of this voyage — more memorable by far than the famed expedition of the Argonauts — are few and scanty. Though fair winds wafted the bark onward for a season, contrary winds and fierce storms were soon encountered, by which, says Bradford, she was "shrewdly shaken," and her "upper works made very leaky." One of the main beams of the midships was also "bowed and cracked," but a passenger having brought with him "a large iron screw," the beam was replaced, and carefully fastened, and the vessel continued on. During the storm, John Howland, "a stout young man," was, by a "heel of the ship thrown into the sea, but catching by the halliards, which hung overboard, he kept his hold and was saved." "A profane and proud young seaman, stout and able of body, who had despised the poor people in their sickness, telling them he hoped to help cast half of them overboard before they came to their journey's end, and to make merry with what they had, was smitten with a grievous disease, of which he died in a desperate manner, and was himself the first thrown overboard, to the astonishment of all his fellows." One other death occurred, that of a servant, and there was one birth, in the family of Stephen Hopkins, of a son, christened Oceanus, who died shortly after the landing. The ship being leaky, and the passengers closely stowed, their clothes were constantly wet. This added much to the discomfort of the voyage, and laid the foundation for a portion of the mortality which prevailed the first winter.

"Land ho!" This welcome cry was not heard until two months had elapsed, and on November 9th, old style, or November 19th, new style, the sandy cliffs of Cape Cod were the first points which greeted the eyes of the exiles.[1]

GOVERNOR BRADFORD'S ACCOUNT OF THE MAYFLOWER'S ARRIVAL

Being thus arived in a good harbor and brought safe to land, they fell upon their knees & blessed ye God of heaven, who had brought them over ye vast & furious ocean, and delivered them from all ye periles & miseries therof, againe to set their feete on ye firme and stable earth, their proper elemente. And no marvell if they were thus joyefull, seeing wise Seneca was so affected with sailing a few miles on ye coast of his own Italy; as he affirmed, that he had rather remaine twentie years on his way by land, then pass by sea to any place in a short time; so tedious & dreadfull was ye same unto him.



LANDING OF THE PILGRIMS IN AMERICA

(From the painting by Antonio Gisbert)

But hear I cannot but stay and make a pause, and stand half amased at this poore peoples presente condition; and so I thinke will the reader too, when he well considers ye same. Being thus passed ye vast ocean, and a sea of troubles before in their preparation (as may be remembered by yt which wente before), they had now no friends to wellcome them, nor inns to entertaine or refresh their weatherbeaten bodys, no houses or much less townes to repaire too, to seeke for succoure. It is recorded in scripture as a mercie to ye apostle & his shipwraked company, yt the barbarians shewed them no smale kindness in refreshing them, but these savage barbarians, when they mette with them (as after will appeare) were readier to fill their sids full of arrows then otherwise. And for ye season it was winter, and they that know ye winters of yt countrie know them to be sharp & violent, & subjecte to cruell & feirce stormes, deangerous to travill to known places, much more to serch an unknown coast.

Besids, what could they see but a hidious & desolate wilderness, full of wild beasts & wild men? and what multitudes ther might be of them they knew not. Netheir could they, as it were, goe up to ye tope of Pisgah, to vew from this wilderness a more goodly cuntrie to feed their hops; for which way soever they turnd their eys (save upward to ye heavens) they could have little solace or content in respecte of any outward objects. For sumer being done, all things stand upon them with a wetherbeaten face; and ye whole countrie, full of woods & thickets, represented a wild & savage heiw. If they looked behind them, ther was ye mighty ocean which they had passed, and was now as a maine barr & goulfe to separate them from all ye civill parts of ye world.

If it be said they had a ship to succour them, it is trew; but what heard they daly from ye mr & company? but yt with speede they should looke out a place with their shallop, wher they would be at some near distance; for ye season was shuch as he would not stirr from thence till a safe harbor was discovered by them wher they would be, and he might goe without danger; and that victells consumed apace, but he must & would keepe sufficient for them selves & their returne. Yea, it was muttered by some, that if they gott not a place in time, they would turne them & their goods ashore & leave them. Let it also be considered what weake hopes of supply & succoure they left behinde them, yt might bear up their minds in this sade condition and trialls they were under; and they could not but be very smale. It is true, indeed, ye affections & love of their brethren at Leyden was cordiall & entire towards them but they had little power to help them, or them selves; and how ye case stode betweene them & ye marchants at their coming away, hath allready been declared. What could now sustaine them but ye spirite of God and his grace? May not & ought not the children of these fathers rightly say. Our faithers were Englishmen which came over this great ocean, and were ready to perish in this wilderness; but they cried unto ye Lord, and he heard their voyce, and looked on their adversitie.[m]

THE COMPACT AND THE LANDING AT PLYMOUTH (1620 A.D.)

Morton[p] asserts that the *Mayflower* put in at this cape, "partly by reason of a storm by which she was forced in, but more especially by the fraudulency and contrivance of the aforesaid Mr. Jones, the master of the ship; for their intention and his engagement was to Hudson's river; but some of the Dutch having notice of their intention, and having thoughts about the same time of erecting a plantation there likewise, they fraudulently hired the said

Jones, by delays, while they were in England, and now under the pretence of the shoales, etc., to disappoint them in their going thither. Of this plot betwixt the Dutch and Mr. Jones, I have had late and certain intelligence." The explicitness of this assertion caused the charge of treachery — brought by no one but Morton — to be repeated by almost every historian for years, but its correctness has since been questioned by writers whose judgment is entitled to respect.

The Pilgrims were now ready to pass to the shore. But before taking this step, as the spot where they lay was without the bounds of their patent, and as signs of insubordination had appeared among their servants, an association was deemed necessary, and an agreement to "combine in one body and to submit to such government and governors as should by common consent" be selected and chosen. Accordingly a compact was prepared, and signed before landing by all the males of the company who were of age, and this instrument was the constitution of the colony for several years. It was as follows:

In y^e^ name of God, Amen. We whose names are underwriten, the loyall subjects of our dread soveraigne Lord, King James, by y^e^ grace of God, of Great Britaine, France, & Ireland king, defender of y^e^ faith, &c., haveing undertaken, for y^e^ glorie of God, and advancemente of y^e^ Christian faith, and honour of our king & countrie, a voyage to plant y^e^ first colonie in y^e^ Northerne parts of Virginia, doe by these presents solemnly & mutually in y^e^ presence of God, and one of another covenant & combine our selves togeather into a civill body politick, for our better ordering & preservation & furtherance of y^e^ ends aforesaid; and by vertue hearof to enacte, constitute, and frame such just & equall lawes, ordinances, acts, constitutions, & offices, from time to time, and shall be thought most meete and convenient for y^e^ generall good of y^e^ Colonie, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness whereof we have hereunder subscribed our names at Cape-Codd y^e^ 11 of November, in y^e^ year of y^e^ raigne of our soveraigne lord, King James, of England, France, & Ireland y^e^ eighteenth, and of Scotland y^e^ fiftie fourth. Ano. Dom. 1620.

While, on the one hand, much eloquence has been expended in expatiating on this compact, as if in the cabin of the Mayflower had consciously, and for the first time, been discovered in an age of Cimmerian darkness the true principles of republicanism and equality[1] — on the other hand, it has been asserted that the Pilgrims were "actuated by the most daring ambition," and that even at this early period they designed to erect a government absolutely independent of the mother country. But the truth seems to be that, although the form of government adopted by the emigrants is republican in its character, and remarkably liberal, at the same time its founders acknowledged suitable allegiance to England, and regarded themselves as connected with the land of their nativity by political and social ties, both endearing and enduring. Left to themselves in a wilderness land, apart from all foreign aid, and thrown upon their own resources, with none to help or advise, they adopted that course which commended itself to their calm judgment as the simplest and best; and if, under such circumstances, their compact was democratic, it seems chiefly to intimate that self government is naturally attractive to the mind, and is spontaneously resorted to in emergencies like the present.

The first care of the exiles, having established their provisional government [and choosing John Carver as governor], was to provide for their shelter. Cautiously, therefore, for fear of harm, on the same day that the compact was signed, fifteen or sixteen men, well armed, were set ashore at Long Point to explore the country; and returning at night with a boat-load of juniper, which delighted them with its fragrance, they reported that they had found "neither persons nor habitations."

[1 This has often been called "the first written constitution in the world."]

[1620 A.D.]

The stillness of the Sabbath (November 12th, 1620) was consecrated to worship — the first, probably, ever observed by Christians in Massachusetts — and on the morrow the shallop was drawn to the beach for repairs, and for the first time the whole company landed for refreshment. The adventurous, impatient of delay, were eager to prosecute a journey by land for discovery. Sixteen were detailed under Captain Standish — their military leader, who had served in the armies both of Elizabeth and James — and the party debarked (November 15th) at Stevens' Point, at the western extremity of the harbour, and marching in single file, at the distance of about a mile, five savages were espied, who, at their approach, hastily fled. Graves were discovered; and at another spot the ruins of a house, and heaps of sand filled with corn stored in baskets. With hesitancy — so scrupulous were they of wilfully wronging the natives — an old kettle, a waif from the ruins, was filled with this corn, for which the next summer the owners were remunerated. In the vicinity of the Pamet were the ruins of a fort, or palisade; and encamping for the night near the Pond in Truro, on November 17th they returned to the ship.

Ten days after another expedition was fitted out, in which twenty-five of the colonists were engaged, and visited the mouth of the Pamet, called by them Cold Harbour. A third expedition was agreed upon December 6th; and though the weather was unfavourable, and some difficulty was experienced in clearing Billingsgate point, they reached the weather shore, and there "had better sailing." Yet bitter was the cold, and the spray, as it froze on them, gave them the appearance of being encased in glittering mail. The next day (December 9th) the island was explored — now known as Clarke's Island. On Monday, December 11th (December 21st, new style), a landing was effected upon Forefather's Rock.[1] The site of this stone was preserved by tradition, and a venerable cotemporary of several of the Pilgrims, whose head was silvered with the frosts of ninety-five winters, settled the question of its identity in 1741. Borne in his arm-chair by a grateful populace, Elder Faunce took his last look at the spot so endeared to his memory, and bedewing it with tears, he bade it farewell! In 1774 this precious boulder, as if seized with the spirit of that bustling age, was raised from its bed to be consecrated to Liberty, and in the act of its elevation it split in twain! — an occurrence regarded by many as ominous of the separation of the colonies from England — and the lower part being left in the spot where it still lies, the upper part, weighing several tons, was conveyed, amidst the heartiest rejoicings, to Liberty-pole square, and adorned with a flag bearing the imperishable motto: "Liberty or Death!" On the 4th of July, 1834, the natal day of the freedom of the colonies, this part of the rock was removed to the ground in front of Pilgrim Hall, and there it rests, encircled with a railing, ornamented with heraldic wreaths, bearing the names of the forty-one signers of the compact in the *Mayflower*.

On the day of the landing the harbour was sounded, and the land was

[1 Plymouth Rock has been generally granted the honour of receiving the first permanent landing of Pilgrims on the mainland, but no rock is mentioned in the so-called *Relation* of Mourt [u] of which he wrote only the preface, the main text being the work of Bradford and Winslow. In the latter part of last century a controversy was started by S. H. Gay, [v] who declared that the landing must have been at the present Duxbury or Kingston, not at the present Plymouth. H. M. Dexter [w] however, brought strong evidence from channel-soundings to support the tradition. Legend credits John Alden and Mary Chilton with being the first to set foot on the rock, but according to F. B Dexter [x] they could not have landed on December 11th. The very date of the landing has been the subject of mistake. In calculating the New Style for purposes of fixing a day of celebration December 22nd was taken instead of December 21st, and in spite of efforts to correct the date, the 22nd has fastened on popular usage.]

explored; and the place inviting settlement, the adventurers returned with tidings of their success; the *Mayflower* weighed anchor to proceed to the spot; and ere another Sabbath dawned she was safely moored in the desired haven. Monday and Tuesday were spent in exploring tours; and on Wednesday, December 20th, the settlement at Plymouth was commenced — twenty persons remaining ashore for the night. On the following Saturday the first timber was felled; on Monday their storehouse was commenced; on Thursday preparations were made for the erection of a fort, and allotments of land were made to the [nineteen] families; and on the following Sunday religious worship was performed for the first time in their storehouse.

For a month the colonists were busily employed. The houses were arranged in two rows, on Leyden street, each man building his own. The whole of this first winter was a period of unprecedented hardship and suffering. Mild as was the weather, it was far more severe than that of the land of their birth; and the diseases contracted on shipboard, aggravated by colds caught in their wanderings in quest of a home, caused a great and distressing mortality to prevail. In December, six died; in January, eight; in February, seventeen; and in March, thirteen — a total of forty-four died in four months, of whom twenty-one were signers of the compact. It is remarkable that the leaders of the colony were spared. The first burial place was on Cole's Hill; and as an affecting proof of the miserable condition of the sufferers, it is said by Baylies[x] that, knowing they were surrounded by warlike savages, and fearing their losses might be discovered, and advantage be taken of their weakness and helplessness to attack and exterminate them, the sad mounds formed by rude coffins hidden beneath the earth were carefully leveled and sowed with grain.[q]

RELATIONS WITH THE INDIANS: CAPTAIN MILES STANDISH

On John Smith's map the harbour where the Pilgrims had come to anchor was designated by the English name of Plymouth, and was indicated on it as a fit place for settlement. In compliment, it is said, to the kind treatment received at the English city of Plymouth, the name of New Plymouth was retained. The settlers themselves are often designated as the Plymouth pilgrims.[y]

The Indians, remembering the kidnapping exploits of Hunt and others, were hostile. More than half the colonists, including John Carver, their governor, died before spring. Those who retained their strength were hardly sufficient to minister to the urgent wants of the sick and dying. In this employment no one distinguished himself more than Carver, the governor. He was a man of fortune, who had spent all in the service of the colony, and readily sacrificed his life in discharging the humblest offices of kindness to the sick. He was succeeded by William Bradford, who was re-elected for many successive years, notwithstanding his remonstrance that "if this office were an honour, it should be shared by his fellow citizens and if it were a burden, the weight of it should not always be imposed on him."

Previous to the arrival of the Pilgrims in New England, a sweeping pestilence had, as we have seen, carried off whole tribes of natives, in the region where they had now settled. The traces of former habitation were apparent; but no Indians were found residing in their immediate vicinity. The spring, which restored health to the colonists, brought them also an agreeable surprise, in the visit of some Indians whose disposition was friendly. The visit of Samoset, whose previous intercourse with the English fishermen enabled



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THE RETURN OF THE MAYFLOWER

(After the painting by George Henry Boughton, R. A.)

[1621 A.D.]

him to salute them with "Welcome, welcome, Englishmen!" was followed by that of Massasoit, the principal sachem of the country, with whom the celebrated treaty was concluded, which was inviolably observed, for more than fifty years, and contributed, during that period, more than any other circumstance, to secure New England from the horrors of Indian warfare.[z]

In the fall of 1621 the first harvest of the colonists was gathered. The "corn" yielded well, and the "barley" was "indifferently good," but the "peas" were a failure, owing to drought and late sowing. Satisfied, however, with the abundance of their fruits, four huntsmen were sent for fowl; and at their return, "after a special manner" the Pilgrims rejoiced together, feasting King Massasoit and ninety men for three days, and partaking of venison, wild turkeys, water fowl, and other delicacies for which New England was then famous. Thus the time-honoured festival of Thanksgiving was instituted — a festival which, originally confined in its observance to the sons of the Pilgrims and the state of Massachusetts, has now become almost a national festival.[a]

The treaty with Massasoit was one of the most important events in the history of New England. Another efficient means of preserving the colony from Indian hostility was found in the courage, ability, and military experience of Captain Miles Standish. He was the hero of New England, says Doctor Belknap,[bb] as Captain Smith had been of Virginia. Though small in stature, he had an active genius, a sanguine temper, and a strong constitution. He had early embraced the profession of arms; and the Netherlands being, in his youth, the theatre of war, he had entered into the service of Queen Elizabeth, in aid of the Dutch, and, after the truce, steped with the English refugees at Leyden. He came over with the Pilgrims, and on their arrival at Cape Cod, he was appointed commander of the first party of sixteen men, who went ashore on discovery, and when they began their settlement at Plymouth, he was unanimously chosen captain, or chief military commander. In several interviews with the natives, he was the first to meet them, and was generally accompanied by a very small number of men, selected by himself.

After the treaty was made with Massasoit, one of his petty sachems, Corbitant, became discontented, and was preparing to join with the Narragansetts against the English. Standish, with fourteen men and a guide, went to Corbitant's residence and surrounded his house; but, not finding him at home, he informed the Indians of his intention of destroying him, if he should persist in his rebellion. This decisive proceeding struck terror into the turbulent chieftain, who promptly submitted to Massasoit, and entreated his mediation with the English. The example was not lost upon the neighbouring sachems, eight of whom came forward in September, 1621, to subscribe an instrument of submission to the English government. When the town of Plymouth was enclosed and fortified, the defence of it was committed to the captain, who organised the military force, made the appointments of subordinate officers, and took efficient measures against sudden surprise by the natives.

The Narragansetts were the enemies of Massasoit's people. Indeed, Captain Smith,[f] in his history, says it was to secure a powerful ally against this tribe that the great chieftain made his treaty with the English. Their chief, Canonicus, sent a bundle of arrows tied up with a rattlesnake's skin to the governor, in token of hostility; but when Bradford filled the rattlesnake's skin with powder and shot, and sent it back in defiance, the sachem was intimidated, and gladly consented to a treaty. The Indians were afraid to

receive the significant token of the governor, or to let it remain in their houses; and it was finally sent back to Plymouth.

A rival settlement was attempted in the immediate neighbourhood of the Plymouth colony. Thomas Weston, London merchant, originally concerned in the adventure to Plymouth, having obtained a separate patent for a tract of land on Massachusetts Bay, sent two ships, with fifty or sixty men, to settle a plantation. Many of the adventurers being sick on their arrival, became dependent on the hospitality of the Plymouth people, with whom they remained through the summer of 1622. They afterwards established themselves at Wessagusset, or Weymouth; but their affairs never prospered. Their treatment of the Indians was such as to provoke their hostility; and a plot was laid for the extirpation of all the English settlers. This conspiracy extended to many tribes, and came to the knowledge of Massasoit, who revealed it to Edward Winslow and John Hampden, when they were paying him a friendly visit, and relieving him from a dangerous illness. The great sachem advised them to kill the leading conspirators, as the only means of safety (1623).

The governor, on learning the impending danger, instantly committed the affair to Standish; directing him to take with him as many men as he chose, and if he should be satisfied of the existence of the plot, to fall upon the conspirators. Standish took but eight men for the expedition, and arriving at Weymouth, learned from the people enough of the insolent behaviour and threats of the Indians to satisfy him of their hostile intentions. Indeed, those who came to the place insulted and defied him. His only difficulty now was to bring a sufficient number of the Indians together to commence the attack. At length, when Wittuwumet and Pecksuot, two of the boldest and most powerful chiefs, were together in the same room, with a youth of eighteen, the brother of Wittuwumet, and another Indian, "putting many tricks on the weaker sort of men," the captain having about as many of his own party with him, according to Winslow,[1] "gave the word, and the door being shut fast he began himself with Pecksuot, and snatching the knife from his neck, after much struggling, killed him therewith; the rest killed Wittuwumet and the other man, the youth they took and hanged.[1] It is incredible how many wounds these men received before they died; not making any fearful noise, but catching at their weapons and striving to the last. Hobomoc (Standish's Indian guide and interpreter) stood by as a spectator, observing how our men demeaned themselves in the action; which being ended, he, smiling, broke forth and said: 'Yesterday Pecksuot bragged of his own strength and stature, and told you that though you were a great captain yet you were but a little man; but to-day I see you are big enough to lay him on the ground.'"

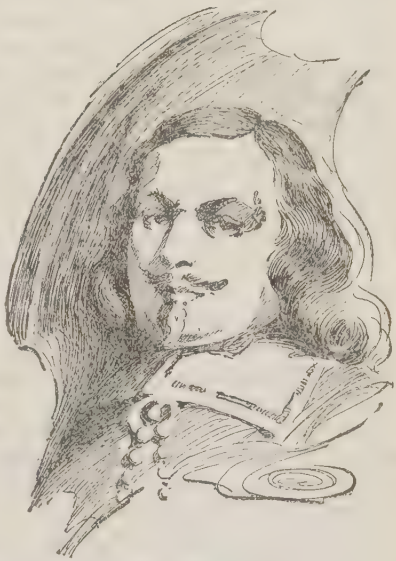
By Standish's order, several other Indians were subsequently killed; but the women were sent away uninjured. This exploit of Standish so terrified the other Indians who had conspired with the Massachusetts, or Massachusencks, as Winslow calls them, "that they forsook their houses, running to and fro like men distracted; living in swamps, and other desert places, and so brought diseases upon themselves, whereof many died, as Canacum sachem of Manomet, Aspinet of Nauset, and Iaough of Matachiest." The plantation of Weston was broken up and the settlers dispersed, within one year after it

[1 These bloody proceedings excited some misgivings in the mind of John Robinson, who, though still in Holland, extended a pastor's oversight to the colony, which he intended presently to join. "Oh, how happy a thing it would have been," he wrote in a letter to the colonists, "that you had converted some before you killed any." — HILDRETH.]

[1623–1627 A.D.]

begun. Some of the people returned to England, and others remained in the country. Weston did not come to America himself till after the dispersion of his people, some of whom he found among the eastern fishermen; and from them he first heard of the ruin of his enterprise. In a storm he was cast away on the coast south of the Piscataqua, and robbed by the Indians of all which he had saved from the wreck. By the charity of the inhabitants of Piscataqua, he was enabled to reach Plymouth, where he obtained some pecuniary aid, and "he never repaid the debt but with enmity and reproach."[z]

The situation of the colonists in the spring of 1623 was peculiarly distressing. By the scantiness of their crops and the prodigality of their neighbours, their granaries were exhausted and they were reduced to want. The narrative of their sufferings is affecting and thrilling. "By the time their corn was planted, their victuals were spent, and they knew not at night where to have a bit in the morning, nor had they corn or bread for three or four months together." Elder Brewster lived upon shell-fish. With only oysters and clams at his meals, he gave thanks that he could "seek of the abundance of the seas, and of treasures hid in the sand." Tradition affirms that at one time there was but a pint of corn left in the settlement, which, being divided, gave to each person a proportion of five kernels. In allusion to this incident, at the bi-centennial celebration, in 1820, when much of the beauty, fashion, wealth, and talent of Massachusetts had congregated at Plymouth, and orators had spoken, and poets sang the praises of the Pilgrims; amidst the richest viands, which had been prepared to gratify the most fastidious epicure to satiety, five kernels of parched corn were placed beside each plate, "a simple but interesting and affecting memorial," says Baylies,[x] "of the distresses of those heroic and pious men who won this fair land of plenty, and freedom, and happiness, and yet, at times, were literally in want of a morsel of bread."[y]



EDWARD WINSLOW
(1595–1655)

Another rival colony was attempted in the neighbourhood of the Plymouth settlers, by John Pierce, in whose name their first patent had been taken out. He procured another patent of larger extent, intending to keep it for his own benefit; but his treachery met its punishment. Having embarked with a company of one hundred and nine persons, his vessel was dismasted and driven back to Portsmouth. His property was purchased by the Plymouth settlers, and the passengers and goods being embarked in another vessel, arrived safely at Plymouth, in July, 1623. The connection of the Pilgrims with the trading company in London, who were their partners in the scheme of colonisation, was attended with many inconveniences. To meet their engagements the colonists were obliged to submit to the payment of excessive usury, and to trade at a serious disadvantage. One of their number, Isaac Allerton, was sent to London in 1626. He returned in the spring of 1627, having obtained a loan of two hundred pounds at thirty per cent. interest, and laid it out in goods suitable for the supply of the colony.[z]

At the end of the seven years originally limited in the agreement between the Plymouth colonists and the London adventurers, the London partners agreed to sell out their interest for £1,800, or about $9,000, to be paid in nine annual instalments. Eight of the principal colonists, in consideration of a six years' monopoly of the Indian traffic, gave their private bonds for the amount. The joint-stock principle was now abandoned; a division was made of the movable property; and twenty acres of land, nearest the town, were assigned in fee to each colonist.

The soil of New Plymouth was very poor; some not very successful attempts were made at the cultivation of tobacco; but the chief reliance to pay for cloths and other goods from England was the peltry collected by trade with the Indians. To save the voyage round Cape Cod, and to facilitate the traffic with the Indians on Narragansett Bay and Long Island Sound, a trading house was built at the head of Buzzard's Bay. A grant was also obtained from the council for New England of a large tract at the mouth of the Kennebec, where a post was established, and a lucrative traffic opened with the eastern Indians. A friendly message brought by Secretary De Razier [or De Rasieres] had been received in October, 1627, from the Dutch at the mouth of the Hudson. From these Dutchmen the use of wampum was learned, soon found very serviceable in the trade with the eastern Indians. There was not yet capital enough to engage in the cod fishery, but a step was made toward it in the establishment of a salt work.

Straggling settlers, with or without grants from the council for New England, were now fast planting themselves along the coast. East of the Piscataqua, obscure hamlets of fishermen were established in 1625 at Agamenticus, now York, and at the mouth of the Saco. A party of some thirty persons, under a Captain Wollaston, had set up a plantation in Massachusetts Bay, not far from Wissagusset, at a place which th[ey] called Mount Wollaston, now Quincy. This plantation presently fell under the control of one Morton, "a pettifogger of Furnival's Inn," or, as he describes himself, "of Clifford's Inn, gentleman." He changed the name to M[erry] Mount; sold powder and shot to the Indians; gave refuge to runaway servants; and set up a May-pole, upon which occasion he broached a cask of wine and a hogshead of ale, and held a high revel and carousal. The people of Plymouth were requested by the other settlers to interfere; and Morton was seized by the redoubtable Standish, and sent prisoner to England in 1628. Eight plantations, from Piscataqua to Plymouth, some of them only single families, contributed to the expense.

Though their number did not yet amount to three hundred, the Plymouth colonists considered themselves now firmly established. "It was not with them as with other men, whom small things could discourage, or small discontents cause to wish themselves at home again"; so they stated in their application to the council for New England for a new patent. They presently obtained it (June 13th, 1630), with an assignment as boundaries, on the land side, of two lines, the one drawn northerly from the mouth of the Narragansett river, the other westerly from Cohasset rivulet, to meet "at the utternost limits of a country or place called Pocanoket." The tract on the Kennebec was also included in this grant.

This patent gave a title to the soil; but prerogatives of government, according to the ideas of the English lawyers, could only be exercised under a charter from the crown. A considerable sum was spent in the endeavour to obtain such a charter, but without success. Relying, however, upon their original compact, the colonists gradually assumed all the prerogatives of

[1603–1606 A.D.]

government — even the power, after some hesitation, of capital punishment. No less than eight capital offences are enumerated in the first Plymouth code of 1636, including treason or rebellion against the colony, and "solemn compaction or conversing with the devil." Trial by jury was early introduced, but the punishments to be inflicted on minor offences remained for the most part discretionary.

For eighteen years all laws were enacted in a general assembly of all the colonists. The governor, chosen annually, was but president of a council, in which he had a double vote. It consisted first of one, then of five, and finally of seven counsellors, called assistants. So little were political honours coveted at New Plymouth, that it became necessary to inflict a fine upon such as, being chosen, declined to serve as governor or assistant. None, however, were to be obliged to serve for two years in succession.

The constitution of the church was equally democratic. For the first eight years there was no pastor, unless Robinson, still in Holland, where he died March 1st, 1625, might be considered in that light. Lyford, sent out by the London partners, was refused and expelled in 1624. Brewster, the ruling elder, and such private members as had the gift of prophecy officiated as exhorters. On Sunday afternoons a question was propounded, to which all spoke who had anything to say. Even after they adopted the plan of a pastor, no minister, it was observed, stayed long at New Plymouth.[y]

COLONISATION OF MAINE AND NEW HAMPSHIRE

There is considerable obscurity in the early history of the extensive territory now constituting the states of Maine and New Hampshire, arising from the numerous and conflicting grants made by the council of Plymouth for New England. The extensive powers conferred upon this company by the crown were a source of discontent in the mother country, and of litigation in the colonies. Their claim to the exclusive enjoyment of the fisheries was opposed in the house of commons; and their attempt to establish this claim, by despatching Francis West, with a commission as admiral of New England, to protect their monopoly by the presence of a naval force was entirely nugatory; nor was the grant of a patent for a tract extending ten miles on Massachusetts Bay, which they made to Robert Gorges, with power "to restrain interlopers," attended with any better success. These failures discouraged the council; and their subsequent operations were chiefly confined to the granting of patents for tracts of land in New England of various extent, without much regard to the inevitably conflicting claims of the patentees. Under some of these patents the settlements on the coast of Maine and New Hampshire were commenced.

Among the earliest settlements in New England were those on the coasts of Maine. Its shores, as we have seen, were visited by Martin Pring in 1603 and 1606, and the knowledge which he obtained of the interior of the country was communicated to the patrons of American colonisation. This led the Plymouth Company to attempt the unfortunate settlement under Popham,[1]

[1 There was for many years a hot dispute over the early history of the Maine plantations and the Maine Historical Society engaged Dr. Leonard Woods and later Dr. John G. Kohl[cc] in researches which brought about a deal of controversy. By some, notably John A. Poor,[dd] it was claimed that the unfortunate Popham colony at Sabino in 1607 deserved the honour of saving New England for England. The adversaries of this theory protested that the Popham colony having been a futility could not steal the glory of the permanent establishment at Plymouth in 1620. In spite of a long warfare the older accounts are now re-established, and in the words of Winsor[ee] "A reaction that at one time claimed the necessity of rewriting history has in the

at the mouth of the Kennebec, in 1607, whose failure followed so speedily after its commencement. One of the most zealous supporters of this enterprise was Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who vainly urged his associates to repeat the experiment.

Gorges continued his private course of discovery for several years; and in 1622, uniting his fortune with that of the wealthy John Mason, they obtained conjointly from the Plymouth Company – of which they were both members — a grant of the territory called Laconia, lying between the Merrimac and Kennebec rivers. A number of colonists were sent over the next year, and these commenced settlements near the mouth of the Piscataqua, in 1623. Here a part of them erected the first house, calling it Mason hall; the remainder proceeding farther up the river, settled at Cocheco, afterwards called Dover. Fishing and trade were the chief objects of these emigrants; and consequently, their settlement increased slowly. Portsmouth had no more than sixty families in thirty years after its settlement. The council issued several patents of inferior extent a few years after, and some of these were comprised within the limits of Mason and Gorges' grant. Two of these were situated at the mouth of the Kennebec, where a permanent colony was planted in 1630, under the direction of Richard Vines, a former agent of Gorges. The year following a tract, comprehending the peninsula on which Portland is built, was conveyed by the council to two merchants, who erected a trading-house on an island near Portland harbour, and thus promoted the settlement of the neighbouring coasts. The colonists were principally from the southwest of England; and being accompanied by clergymen of the establishment, they found little favour with the Massachusetts planters.

The Pemaquid territory, lying without the limits of Gorges' patent, and to the eastward, extended about thirty miles from the Kennebec. This tract had been the subject of an Indian treaty in 1625, at which time the settlement was commenced there. Pemaquid must therefore be regarded as the first permanent settlement in Maine. In 1635, Gorges obtained from the council a separate title to that portion of their former grant which lies east of the Piscataqua, while Mason was confirmed in the possession of the western part. Gorges conferred on the tract thus acquired the name of New Somersetshire, in compliment to his native county in England.

In like manner Mason gave to his portion the name of New Hampshire. He sent agents to dispose of his lands, and take care of his interests; but he soon after died, leaving his affairs in so disordered a state that his family derived little benefit from his proprietorship, and the colonists were left to take care of themselves. Gorges took immediate measures for organising a government and to this end, sent over Captain William Gorges to his colony, with commissions to several gentlemen resident in the province. Seven of these commissioners assembled at Saco, March 25th, 1636, received from the inhabitants an acknowledgment of the jurisdiction of the proprietary, and attended some days, hearing cases in dispute and exercising a cognisance of criminal offences.

There appears not to have been entire satisfaction on the part of the colonists, with this early administration; for in 1637 Gorges gave authority to Governor Winthrop and others of Massachusetts, to govern the province and oversee his servants and private affairs. But this order was entirely disregarded by those to whom it was addressed: and, not long after, the proprie-

end engaged few advocates, and is now almost lost sight of." This is only one among many of the instances where destructive historical criticism after maligning the old authorities has been forced to accept them as our only sources of information.]

tary obtained a royal charter, confirming the grant of the council, and creating him lord palatine, with powers similar to those exercised by the bishop of Durham. Gorges thereupon appointed a new board of councillors for the government of his province, the name of which was now changed to Maine. The first general court under this charter assembled at Saco, June 25th, 1640, at which the inhabitants of the several plantations renewed their oaths of allegiance to the proprietary. Thomas Gorges arrived with the commission of governor the same year, and presided at the second session of the court, held in September. He resided at the city of Gorgeana — now the town of York — of which he was created mayor.

Previous to the date of Mason's patent for New Hampshire, the reverend John Wheelwright, an emigrant from Massachusetts, for causes which we shall hereafter notice, had purchased lands of the Indians, and laid the foundation of Exeter; but it was not till 1639, that the inhabitants combined and established civil government; an example which was followed a year or two afterwards by Dover and Portsmouth. In 1641, New Hampshire was brought under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, and permitted to send two representatives to the general court at Boston; thus ceasing to be a separate province in six years from the time of its first settlement.

At the suggestion of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, his friend Sir William Alexander had obtained in 1621, a patent for the territory east of the river St. Croix, and south of the St. Lawrence, under the name of Nova Scotia. This was followed in 1628, by the capture of Port Royal by the English; and in 1629, Quebec itself surrendered to a naval force commanded by Sir David Kirke. All New France was thus conquered by the English, one hundred and thirty years before its final subjugation by the army of General Wolfe; but it was immediately afterwards restored by treaty; the British government apparently not being aware of the value of the acquisition.

Sir Ferdinando Gorges, in common with other royalists, was unable to breast the storm of civil war which was become ruinous to all adherents to the crown. He was taken prisoner on the surrender of Bristol to the parliamentary forces, in 1645, and soon died, leaving his estate to his son John Gorges. On the return of the governor to England, in 1643, he was succeeded in his office by Richard Vines. During his brief administration, Colonel Alexander Rigby revived a title to a large portion of the province, which had been granted by the council of Plymouth in 1630, under the name of the "Plough Patent" [from the name of the ship *Plough* in which the patentees came over]. This patent claimed jurisdiction of the towns, as well as possession of the soil, of a tract forty miles square, located in the most populous part of the province. Mr. George Cleaves, who had long resided in the province, was sent over by Rigby as his agent and deputy governor. Cleaves summoned a court at Casco, in 1644, in the name of the "lord proprietor and president of the province of Lygonia," as the new proprietor denominated his patent; and though the inhabitants seem generally to have opposed the pretensions of Rigby, yet as Vines received no directions from Gorges as to his mode of proceeding, he yielded to the storm, resigned his commission, and removed with his family to the island of Barbadoes. Two years after, the commissioners for foreign plantations in England recognised the claims of Rigby, and the government of Lygonia became regularly established.

But few towns and plantations were left to the jurisdiction of the former proprietary of Maine. These elected Edward Godfrey of Gorgeana their governor; and fearing they should fall into the hands of the puritan colonies, they petitioned parliament in 1650 to constitute them a distinct jurisdiction.

Their application was unsuccessful, and their apprehensions were soon realised. The Massachusetts Bay Company laid claim to the greater part of Maine in 1652, under pretence that it was embraced within the limits of their patent. They accordingly proceeded to exercise jurisdiction over the towns, notwithstanding the manly protests and well-founded claims of Governor Godfrey: and Lygonia being soon after left in a defenceless state, by the death of Rigby, it also was brought within the Massachusetts charter, though some of its towns did not submit until 1658.

The royal commissioners sent out soon after the restoration to inspect affairs in New England, visited Maine in the summer of 1665, and declared the province to be under the protection and government of the king. They also



Craddock Old Fort, Medford

(Built in 1634. A refuge for the early settlers)

designated several gentlemen to administer affairs until the royal pleasure should be known: but the commissioners had scarcely left New England, when the authorities of Massachusetts, aided by a military force, resumed their sway, and reduced the province to a reluctant submission. The legal proprietor, F. Gorges, grandson to the original patentee, succeeded in obtaining a restitution of his title in 1677. This was effected by a formal adjudication at Whitehall, where the agents of the Massachusetts Bay Company appeared in compliance with a royal order. But the colony was unwilling to renounce her hold on the province, and in conformity with her instructions, her agents purchased the title from Gorges for the sum of £1,250. After this transaction, the governor and council of Massachusetts Bay took possession, under colour of a right derived from their former patent, and declaring themselves the lawful assigns of Ferdinando Gorges, they proceeded to organise a provincial jurisdiction accordingly.

The government established at this time, consisted of a president, deputy, and assistant, eight justices, and an elective general court. This form of

government was retained until 1692, when by a new charter granted to Massachusetts, Maine was constituted a county, with the name of Yorkshire. This arrangement continued unchanged till 1760, when Cumberland and Lincoln counties were incorporated, and York reduced to nearly its present limits. After the revolution, Maine was styled a district, although its connection with Massachusetts remained the same until 1820, when it was erected into a separate and independent state. About one-third of the present territory of Maine was included in the patent of Gorges. The other portions fell to Massachusetts in virtue of the charter of 1692.

Prior to that date, the ancient settlement of Pemaquid — now Bristol — was the only important post east of the Kennebec. The French province of Acadia, originally so indefinite in its asserted limits, was finally restricted on the west of the Pemaquid river. But the English resisted even this reduced demand of territory on the part of the French; and in 1664, Charles II included in his patent to James, duke of York, the country extending from Pemaquid to St. Croix river. Being thus united in its government with New York, it received the name of the county of Cornwall; a fortress was built at Pemaquid to defend the inhabitants; and at the instigation of the governors of New York, a considerable number of emigrants established themselves at different points along the coast. The ravages of the Indians prevented the growth of these settlements, and finally occasioned the dispersion of the inhabitants for a number of years. When James was dethroned as king of England, his title to these lands ceased. The charter granted by William in 1692, vested the territory in Massachusetts, as already stated. On the reduction of Canada and the termination of Indian hostilities, numerous settlers again took up these lands: and from that time to the present, notwithstanding the many perplexities produced by conflicting and unsettled claims to the right of the soil, this portion of Maine has steadily advanced in cultivation and improvement. The inexhaustible fisheries and forests of timber which first drew settlers to the shores of Maine and New Hampshire, covering their waters with fleets of small vessels, and enlivening their solitudes with the busy sounds of the saw-mills, have, in all periods of their history, proved great sources of wealth.[z]

THE COLONY OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY

Besides the settlements mentioned as made or attempted on the coast of New England, there had been another, of no great consequence in itself, but interesting as the embryo of the colony of Massachusetts Bay. White, a clergyman of Dorchester, in the west of England, a Puritan, though not a separatist, had in 1624 persuaded several merchants of that city to attempt a settlement in New England in conjunction with the fishing business. The rocky promontory of Cape Ann, which forms the north shore of Massachusetts Bay, was fixed upon for this purpose: and Lyford and Conant, the same who had been expelled from New Plymouth by the zeal of the stricter separatists of that colony, were taken into employ, the first as preacher or chaplain, the other as general manager. This undertaking, like other similar enterprises, proved more expensive and less profitable than had been expected. It was abandoned in 1626; Lyford removed to Virginia; but Conant, relying upon the further co-operation of White, betook himself, with three companions, and a flock of cattle sent out by his employers, to Naumkeag, a fitter place, in his judgment, for a settlement.

White exerted himself to find new adventurers, and not without success.

The English Puritans, for years past, had been growing more and more uneasy. Many clergymen of that cast had been silenced or deprived of their cures for nonconformity, and the present fashion of colonisation in America, as well as the example of the Plymouth colony, had suggested the idea of a Puritan refuge across the Atlantic. With this view, John Humphrey, a brother-in-law of the earl of Lincoln, John Endicott, and four others, gentlemen of Dorchester, obtained, at White's instigation, from the council for New England, a grant of the coast between Laconia on the one side, and the Plymouth patent on the other, including the whole of Massachusetts Bay. This grant of March 19th, 1628, extended westward to the Pacific, coterminate in that direction with the New England patent itself; north and south it was bounded by two parallel lines, the one three miles north of "any and every part" of the Merrimac, the other three miles south of "any and every part" of Charles river, one of the streams flowing into the head of Massachusetts Bay, and so named on Smith's map of New England. Part of this tract on the seacoast had been conveyed, in March, 1622, to Mason, under the name of Mariana, and another smaller portion to Robert Gorges, the late lieutenant general. He was dead; but his brother and heir had conveyed a part of this tract to Oldham, the exile from Plymouth, who had established himself as an Indian trader at Nantasket. The rest had been transferred to Sir William Brereton, who about this time sent over indented servants, and began a settlement, probably at Winnissimet, now Chelsea. The earl of Warwick appears also to have had a claim to this territory, or a part of it; but, whatever it was he presently relinquished it to the Massachusetts patentees. Those patentees, indeed, for some reason not very apparent, seem to have regarded all the previous grants as void against them.

ENDICOTT'S ARRIVAL (1628 A.D.)

New partners were soon found. John Winthrop, of Groton, in Suffolk, educated a lawyer, a gentleman of handsome landed property, Sir Richard Saltonstall, and other wealthy Puritans in London and the vicinity, became interested in the enterprise; and, to prepare the way for a larger migration, John Endicott whom Edward Johnson// calls, "a fit instrument to begin this wilderness work," indefatigable, undaunted, austere, yet of a "sociable and cheerful spirit," was despatched at once, with sixty or seventy people, to make the commencement of a settlement. Welcomed at Naumkeag by Conant, September 14th, 1628, in conformity with his instructions, he soon despatched a small party by land, to explore the head of Massachusetts Bay, where it had been resolved to plant the principal colony. The peninsula between Charles and Mystic rivers, already known as Charleton or Charlestown, was found in possession of one Walford, a smith. The opposite peninsula of Shawmut was occupied by another lonely settler, one Blackstone, an eccentric non-conforming clergyman. The island, now East Boston, was inhabited by Samuel Maverick, an Indian trader, who had a little fort there, with two small cannon. On Thompson's Island, more to the south, dwelt David Thompson, already mentioned as one of the original settlers on the Piscataqua. Oldham still had an establishment at Nantasket, though at this moment he was in England, negotiating with the Massachusetts Company. There were a few settlers, it is probable, at Winnissimet, servants of Brereton; some, also, at Wissagusset, and a few more at Mount Wollaston.

Endicott sent home loud complaints of these "old planters," especially in relation to the Indian trade, which formed their chief business. They came,

in fact, in direct conflict with the new patentees, who claimed an exclusive right of Indian traffic within the limits of their patent. The importance of this trade was very much exaggerated. There dwelt on the shores of Massachusetts Bay only four or five petty sachems, each with some thirty or forty warriors. Yet, at Endicott's suggestion, the company obtained a renewal of the royal proclamation of 1622 against irregular trading with the Indians.

New associates, meanwhile, had joined the company in England, including several from Boston and its vicinity, in Lincolnshire; among them, Isaac Johnson, another brother-in-law of the earl of Lincoln; Thomas Dudley, the earl's steward; Simon Bradstreet, steward to the dowager countess of Warwick, and son-in-law of Dudley; William Coddington, a wealthy merchant of Boston; and Richard Bellingham, bred a lawyer — all conspicuous in the subsequent history of Massachusetts. A very warm interest was taken in the enterprise by the Lady Lincoln, a daughter of Lord Say, a conspicuous Puritan nobleman, himself active, as we shall presently see, in American colonisations. The company, thus re-enforced, and sustained by money and influential friends, easily obtained a royal charter confirming their grant, and superadding powers of government. This charter was modelled after that of the late Virginia Company, vacated by *Quo Warranto* five years before.[y]

BANCROFT ON THE CHARTER AND FIRST SETTLERS OF MASSACHUSETTS

The patent for the company of the Massachusetts Bay passed the seals, March 4th, 1629; a few days only before Charles I, in a public state-paper, avowed his design of governing without a parliament. The charter, which bears the signature of Charles I, and which was cherished for more than half a century as the most precious boon, established a corporation, like other corporations within the realm. The associates were constituted a body politic by the name of "The Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England." The administration of its affairs was entrusted to a governor, deputy, and eighteen assistants, who were to be annually elected by the stockholders, or members of the corporation.

Four times a year, or oftener if desired, a general assembly of the freemen was to be held; and to these assemblies, which were invested with the necessary powers of legislation, inquest, and superintendence, the most important affairs were referred. No provision required the assent of the king to render the acts of the body valid; in his eye it was but a trading corporation, not a civil government; its doings were esteemed as indifferent as those of any guild or company in England; and if powers of jurisdiction in America were conceded, it was only from the nature of the business in which the stockholders were to engage. For the charter designedly granted great facilities for colonisation. It empowered, but it did not require, the governor to administer the oaths of supremacy and allegiance; yet the charter, according to the strict rules of legal interpretation, was far from conceding to the patentees the privilege of freedom of worship. Not a single line alludes to such a purpose; nor can it be implied by a reasonable construction from any clause. The omission of an express guaranty left religious liberty unprovided for and unprotected. The express concession of power to administer the oath of supremacy, demonstrates that universal religious toleration was not designed; and the freemen of the corporation, it should be remembered, were not at that time separatists. Even Higginson, and Hooker, and Cotton were still ministers of the Church of England; nor could the patentees foresee, nor the English government anticipate, how wide a departure from English usages would grow out of the em-

gration of Puritans to America. Episcopacy had no motive to emigrate; it was Puritanism, almost alone, that emigrated; and freedom of Puritan worship was necessarily the purpose and the result of the colony. If the privilege could not have been established as a legal right, it followed so clearly from the facts, that, in 1662, the sovereign of England, probably with the assent and at the instance of Clarendon, declared, "the principle and foundation of the charter of Massachusetts to be the freedom of liberty of conscience."

Massachusetts was not erected into a province, to be governed by laws of its own enactment; it was reserved for the corporation to decide what degree of civil rights its colonists should enjoy. The charter on which the freemen of Massachusetts succeeded in erecting a system of independent representative liberty, did not secure to them a single privilege of self government; but left them, as the Virginians had been left, without one valuable franchise, at the mercy of a corporation within the realm. This was so evident, that some of those who had already emigrated clamoured that they were become slaves. It was perhaps implied, though it was not expressly required, that the affairs of the company should be administered in England; yet the place for holding the courts was not specially appointed. What if the corporation should vote the emigrants to be freemen, and call a meeting beyond the Atlantic? What if the governor, deputy, assistants, and freemen, should themselves emigrate, and thus break down the distinction between the colony and the corporation? The history of Massachusetts is the counterpart to that of Virginia; the latter obtained its greatest liberty by the abrogation of the charter of its company; the former by a transfer of its charter, and a daring construction of its powers by the successors of the original patentees.

The charter had been granted in March; in April, preparations were hastening for the embarkation of new emigrants. The government which was now established for Massachusetts merits commemoration, though it was never duly organised. It was to consist of a governor and counsellors, of whom eight out of the thirteen were appointed by the corporation in England; three were to be named by these eight; and, as it was said, to remove all grounds of discontent, the choice of the remaining two counsellors was granted to the colonists as a liberal boon. The board, when thus constituted, was invested with all the powers of legislation, justice, and administration. Such was the inauspicious dawn of civil and religious liberty on the bay of Massachusetts.

Benevolent instructions to Endicott were at the same time issued. "If any of the salvages" — such were the orders long and uniformly followed in all changes of government, and placed on record more than half a century before William Penn proclaimed the principles of peace on the borders of the Delaware — "pretend right of inheritance to all or any part of the lands granted in our patent, we pray you endeavour to purchase their tytle, that we may avoid the least scruple of intrusion." "Particularly publish, that no wrong or injury be offered to the natives."

The departure of the fleet for America was now anxiously desired. The colonists were to be cheered by the presence of religious teachers; and the excellent and truly catholic Francis Higginson, an eminent non-conforming minister, receiving an invitation to conduct the emigrants, esteemed it as a call from heaven. The propagation of the gospel among the heathen was earnestly desired; in pious sincerity they resolved if possible to redeem these wrecks of human nature; the colony seal was an Indian, erect, with an arrow in his right hand, and the motto, "Come over and help us." The company of emigrants was winnowed before sailing; and servants of ill life were discharged. "No idle drone may live amongst us," was the spirit as well as the law of the

[1629 A.D.]

dauntless community, which was to turn the sterility of New England into a cluster of wealthy states.

It was in the last days of June, that the little band of two hundred arrived at Salem, where the "corruptions of the English church" were never to be planted, and where a new "reformation" was to be reduced to practice. They found neither church nor town; eight or ten pitiful hovels, one more stately tenement for the governor, and a few cornfields, were the only proofs that they had been preceded by their countrymen. The whole body of old and new planters now amounted to three hundred; of whom one third joined the infant settlement at Charlestown.

To the great European world the few tenants of the mud hovels and log cabins at Salem might appear too insignificant to merit notice; to themselves they were as the chosen emissaries of God; outcasts from England, yet favourites with heaven; destitute of security, of convenient food and shelter, and yet blessed beyond all mankind, for they were the depositaries of the purest truth, and the selected instruments to kindle in the wilderness the beacon of pure religion, of which the undying light should not only penetrate the wigwams of the heathen, but spread its benignant beams across the darkness of the whole civilised world. The emigrants were not so much a body politic, as a church in the wilderness. An entire separation was made between state and church July 20th; religious worship was established on the basis of the independence of each separate religious community; all officers of the church were elected by its members; and these rigid Calvinists, of whose rude intolerance the world has been filled with calumnies, subscribed a covenant, cherishing, it is true, the severest virtues, but without one tinge of fanaticism. It was an act of piety, not of study; it favored virtue, not superstition; inquiry, and not submission. The people were enthusiasts, but not bigots. The church was self-constituted. It did not ask the assent of the king, or recognise him as its head; its officers were set apart and ordained among themselves; it used no liturgy; it rejected unnecessary ceremonies, and reduced the simplicity of Calvin to a still plainer standard. The motives which controlled their decisions were so deeply seated in the very character of their party, that the doctrine and discipline then established at Salem remained the rule of Puritans in New England.

There existed, even in this little company, a few individuals to whom the new system was unexpected; and in John and Samuel Browne, they found able leaders. They declared their dissent from the church of Higginson; and, at every risk of union and tranquillity, they insisted upon the use of the English liturgy. But should the emigrants give up the very purpose for which they had crossed the Atlantic? Should not even the forests of Massachusetts be safe against the intrusion of the hierarchy, before which they had fled? Finding it to be a vain attempt to persuade the Brownes to relinquish their resolute opposition, and believing that their speeches tended to produce disorder and dangerous feuds, Endicott sent them to England in the returning ships; and faction, deprived of its leaders, died away.

Winter brought disease and the sufferings incident to early settlements. Above eighty, almost half of the emigrants, died before spring. Higginson himself fell a victim to a hectic fever.

TRANSFER OF THE CHARTER TO MASSACHUSETTS

On the suggestion of the generous Matthew Cradock, the governor of the company, it was proposed July 28th, 1629, that the charter should be trans-

ferred to those of the freemen who should themselves inhabit the colony; and the question immediately became the most important that could be debated. An agreement was at once formed at Cambridge in England, between men of fortune and education, that they would themselves embark for America, if, before the last of September, the whole government should be legally transferred to them and the other freemen of the company, who should inhabit the plantation. The plan was sufficient to excite in the family of John Winthrop, and in many of the purest men in England, the desire to emigrate. "I shall call that my country," said the younger Winthrop to his father, "where I may most glorify God, and enjoy the presence of my dearest friends." September 1st, 1629, it was with general consent declared, that the government and the patent should be transferred beyond the Atlantic, and settled in New England.



JOHN WINTHROP
(1587–1649)

This vote was simply a decision of the question where the future meetings of the company should be held; and yet it effectually changed a commercial corporation into an independent provincial government. The measure was believed to be consistent with the principles of the charter. The corporation did not sell itself; the corporation emigrated. They could not assign the patent; but they could call a legal meeting at London or on board ship in an English harbour; and why not in the port of Salem as well as at the Isle of Wight? in a cabin or under a tree at Charlestown, as well as at the house of Goffe in London? The propriety of the measure, in a juridical point of view, has been questioned. Similar patents were granted by the Long Parliament and Charles II, to be exercised in Rhode Island and Connecticut; Baltimore and Penn long resided on their domains; and the Pilgrims brought with them a patent, which, it is true, had not passed the seals, but which was invalid for a very different reason. But, whatever may be thought of the legality of the transfer of the charter, it certainly conferred no new franchises or power on the emigrants, unless they were already members of the company; it admitted no new freemen; it gave to Massachusetts a present government; but the corporation, though it was to meet in New England, retained in its full integrity the chartered right of admitting freemen according to its pleasure. The manner in which that power was to be exercised would control the early political character of Massachusetts.

THE EMIGRATION WITH JOHN WINTHROP (1629 A.D.)

At the court convened, October 20th, for the purpose of appointing officers who would emigrate, John Winthrop, a man approved for piety, liberality,

[1630 A.D.]

and conduct, was chosen governor, and the whole board of assistants selected for America. Yet, as the hour of departure drew near, the consciousness of danger spread such terrors, that even the hearts of the strong began to fail. One and another of the magistrates declined. It was principally the calm decision of Winthrop which sustained the courage of his companions. An honest royalist, averse to pure democracy, yet firm in his regard for existing popular liberties; in England a conformist, yet loving "gospel purity" even to Independency; in America mildly aristocratic, advocating a government of "the least part," yet desiring that part to be "the wiser of the best"; disinterested, brave, and conscientious — his character marks the transition of the reformation into avowed republicanism; when the sentiment of loyalty, still sacredly cherished, was gradually yielding to the irresistible spirit of civil freedom.

The whole number of ships employed during the season was seventeen; and they carried over not far from fifteen hundred souls. About eight hundred — all of them Puritans, inclined to the party of the independents; many of them men of high endowments, large fortune, and the best education; scholars, well versed in all the learning of the times; clergymen, who ranked among the most eloquent and pious in the realm — embarked with Winthrop for their asylum, bearing with them the charter, which was to be the basis of their liberties. Before leaving Yarmouth, they published to the world the grounds of their removal, and bade an affectionate farewell to the Church of England and to the land of their nativity. "Our hearts," say they, "shall be fountains of tears for your everlasting welfare, when we shall be in our poor cottages in the wilderness."

The emigrants were a body of sincere believers, desiring purity of religion, and not a colony of philosophers, bent upon universal toleration. Reverence for their faith led them to a new hemisphere, where distance might protect them from inquisition; to a soil of which they had purchased the exclusive possession, with a charter of which they had acquired the entire control; for the sake of reducing to practice the doctrines of religion and the forms of civil liberty, which they cherished more than life itself. They constituted a corporation to which they themselves might establish, at their pleasure, the terms of admission. They held in their own hands the key to their asylum, and maintained their right of closing its doors against the enemies of its harmony and its safety.

In June and July, 1630, the ships which bore Winthrop and his immediate companions, arrived to a scene of gloom; such of the earlier emigrants as had survived the previous winter, were poor and weak from sickness; their corn and bread were hardly enough for a fortnight's supply. Instead of offering a welcome, they thronged to the new-comers to be fed. Nearly two hundred servants, who had been sent over at a great expense, received their liberty, free from all engagements: their labour — such was the excessive scarcity — was worth less than the cost of their maintenance.

The selection of places for the new plantations became the immediate care. The bay and the adjoining rivers were examined: if Charlestown was the place of the first sojourning, it was not long before the fires of civilisation, never more to be quenched, were kindled in Boston and the adjacent villages. Boston, especially, had "sweet and pleasant springs," "and good land, affording rich corn-fields and fruitful gardens." The dispersion of the company was esteemed a grievance: but no time was left for long deliberation, and those who had health began to build. Yet sickness delayed the progress of the work; and death often withdrew the labourer from the fruit of his exertions. Every

hardship was encountered. The emigrants lodged at best in tents of cloth and in miserable hovels; they beheld their friends "weekly, yea, almost daily, drop away before their eyes"; in a country abounding in secret fountains, they perished for the want of good water.

THE GOVERNORSHIP OF WINTHROP

The first public worship was held under a tree. On the 30th of July, 1630, a solemn fast was observed at Charlestown; and on this occasion were laid the foundations of the first church at this place and at Boston. John Winthrop governor, and Thomas Dudley deputy, with eighteen assistants, and the body of the freemen who should settle in the new province, were to constitute a legislative and executive body, in which all the corporate rights of the colony were vested. The court of assistants held its first meeting at Charlestown, on the 23rd of August, and enacted that houses be built for the ministers, and salaries raised for them at the common charge. A second court ordered that no settlements should be made within the limit of their patent, without the consent of the governor and his assistants; and changed the name of Trimountain to Boston, of Metapan to Dorchester, and gave to the town on Charles river the name of Watertown. The first general court of Massachusetts was held the same year at Boston, where the governor and most of his assistants had removed with their families some time previous. This court enacted, in October, that the freemen should in future elect representatives, who were to choose a governor and deputy from their own number, and with these, possess power to make laws for the province and appoint officers to execute them. To this measure the people gave their assent by a general vote; but the court rescinded it early the next year, and enacted that the officers should be chosen by the whole body of freemen.

The colony suffered much from the severity of the climate, and other trials incident to a new settlement. Before December, two hundred of their number died, among whom was Lady Arbella Johnson, a daughter of the earl of Lincoln, who had left the abodes of luxury and social comfort for the American wilderness, there to leave a memorial of her virtues and misfortunes. Her husband, one of the chief patrons of the colony, weighed down by sorrow and suffering, soon followed her. But the colonists bore all with fortitude.

As soon as the severity of the winter was sufficiently abated to admit of assemblies being convened, the court proceeded to enact laws for their internal regulation: and in May (1631) that body ordered that in future no persons should be admitted freemen, or entitled to a share in the government, unless members of some of the churches within the province. Many historians and statesmen have censured this provision, and the right of the government to make it has been much questioned. Yet it was perfectly consistent with the spirit of the age; and though it subsequently produced much dissension, it continued in force until the dissolution of the government.

In 1632 the chiefs of several Indian tribes visited Governor Winthrop, and sought his alliance. Among them were the sachems of the Mohegans, Nipmucs, Narragansetts, and Pequots. They were hospitably entertained by the governor, and entered respectively into treaties of amity with the colony. To confirm their friendly relations with the Plymouth colony, Winthrop and Wilson paid a visit to Governor Bradford, and passed a Sabbath with him; an event to which no small importance was attached at the time. During the summer of 1633, two hundred emigrants arrived from England, among whom were some eminent Puritan ministers, Eliot and Mayhew, the first

Protestant missionaries to the Indians; John Cotton, "a man whose singular worth procured and long preserved to him a patriarchal repute and authority in the colony"; and Thomas Hooker, a man little inferior to him in worth and influence. At a later period, Dr. Increase Mather arrived, whose family supplied no less than ten ministers to the colony in after times, and produced the celebrated author of the *Ecclesiastical History of New England.*

The small-pox had prevailed in the neighbourhood of the English settlements to a considerable extent, destroying the natives and leaving their lands desolate, and as several of the vacant Indian stations were well chosen, the colonists eagerly took possession of them. This produced a greater dispersion of the population than suited the condition of an infant colony, and it led to innovation in the government, totally altering its nature and constitution. When a general court was to be held in 1634, instead of attending in person, as the charter prescribed, the freemen elected representatives in their different districts, authorising them to appear in their name, with full power to deliberate and decide on all points that fell under the cognisance of the general court. This court asserted their right to a greater share in the government than they had formerly possessed, and provided that the whole body of freemen should assemble but once a year for the election of magistrates, while the deputies from the several districts were to assemble in general court four times a year. They also provided against arbitrary taxation, by enacting that the disposing of land and raising of money should be done only by the representatives of the people. This general court is the second instance of a house of representatives in America, the first being that of Virginia, convened June 19th, 1619. The government thus established, was retained, with but slight alterations, during the continuance of the charter. We must henceforth consider the colony, not as a corporation, whose powers were defined and mode of procedure regulated by its charter — but as a society possessed of political liberty, and a constitution framed on the model of that in England.[z] Thus early did Massachusetts echo the voice of Virginia.

The state was filled with the hum of village politicians; "the freemen of every town in the bay were busy in inquiring into their liberties and privileges." With the exception of the principle of universal suffrage, now so happily established, the representative democracy was as perfect two centuries ago as it is to-day. Even the magistrates, who acted as judges, held their office by the annual popular choice. "Elections cannot be safe there long," said the lawyer Lechford. The same prediction has been made these two hundred years. The public mind, ever in perpetual agitation, is still easily shaken, even by slight and transient impulses; but after all its vibrations, it follows the laws of the moral world, and safely recovers its balance.

To limit the discretion of the executive, the people next demanded a written constitution; and a commission was appointed, in May, 1635, "to frame a body of grounds of laws in resemblance to a magna charta," to serve as a bill of rights. The ministers, as well as the general court, were to pass judgment on the work; and, with partial success, Cotton urged that God's people should be governed by the laws from God to Moses. The relative powers of the assistants and the deputies remained for nearly ten years, 1634 to 1644, the subject of discussion and contest. Both were elected by the people; the former by the whole colony, the latter by the several towns. The two bodies acted together in convention; but the assistants claimed and exercised the further right of a separate negative vote on all joint proceedings. The popular branch resisted; yet the authority of the patricians was long maintained, sometimes by wise delay, sometimes by "a judicious sermon;" till, at last,

March, 1644, a compromise divided the court into two branches, and gave to each a negative on the other. 99

BANCROFT ON PURITAN INSTITUTIONS AND INFLUENCE

It was ever the custom, and it soon became the law, in Puritan New England, that "none of the brethren shall suffer so much barbarism in their families as not to teach their children and apprentices so much learning as may enable them perfectly to read the English tongue." "To the end that learning may not be buried in the graves of our forefathers," it was ordered in all the Puritan colonies "that every township, after the Lord hath increased them to the number of fifty householders, shall appoint one to teach all children to write and read; and where any town shall increase to the number of one hundred families, they shall set up a grammar school; the masters thereof being able to instruct youth so far as they may be fitted for the university." The press began its work in 1639. "When New England was poor, and they were but few in number, there was a spirit to encourage learning."

FREE SCHOOLS: HARVARD COLLEGE

Six years after the arrival of Winthrop, the general court voted a sum, equal to a year's rate of the whole colony, towards the erection of a college. In 1638, John Harvard, who arrived in the bay only to fall a victim to the most wasting disease of the climate, desiring to connect himself imperishably with the happiness of his adopted country, bequeathed to the college one half of his estate and all his library. The infant institution was a favorite; Connecticut, and Plymouth, and the towns in the east often contributed little offerings to promote its success; the gift of the rent of a ferry, in 1645, was a proof of the care of the state; and once, at least, every family in each of the colonies gave to the college at Cambridge twelve pence, or a peck of corn, or its value in unadulterated wampumpeag; while the magistrates and wealthier men were profuse in their liberality. The college, in return, exerted a powerful influence in forming the early character of the country. In these measures, especially in the laws establishing common schools, lies the secret of the success and character of New England. Every child, as it was born into the world, was lifted from the earth by the genius of the country, and, in the statutes of the land, received, as its birthright, a pledge of the public care for its morals and its mind.

There are some who love to enumerate the singularities of the early Puritans. They were opposed to wigs; they would preach against veils; they denounced long hair; they disliked the cross in the banner, as much as the people of Paris disliked the lilies of the Bourbons, and for analogous reasons. They would not allow Christmas Day to be kept sacred; they called neither months, nor days, nor seasons, nor churches, nor inns by the names common in England; they revived Scripture names at christenings. The grave Romans legislated on the costume of men, and their senate could even stoop to interfere with the triumphs of the sex to which civic honors are denied; the fathers of New England prohibited frivolous fashions in their own dress; and their austerity, checking extravagance even in woman, frowned on her hoods of silk and her scarfs of tiffany, extended the length of her sleeve to the wrist, and limited its greatest width to half an ell. The Puritans were formal and precise in their manners; singular in the forms of their legislation; rigid in the observance of their principles. Every topic of the day found a place

in their extemporaneous prayers, and infused a stirring interest into their long and frequent sermons. The courts of Massachusetts respected in practice the code of Moses; the island of Rhode Island enacted for a year or two a Jewish masquerade; in New Haven, the members of the constituent committee were called the seven pillars, hewn out for the house of wisdom. But these are only the outward forms, which gave to the new sect its marked exterior.

If from the outside peculiarities, which so easily excite the sneer of the superficial observer, we look to the genius of the sect itself, Puritanism was religion struggling for the people. "Its absurdities," says its enemy, "were the shelter for the noble principles of liberty." It was its office to engraft the new institutions of popular energy upon the old European system of a feudal aristocracy and popular servitude; the good was permanent; the outward emblems which were the signs of the party, were of transient duration; like the clay and ligaments with which the graft is held in its place, and which are brushed away as soon as the scion is firmly united.

Puritanism exalted the laity. Every individual who had experienced the raptures of devotion, every believer, who, in his moments of ecstasy, had felt the assurance of the favor of God, was in his own eyes a consecrated person. For him the wonderful counsels of the Almighty had chosen a Saviour; for him the laws of nature had been suspended and controlled, the heavens had opened, earth had quaked, the sun had veiled his face, and Christ had died and had risen again; for him prophets and apostles had revealed to the world the oracles and the will of God. Viewing himself as an object of the divine favour, and in this connection disclaiming all merit, he prostrated himself in the dust before heaven; looking out upon mankind, how could he but respect himself, whom God had chosen and redeemed? Angels hovered round his path, charged to minister to his soul; spirits of darkness leagued together to tempt him from his allegiance. His burning piety could use no liturgy; his penitence could reveal his transgressions to no confessor. He knew no superior in sanctity. He could as little become the slave of a priestcraft as of a despot. He was himself a judge of the orthodoxy of the elders; and if he feared the invisible powers of the air, of darkness, and of hell, he feared nothing on earth. Puritanism constituted, not the Christian clergy, but the Christian people, the interpreter of the divine will. The voice of the majority was the voice of God; and the issue of Puritanism was therefore popular sovereignty.

Of all contemporary sects, the Puritans were the most free from credulity, and, in their zeal for reform, pushed their regulations to what some would consider a sceptical extreme. So many superstitions had been bundled up with every venerable institution of Europe, that ages have not yet dislodged them all. The Puritans at once emancipated themselves from a crowd of observances. They established a worship purely spiritual. To them the elements remained but wine and bread; they invoked no saints; they raised no altar; they adored no crucifix; they kissed no book; they asked no absolution; they paid no tithes; they saw in the priest nothing more than a man; ordination was no more than an approbation of the officer, which might be expressed by the brethren, as well as by other ministers; the church, as a place of worship, was to them but a meeting-house; they dug no graves in consecrated earth; unlike their posterity, they married without a minister, and buried the dead without a prayer. Witchcraft had not been made the subject of sceptical consideration; and in the years in which Scotland sacrificed hecatombs to the delusion, there were three victims in New England.

On every subject but religion, the mildness of Puritan legislation corresponded to the popular character of Puritan doctrines. Hardly a nation of

Europe has as yet made its criminal law so humane as that of early New England. A crowd of offences was at one sweep brushed from the catalogue of capital crimes. The idea was never received that the forfeiture of life may be demanded for the protection of property; the punishment for theft, for burglary, and highway robbery was far more mild than the penalties imposed even by modern American legislation. Of divorce we have found no example; yet a clause in one of the statutes recognises the possibility of such an event. Divorce from bed and board, the separate maintenance without the dissolution of the marriage contract — an anomaly in Protestant legislation, that punishes the innocent more than the guilty — was utterly abhorrent from their principles. The care for posterity was everywhere visible. Since the sanctity of the marriage-bed is the safeguard of families, and can alone interest the father in the welfare and instruction of his offspring, its purity was protected by the penalty of death; a penalty which was inexorably enforced against the guilty wife and her paramour. If in this respect the laws were more severe, in another they were more lenient than modern manners approve. The girl whom youth and affection betrayed into weakness was censured, pitied, and forgiven; the law compelled the seducer of innocence to marry the person who had imposed every obligation by the concession of every right.

The benevolence of the early Puritans appears from other examples. Their thoughts were always fixed on posterity. Domestic discipline was highly valued; but if the law was severe against the undutiful child, it was also severe against a faithless parent. The slave-trade was forbidden under penalty of death. The earliest laws, till 1654, did not permit any man's person to be kept in prison for debt, except when there was an appearance of some estate which the debtor would not produce. Even the brute creation was not forgotten; and cruelty towards animals was a civil offence. The sympathies of the colonists were wide; a regard for Protestant Germany is as old as emigration; and, during the Thirty Years' War, the whole people of New England held fasts and offered prayers for the success of their Saxon brethren.

The purity of morals completes the picture of colonial felicity. "As Ireland will not brook venomous beasts, so will not that land vile livers." One might dwell there "from year to year, and not see a drunkard, or hear an oath, or meet a beggar." The consequence was universal health — one of the chief elements of public happiness. The average duration of life in New England, compared with Europe, was doubled; and the human race was so vigorous that of all who were born into the world more than two in ten, full four in nineteen, attained the age of seventy. Of those who lived beyond ninety, the proportion, as compared with European tables of longevity, was still more remarkable.

We have dwelt the longer on the character of the early Puritans of New England, for they are the parents of one third the whole white population of the United States. In the first ten or twelve years — and there was never afterwards any considerable increase from England — we have seen that there came over 21,200 persons, or four thousand families. To New York and Ohio, where they constitute half the population, they have carried the Puritan system of free schools, and their example is spreading it through the civilised world.

Historians have loved to eulogise the manners and virtues, the glory and the benefits, of chivalry. Puritanism accomplished for mankind far more. Chivalry delighted in outward show, favored pleasure, multiplied amusements, and degraded the human race by an exclusive respect for the privileged classes;

[1654 A.D.]

Puritanism bridled the passions, commanded the virtues of self denial, and rescued the name of man from dishonor. The former valued courtesy; the latter, justice. The former adorned society by graceful refinements; the latter founded national grandeur on universal education. The institutions of chivalry were subverted by the gradually increasing weight, and knowledge, and opulence of the industrious classes; the Puritans, rallying upon those classes, planted in their hearts the undying principles of democratic liberty.*gg*



BRIEF REFERENCE-LIST OF AUTHORITIES BY CHAPTERS

[The letter [a] is reserved for Editorial Matter.]

Chapter I. The Discoverers of America

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KING JAMES' GRANTS
to the
PLYMOUTH AND LONDON COMPANIES
1606, 1609 and 1620
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400
Longitude West 75 from Greenwich
EARLY COLONIAL GRANTS
1620 to 1681
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400
Longitude West 75 from Greenwich
THE UNITED COLONIES
at the
Beginning of the Revolution
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500
Longitude 85 West from 80 Greenwich
NORTH AMERICA
Showing the National Claims in
1750
Eng. Fr. Span.
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500
Longitude 100 West from 90 Greenwich